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MEMOIRS OF PRINCE CHLODWIG OF HOHENLOHE-SCHILLINGSFUERST

VOLUME II

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CFr Hohenlohe

MEMOIRS OF PRINCE CHLODWIG OF HOHENLOHE-SCHILLINGSFUERST

AUTHORISED BY PRINCE ALEXANDER
OF HOHENLOHE-SCHILLINGSFUERST
AND EDITED BY FRIEDRICH CURTIUS

ENGLISH EDITION SUPERVISED
BY GEORGE W. CHRYSTAL, B.A.
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VOLUME II

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ENGLISH EDITOR'S NOTE

SEVERAL passages in these volumes deal in minute detail with points of German Constitutional History, which are perhaps of greater interest to the professed student of politics than to the general reader. These passages, although of less interest outside Germany, than the more personal and anecdotal parts, are given in full in the English Edition, because they have their due place in the biographical structure, and because there has been a general demand for an unabridged English version of the Memoirs.

The Editor of the English Edition wishes to express his obligation to the Rev. H. J. Chaytor, M.A., to whose invaluable assistance he is deeply indebted; to Miss Simmonds, whowas kind enough to help with the work of revision; to Mr. E. W. Gilbey of Reuter's; and to Professor Chrystal, Miss Chrystal, and Mr. H. N. Dickinson, who have been so good as to read a great part of the book in proof, and to make many helpful suggestions.

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IN THE REICHSTAG

1870–1874

IN THE REICHSTAG

1870–1874

Extract from a letter from the CARDINAL.

ROME, *March* 18, 1870.

. . . We are having a bad time now, yesterday, worst of all. Friedrich is a great stand-by for me, and in spite of all enmities I have been able to keep him by me. What indeed will be decided in the great questions is by no means clear. Stupidity and fanaticism are dancing a Tarantella together, accompanied by such discordant music that one can hardly see or hear.

The Bishop of Mayence, I fear, is leading the German minority into a pitfall. He deceives these gentlemen by his abuse of Rome, and so forth, and works against them behind their backs, and the excellent gentlemen take him at his word! The Church is the greatest loser and sufferer in all this. Rome has herself in the last few months lost enormously with a great part of the episcopate, and yet the episcopate does not arouse itself. The few addresses received count for nothing; no attention is paid to them, *on passe outre*. You can't form any idea of all that is going on here. . . .

The fact that you have no longer the difficult and thorny position you had may be regrettable in one respect, but personally, I prefer that you should have peace for a while, and that the railing at you should be stayed. Among the French and German episcopates many already do you full justice, but only in the future will you receive general praise and gratitude for what you have done. It will come slowly but it will be unanimous. In my breviary I have placed a passage cut from your letter which I read every day. You say: "Life even without that is nothing but a fight, and it is consoling to be able to say at the end of one's days, 'I have fought a good fight.'" I rejoice at your sublime words each time I read them. Adieu!

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* On February 20 the Pope had issued a new Standing Order proclaiming the principle of the majority vote even in questions of belief. A protest of the minority dated March 3 remained unanswered. On March 6 the Pope forwarded to the Council an additional article which defined infallibility. On the 12th the majority demanded of the President that the question of Infallibility should take precedence of all others.

Memorandum by the PRINCE, *dated March* 24, 1870.*

The anxiety expressed in Prince Hohenlohe's memorable circular, dated April 9 of last year, has been fully justified. What that circular described as imminent has happened in every detail. The twenty-one Canons contain the condemnatory clauses of the Papal Syllabus of December 6, 1864, and form the basis of the deliberations of the Council; and the acceptance of the dogma of infallibility is in the near future. The greater the unrest produced in men's minds by this declaration of war of the Church against the modern State, having in view what will follow, the greater the approval which this step of the Bavarian Government will meet with hereafter. Recognition of this finds expression in a somewhat lengthy article in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 78. But in this the reproach is made against the Bavarian Government, or rather, against the Minister then responsible for its foreign policy, that he at once receded from the position he had taken up, and did not follow up his first step by the despatch of a Minister to the Council, or by making a strong protest against the decisions of the Council. It is true that the writer calls the error a pardonable one, since in such a diplomatic step isolation is the more trying the smaller the State in question, and since the unfortunate disunion of the Bavarian people must have had a momentous effect on any intervention.

But an error, though pardonable, is still an error, and it may therefore be permitted to scrutinise more carefully the measures with the neglect of which the Bavarian Government is reproached. The representation of the Bavarian Government on the Council presupposes the acceptance of its Minister, and that the Bavarian Envoy should not be the sole lay member of the Council. Now the question of sending representatives to the Vatican Council has often been considered, and by all the European Governments. But instead of a common decision — arrived at by a European Conference, for instance, as proposed by Prince Hohenlohe — all the powers of Europe preferred to decide separately, and in fact decided in the negative. When Bavaria learnt this, nothing remained for her but to give up the idea of sending a representative to the Council. A Bavarian Minister or Orator who would be the only lay member would not have been accepted, or if he had been admitted, would have played a sorry if not a ridiculous *rôle*. As far as the protest against the decisions of the Council was concerned, it is sufficient to remark that some of the very decisions of Council against which protest would have been made have not been formulated up to the present moment, Cardinal Antonelli dismissed every Minister, who approached him if only to ask what subjects would be discussed by the Council, with the polite remark that the Holy

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* Probably notes for a newspaper article.

Father and himself could know nothing of the forthcoming proceeding of the Œcumenical Assembly, that the freedom of the Council's deliberations precluded any co-operation on their part, &c. Against what and to whom, then, was protest to be made? The Government therefore was not prevented merely by its isolation from taking a measure necessary in itself. The slightest reflection must have shown that a Government ought not to take a step the ill-success of which was from the beginning beyond doubt.

The attempt has often been made to represent the circular of April 9 as such a step. But it was not so. Had not the influence of the Jesuits at the Courts and in political circles, and the consideration of the internal politics of the various States, not prevented the acceptance of the proposals contained in the despatch of April 9, the conference proposed therein would have rendered a common attitude of all the Governments possible, and would have exercised a most decisive influence on the attitude of the Curia. The Pope would not have turned a deaf ear to the solemn warning of a conference at which all the Governments were represented. Further, by the common action of the Governments alone could a successful result have been assured, as only by their common action was the dissolution of the Society of Jesus under Clement XIV. brought about.

If the Bavarian Government, after the despatch of April 9, did not feel itself obliged to take any decisive steps, the reason is to be found not merely in the above-mentioned circumstances, but also in the internal condition of the country. The party which, in the organs of its Press, most bitterly attacked the steps taken by Prince Hohenlohe with regard to the Council, had obtained a majority in the May elections. The Liberal party looked contemptuously on the Council, and on the activity of the Bavarian Minister in respect to controversies professedly theological, and seemingly so remote. Consequently, there was wanting that decisive expression of public opinion with which no diplomacy can dispense. Diplomatic notes, at which the reproach may be hurled that they are in opposition to the opinion of the country, as expressed by a parliamentary majority, are ever awkward things.

Nevertheless, the Government did not remain inactive. The questions addressed to the Faculties of Theology and Law of the Universities of Munich and of Würzburg are a proof of this. The answers offer valuable material for the further controversies which will arise out of the decisions of the Council, and they have materially contributed to set in motion the scientific discussion of the questions laid before the Council. And had those questions had no other result than to draw from that veteran of the Munich University — steady as a rock in his Catholic beliefs — that expression which contains a decisive condemnation of the opinions represented by the majority of the Fathers of the Council, it would be enough. If such words as the verdict of Dr. von Bayer could remain unheeded, if the advice and warnings of the most faithful adherents of the Catholic Church are treated as presumption and mutiny against the Church, this and everything else that happens in Rome proves that no step of any one Government could have had any result, and that only the common action of all Governments would have sufficed to ward off the danger which menaces both Church and State.

Journal.

BERLIN, *April* 23, 1870.

On coming here the day before yesterday* I announced my arrival to the King and Queen, and was invited in to tea in the evening. No one was there but Roggenbach, so that there were only four of us, the King, the Queen, Roggenbach and I seated at tea in the so-called *bonbonnière*. Their Majesties asked about several family matters, and then the conversation turned to the Council. The Queen asked various questions, among others why men like Dupanloup, Gratry, and Montalembert were so ill supported by popular opinion in France. I replied that France was divided into Ultramontanes and Atheists, and that the real sober-minded quiet Catholic of moderate views was very poorly represented. The King seemed well informed of events in Rome, and I recognised in his remarks despatches of Arnim's well known to me. The Queen seemed to have read the "Letters from the Council" † with considerable attention. The idea of a conference of German Catholic theologians had her entire approval, and she begged me to work for its speedy realisation.

Later the conversation turned to Austria. Roggenbach contested the imminence of the break-up of the Austrian Monarchy, for in it there were several elements such as Hungary and the Poles, who could gain nothing but could only lose by the break-up.

At half-past ten we were dismissed with the assurance that we should soon be summoned again. On the way home Roggenbach spoke about the situation here. He said that Bismarck intended to influence the King to accept the *German* Imperial Crown, and flattered himself that the Kings of Würtemberg and Bavaria had been brought by their Democrats into such a dilemma that the support of Prussia would seem to them to be something to be desired. As far as Bavaria is concerned, Bismarck is mistaken. Bismarck is said further to have remarked that things could not remain as they were, but that a further step must be taken, and that he was preparing, not for one war, but for *four*. But Prussia was in the position to carry these wars to a successful conclusion.

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* The Tariff Parliament was opened on April 21. The chief proposal was the revised tariff of the Zollverein.

† *Briefe vom Konzil,* then appearing in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung.*

BERLIN, *April* 24, 1870.

Yesterday after the sitting, which through lack of a quorum came to nothing, I went for a walk with Löwe. He talked a lot about the discontent at the Protestant cabal of the Minister Mühler. From his remarks I gathered, however, that in all the Liberal groups the idea of a United Germany was firmly held to, and that in spite of Mühler and Eulenburg, they supported the Government in its forward policy. They won't hear of Federalism. Bennigsen said the same to me most decidedly. A Southern Confederation and an inter-State union, &c., &c., are all Utopian. It is a question of peace or war. If the Ultramontanes won't agree, they must be prepared for war. People seem to be getting ready for it here.

BERLIN, *April* 27, 1870.

The evening before last was held the first meeting of the South German Deputies known as the Main Bridge group. There I found among others Bluntschli, Bamberger, Rochau, and the Bavarians. We sat round a big table and drank beer. Barth was in the chair. There was a good deal of talk about the tariff proposals.* Roggenbach spoke very reasonably, and to the point. Bluntschli finally proposed a banquet for all the Nationalist Deputies, which proposal was enthusiastically received by some of the members. Roggenbach and Bamberger were doubtful about this in their own minds. The latter said to me that if all that had been eaten in the name of German unity were gathered together, you could fill up the Main with it.

On the morning of the same day, on the occasion of my election as Vice-President, I had delivered my speech, which was received with great applause. Simson had persuaded me not to confine myself to a simple expression of thanks.†

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* The discussion on this question began on April 29. The Government had renounced the projected duty on petroleum, and had proposed in its stead to raise the duty on coffee.

† In the sitting of the Tariff Parliament of April 25, Prince Hohenlohe had been re-elected first Vice-President by 179 votes out of 212. He accepted in these words: "I have reason to be proud that during the whole period of its legislation I have retained the goodwill of an Assembly which, though its competence is limited, is of great importance owing to the fact that in it representatives of the entire German nation are brought together for the discussion of matters of common interest. To the recent sneer of a member of the Tariff Parliament, on his retirement, that it was based on deception and that it adorned itself with the borrowed halo of a German Parliament, I would reply that no deception lies in the common work of German Deputies; it is a gain to which we must hold fast. It is the firm ground in which the anchor of our national hope is embedded."

Roggenbach recently said to me that the fusion of the North German States with Prussia, the definition of a more perfect arrangement with South Germany, and an understanding with Austria would have to come, though they would come gradually. He insisted that as far as Austria was concerned, the stipulations in the treaties should not go beyond defensive alliances. To this I replied that this was an ideal to which I would willingly subscribe, but that the carrying out of it would be frustrated by the fact that Prussia wants more, that Austria was suspicious, and that Bavaria will never bind herself to an honourable upholding of the treaties. He admitted the objection, but hinted at a change in the Prussian Ministry, which would give Austria more guarantees of its goodwill. He opines that Austria will be strengthened by the present crisis, and that then Prussia would have to change her policy. I doubt whether this result will be obtained.

The internal State of Prussia and of the North German Confederation are not satisfactory, yet it seems to me that it would be a mistake to deduce therefrom that the entire organisation of the Northern Confederation will be again broken up. That I do not believe. Diplomatists have been running about for the last few days, and putting their heads together. They maintain that Bismarck is going about with the intention of causing the King to assume the title of German Emperor; Bavaria and Würtemberg would retain thereby their independent position, but on the other hand, these States would certainly have to recognise the hegemony! Roggenbach maintained that this fear was unfounded. I cannot learn for the moment what the truth of the matter is. The journey of the Grand Duke of Darmstadt* is also coupled with this rumour. It is alleged that the Duke has many debts, and that he hopes in this way to extricate himself. Further, these politicians opine that the Emperor of Russia is favourable to the Imperial project, hopes thereby to protect the throne of his sister against the Democrats, and has accordingly instigated the Grand Duke's journey to Berlin. As to Varnbüler, it is supposed that he too has been won over.

BERLIN, *May* 5, 1870.

On May 3, at eleven o'clock, a sitting on the tariff proposals. As was to be foreseen, these were altered in such a way as at first offered little prospect of a successful conclusion. Yet everywhere, among the Nationalists as well as among the Conservative members, there was an evident desire not to allow the Tariff Parliament to break up without having settled the matter. Even during the sitting, there was much talk of the possibility of finding some basis of discussion. Blankenburg requested me to treat with the South German group; Barth and Marquardsen treated with the National Liberals, and I then again with the Independent Conservatives. Frankenstein, however, soon informed me that his group would not engage in any discussion with a view to settlement. In the meantime, negotiations with the other groups were going better, and when the King at dinner expressed his regret, I was able to hold out some hope that things would take a turn for the better. At the dinner were present several members of the Bundesrath, and some Deputies of the Tariff Parliament. I sat next to the Queen, opposite us Countess Arco, then Schlör and others. I admired the skill with which the Queen used the hints she had asked, and received from me, about talking to the various gentlemen from Bavaria. After dinner I spoke with von Bertrab, the Minister of Rudolstadt, who had been bitterly attacked there *; the chief reproach against him being, according to his account, that he was a Catholic.

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* The Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt arrived at Berlin on April 26 for a few days' visit.

Yesterday another sitting, but not till one o'clock. It lasted, however, till five. Then dinner at Perglas's, and at eight a group meeting, where the final draft of the compromise was agreed to. In the evening I was with the Queen. I was asked a great deal about the Royal Family in Bavaria, about public buildings in Munich, about the climate there, and so forth.

To-day the last important sitting. Patow's motion,† which I joined in signing, was passed by a great majority. Völk supported the motion, and twice quoted my words about the "anchor of our national hopes."

Midday dinner at Eulenburg's. In the evening *soirée* at Schleinitz's. Frau von Schleinitz talked a great deal about Wagner and desired me to inform her when the *Walküre* was to be given. The Queen was as ever quite particularly kind to me. The King told Viktor that he intended to confer on me the Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle.

May 7.

This morning, together with Viktor, Hugo, Frankenburg, and others, I visited the new *abattoirs* of Strousberg; a magnificent establishment with stalls, market halls, and fat-boiling houses.

To-day it is the last sitting, and at three o'clock the formal dissolution takes place in the White Hall of the Castle.

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* The Landtag of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt had on March 1 decided upon an address to the Prince with a vote of no confidence in the Minister.

† Patow's motion — acceptance of the increase on coffee proposed by the Government in exchange for various other reductions — was passed by 186 votes to 84 (Progressives and South German group).

Extract from a letter from the CARDINAL.

ROME, *May* 7, 1870.

I must answer your two kind letters, for which I thank you most warmly. I really hoped to be able to do this personally, but again I received no leave. The reverend Fathers rule in high places, and it seems to be their policy to sow discord between us brethren, or, at least, to keep us as far apart as possible, so of course I got no leave. . . . I had nothing in particular to tell you about our circumstances here. I go as little as possible to the meetings of the Council. Professor Friedrich, who in the existing circumstances, or, I should say, in the circumstances which have come to pass, has not much to keep him here, requested me to allow him to go off to Munich. I made no difficulty about it, although it is a great loss for me. Ketteler persecutes him behind his back in the vilest fashion, as will be seen from the last pamphlet, in which he openly slanders him. But this prince of the Church is again foremost among the good German bishops, thanks to his manœuvring; the "noble Ketteler" one hears everywhere, and so forth. Everything tends in the direction of what I wrote you now nearly a year ago. What I said of Dupanloup may now be said of Ketteler. It is extraordinarily difficult, however, to see clearly and keep calm, so the most prodigious confusion may yet result, and *les bons pères* will have a grand fishing in troubled waters. If they could only stick fast in the morass of their operations!

KING WILHELM *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *May* 10, 1870.

DEAR PRINCE, — As a proof of my high esteem and confidence I send you herewith the Grand Cross of my Order of the Red Eagle, which will show to the world my feeling towards you.

Your sincere friend,
WILHELM.

Journal.

May 11.

On the day of the first sitting I had another somewhat lengthy conversation with Count Münster. I learned through Viktor that he was somewhat piqued at the report that I was to become Minister here, so I seized a convenient opportunity of assuring him that I could not dream of such a thing. He told me then that Windthorst had said to him: "Have you heard the latest? Bismarck is to retire and Hohenlohe take his place." It seems, therefore, that this report has been much bruited about in Ultramontane circles if not invented there in order to cut the ground from under my feet in Munich. I showed Münster then that there was no prospect for me. Under existing circumstances a former Bavarian Minister could not think of becoming Minister of the North German Confederation, and in a united Germany there was no prospect of a ministerial post for me, for the good reason that I should doubtless not live to see the formation of the so-called German State. This visibly eased his mind. Yet I do not consider Münster a sufficiently capable man to succeed Bismarck, who, moreover, has no intention of retiring.

On Sunday, May 8, I went to church in the morning, and in the afternoon I went out by train to the races at Hoppegarten and came back in the evening; then I took my leave at the Queen's *soirée*. Besides Roggenbach no one else was there. The King showed us the telegram from St. Petersburg, which contained some details of Arenberg's murder.*

On Monday, the 9th, I witnessed the grand parade on the Kreuzberg. The whole garrison of Berlin had turned out. A great show of princes, generals, and so forth. I mingled with the crowd and was struck with the interest manifested by the lowest of the people in things military. No trace of the former animosity against the military which used to be noticeable among the lower classes. The commonest working man looked on the troops with the feeling that he belonged or had belonged to them. Everywhere stories of Königgrätz, Düppel, &c., by old service men who were among the spectators. I went about for a good time longer with Herr von Sybel, who had made the same observation. In the afternoon I paid farewell visits to Simson and others. Simson talked interestingly about his stay in Frankfurt. The following touch is characteristic. When in 1851, before Olmütz, the Liberal members of the Chamber were urging war with Austria, he silenced his colleagues with the following remark: "Are you sure then that if the Prussian Army in a victorious campaign reaches the gates of Vienna the King will not consider the moment opportune for giving Silesia back to Austria?" So impressed was Simson with the quixotism of the views of King Frederick William IV. Thereupon followed stories of the election in Frankfurt in April 1849 and the refusal of the Imperial crown.

With regard to the German question Simson does not doubt the ultimate success of Prussia, but for the moment does not see any way out.

Extract from a letter from the CARDINAL.

ROME, *July* 18, 1870.

A short time ago I wrote to you through Councillor Gelzer. In the meanwhile religious and political matters have all gone topsy-turvy and God knows what will be the upshot of it all. We will hold together in true brotherly love and hold fast to the Holy Church. I am still quite troubled that the kindly Friedrich cannot bear me company at this time; he would have been able to be of much service to me, but it was absolutely necessary for him to get away. I recommend him particularly to you. To-day is to take place the sitting in which the Pope will proclaim the doctrine of infallibility. The Bishops of the minority are leaving; some of them went yesterday evening, among others the Archbishop of Munich; others go away to-night. They will not be present at the sitting, and have sent in a protest. I am not very well, and I too am not going to the sitting. This morning I wrote a few lines to Cardinal Schwarzenberg, which I here transcribe, of course in the strictest confidence because they make clear my sentiments:

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* On May 7 Major Prince Arenberg, the Austrian Military Attaché in St. Petersburg, was robbed and murdered.

"Your Eminence will allow me a few words about what are called the affairs of Council. The most important part of the episcopate does not go to the sitting to-day.

"If on the question of infallibility I declare myself entirely in agreement with the work of Cardon, I would yet have voted *non placet*, since the question is not opportune and was not treated *conciliariter*, and I will have neither part nor lot in the guilt of this unhappy measure, which has caused so many souls to stumble in the faith.

"But further, the Council is no longer a council. We may admit that it was convened *legaliter*, but from the moment when the *methodus*, &c., was imposed upon us, the *conciliar* composition of this unhappy assembly was at an end. But the worst has yet to come, for it was ceremoniously announced in the *Giornale di Roma* (Saturday, July 16) that 'the Council was neither suspended nor prorogued.' In the meantime and up to November some sittings were held now and then with some Jesuitical bishops as representatives of the episcopate. One can imagine what was decided upon in these sittings; perhaps the infallibility of the Jesuits and all their wiles was discussed, at any rate such matters as no one would have dared to lay before the episcopate here present. This contingency I beg you to keep in view and to bring it before your episcopal brethren for consideration, so that when they return to their dioceses they may be prepared and decided."

So much for my letter to Cardinal Schwarzenberg. It is sad enough that one has to speak so, but I am pierced in the innermost depths of my soul with such intense pain that I could hardly bear it if I had not the consolation of the Holy Mass. And the poor Pope who, as Visconti said to me only yesterday, now *diventato schiavo dei Gesuiti come mai Papa lo fù.*

The outbreak of war brought the Prince in July 1870 to Munich to take part in the deliberations of the Upper Chamber.

On July 18 the Bavarian Government introduced into the Chamber of Deputies a Bill whereby, "in case war should prove unavoidable," an immediate and extraordinary vote of credit of 5,600,000 gulden was provided for the fitting out of the Army. Furthermore, it was arranged that for the upkeep of the war budget during the necessary time there should be raised whatever was needed over and above the expenditure required in times of peace. On July 19 the Bill was passed by 101 votes to 47. On July 20 the Upper House met in secret session at eleven o'clock, and afterwards held a public sitting at twelve. In the former it was decided to pass the Bill in the public sitting without discussion. The First President of the Consistory, von Harless, had expressed his desire to speak at the public sitting, but afterwards withdrew his request. The Bill was then passed unanimously.

Journal.

MUNICH, *July* 20, 1870.

We first had a private sitting in which it was decided to adopt the proposals without discussion. Except for Thüngen and Pranckh, only Bomhard and Harless spoke. The latter desired to speak in the public sitting because — why he did not know — doubts had been entertained in the country as to his vote. I got up and said that that arose from his attitude on the Debate on the Address. My speech was conceived in such a manner that Harless afterwards pressed my hand warmly. I had really only spoken to prove that I *could* speak, as I had been silent for so long. After the sitting I went away with the War Minister, to whom I said that if he should want me he was to send for me. He said he thought that I should be very useful in the negotiations with Bismarck when it came to concluding peace. The danger of my again having to take office is for the moment removed. The telegrams which originated with Völderndorff and Schanzenbach were occasioned by the unrest of the German party on the one hand, and by the desire of others on personal grounds to see me in office again. It was no serious question of it in the Cabinet; they can see there that at present it would not do. Should Bray's health not hold out, the portfolio of Foreign Affairs would be entrusted to Lutz, who for years has been striving to obtain Pfordten's position and reach the omnipotence of the Premiership. Eisenhart is entirely under his influence. At the moment I should only have had to hold up my finger to be a Minister again; but I had to let it go if only for the good of the cause. Moreover, I should not like to be he who will have to bear the responsibility for what will happen to Bavaria in the next few months. If we win, I fear that the tide of German feeling will become so overwhelming that the Government will be forced to enter the Northern Confederation.

MUNICH, *July* 22, 1870.

The sitting of the Chamber of Deputies of the 19th was, for me, of much greater importance than I at first believed, and I may thank God that the Government's proposal was accepted. Had neutrality been decided on instead of the war vote, the entire

Cabinet would have resigned. Then I should certainly have been called upon to form a new Ministry. This could only have been decidedly progressive, would have dissolved the Chamber, suspended the Constitution, declared a state of siege, and begun the war. That would have been a very dangerous experiment, in which I should have risked my neck. For if things had gone badly and the French been victorious, I should have had the same jingoes, who want the war, against me, and I should have been driven out in disgrace; but had we been successful, Bavaria would have gained little. There was, indeed, little to gain. Things are now moving; if Bray retires now, which, thank God, is not to be expected, the Minister can do nothing else but proceed quietly in the direction that has been begun.

Yesterday there were many rumours here of the threatening attitude of Austria. These were rendered more probable by the news which Quadt brought with him from Paris, which described Metternich's activity as very warlike. I went to see Döllinger yesterday and requested him to endeavour to get the Archbishop to exercise a pacifying influence over the clergy, so that they, now that a decision has been arrived at, should no longer incite our soldiers. He advised me to go to Haneburg,* which I did. Haneburg agreed with my views and promised me to speak with the Archbishop. These inflammatory attacks have no sense now. The mobilisation of the Bavarian Army is being rapidly pushed forward. If we had only good rifles all would be well.

The Duke of Augustenberg is here in order to place himself at the King's disposition. I go with him to-day to see Pranckh.

MUNICH, *July* 26, 1870.

Back from Schillingsfürst yesterday. On the way saw many soldiers coming in to their regiments. The Franconians generally go merrily. The peasant says: "The war is necessary, or we shall have no rest! The wretched snivelling Napoleon must be driven out, then things will be better." In some places, even in Schillingsfürst, the Catholic clergy, under the influence of the "Volksbote," is still hostile. In Treuchtlingen a parson is said to have first had his ears boxed by a non-commissioned officer, and then to have been arrested on this account. Since notice has been given that such incitement will be treated by military law and punished with death, the gentlemen have shown some prudence. I spoke with Berchem this morning about his attitude at headquarters. I advised him to hold to the white and blue (the Bavarian colours) ticket, to repress his progressive sympathies, first, on account of his relations to Prince Leopold, and secondly, in the interests of Bavaria. We must hold fast to our views so that the *status quo* may be maintained even after the war. If they want us in the Northern Confederation they must say so, then is the time for us to make our conditions. The question depends on the outcome of the war and the success of the Bavarian arms. If the Bavarians do badly, the feeling in the country will become quite progressive. If they do well, the national consciousness of the Bavarians will obtain greater hold and power, and popular opinion inclines towards maintaining our independence.

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* At that time Abbot of St. Boniface in Munich, later Bishop of Spires.

AUSSEE, *July* 30, 1870.

On Wednesday morning at eleven o'clock I went to the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein in order to be with him in the streets along which the Crown Prince was to pass. The Schützenstrasse, the square in front of the station, and the neighbouring squares were all full of people. Scarcely had we taken up our position before the Sterngarten, when in the station gateway appeared the escort of cuirassiers followed by the carriage in which was seated the King, with the Crown Prince of Prussia and Prince Otto. The public gave them a good welcome and cried hurrah, but not too warmly. The lower classes, workmen and so on, were principally represented, and these in Munich are not particularly enthusiastic about the war, nor very inclined to shout "*Hoch!*" to a Prussian Prince. At midday the Crown Prince received the generals, the chief magistrate, and others, and at five o'clock there was a *dîner de famille*. I was summoned to meet the Prince afterwards, and went, therefore, at six o'clock to the Residence. There I found Count Usedom, with whom I conversed for about an hour, till the Crown Prince, accompanied by the King and Prince Otto, appeared. They left him at the door and he took me with him into his writing-room. He at once began with the words, "Well, you were right." I did not know to what the Crown Prince (whom I had not seen in Berlin) referred, so he told me that the Crown Princess had mentioned to him that in my conversation with her at the beginning of May, I had expressed fears of the warlike intentions of the French. He then spoke about the war, which, he said, would be a "war to the knife"; he did not conceal the dangers, and added a remark which impressed me most agreeably, since it bore witness of great self-confidence. He said: "The Emperor (of the French) is terribly blind to begin this war." He further regretted that we, even if we were victorious, could gain little, since it was difficult to say in what way affairs in France would have to be shaped to ensure a lasting peace. He then spoke about Austria, which he hoped would remain neutral, and said: "Your brother, according to our information, is particularly desirous for war. I am sorry; I like your brother very much. What does Austria want? We shall not disturb Austria." I replied that the Austrians feared that, if in consequence of this war Germany should unite, their German provinces would gravitate towards Germany, and Austria's composition might be thereby endangered. To that he suggested that we might find a *modus vivendi* which would obviate this danger. It seemed to me as if he hinted at a reform of the composition of the North German Confederation in a more federal sense. But as he had not much time, we had to break off our conversation, and he dismissed me with the hope that we should meet again in high spirits.

I then drove home to change, and hurried to the theatre. The play had already begun; the reception of the King and his guest is said to have been most brilliant, and the prologue to have left nothing to be desired. The piece, *Wallenstein's Lager*, was soon over. As the curtain fell, there were universal shouts of "Bravo!" and hurrahs and clapping. The Crown Prince came to the front of the Royal box and bowed to each side. Then the curtain went up again and Kindermann sang an additional verse to the last song, about the "Free Rhine," and so on. Thereupon there was again and again indescribable enthusiasm and hurrahing. In the night the Crown Prince went on to Stuttgart, and I made my arrangements for departure for Thursday evening. At half-past eight I drove with Fritz Holnstein, who, since he became a Bavarian general, is going home again for a few days, to Lambach and thence by way of Gmünden to Ischl.

From letters of the CARDINAL.

ROME, *August* 4, 1870.

. . . In the meantime war has broken out, and I am continually with you, and pray God and have prayers said that He may soon give the victory to the right cause. I would gladly come myself to give aid to the wounded and dying on the field of battle. For the present it is impossible here, owing to political considerations.

TIVOLI, *August* 9, 1870.

I could not bear to watch the proceedings in Rome any longer. The situation of the Papal State depends now* exclusively on Italy and up to the present all is quiet. All sorts of forecasts and projects are being made. I set my hopes on God that He will protect His Church. If, as some timorous ones believe, there should be real danger, the misfortune would be a punishment of God, and I shall then have the same fate as the others. . . . As for the well-known article,† I see I am unintentionally mentioned in it. I have not seen the Holy Father since June 21, still less written to him; I could, therefore, have sent in no manifesto either *di mente* or *di cuore.* In so far as infallibility is especially concerned, I have ever adhered to what was taught me in the school of San Apollinare, now more than twenty-two years ago: *Papam ex cathedra loquentem esse infallibilem.* For my own part, I know nothing further of interpretations so far as the so-called Council is concerned, nor did it need my interpretations. I have avoided speaking about the Council and its validity, and only hold to my views about infallibility. After July 18 I received from Monsignore Cenni, private secretary of the Pope, well known to you and an old friend of mine, a few lines in which he thanks me in the name of the Pope for a cigarette-holder which I had sent him. He says: "*Voleva dir Le queste parole in San Pietro il giorno di* 18 *Luglio sperando trovare Vostra Eminenza, ma rimasi deluso.*" I wrote a few words of thanks in reply to his letter and said: "*Aveva ragione d'aspettarmi in San Pietro quel giorno, ma era troppo afflitto ed adolorato per causa che sarebbe troppo lungo a raccontare e poi le forze fisiche pure non mi assisterano. Del resto tutto il mondo sa, ch' io ho creduto, credo e col adjuto di Dio crederò sempre nell' Infallibilitâ del Papa.*" Nothing else. There is nothing here about the Council and dogmatic constitution, nor did I even write that to the Pope, but only to Monsignore Cenni, without in the least instructing him to communicate it to his Holiness. So long as I am unconvinced of the validity of the Council, so long can I do no more, since I shall yet have to give an account to God, and I would not get into an unpleasant situation.

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* Since the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome.

† An article in the *Unità Cattolica* of July 27 announced that Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe and three other cardinals — Schwarzenberg, Rauscher and Matthieu — who had been absent from the sitting of July 18, had personally declared to the Pope their entire and free agreement with the decision.

Journal.

MUNICH, *August* 15, 1870.

Yesterday morning at half-past five arrival in Munich. On alighting I noticed in the open space in front of the waiting-rooms a troop of men in mufti with military caps. I thought at first they were recruits, but Fritz * pointed out that they were ambulance men off to the seat of war. I then looked at the men more closely, and found that they were all personages well known to me from the town — scholars, clerks, &c. — who wore on cap and sleeve the Red Cross. Professor Carrière was among them, and was especially noticeable in his semi-military rig-out. Gustav Castell considers this expedition organised by young Schulze very unpractical, but it is a proof of the irresistible desire pervading all classes of the population to take part in some way or another in the great struggle. At midday two captured cannon were brought before the Residence. They were left there all day, and I pushed my way through the crowd and examined them. They are not breech-loaders, which the French do not possess, but are rifled. For the rest, they looked rather poor. The question of "afterwards" is much discussed in private. Yesterday evening I found Mohl, Werthern, and Usedom in the Café National. They were all very displeased with Bray, and Werthern maintains that in my time there had existed a more unreserved intercourse with the Ambassadors than to-day. I believe that Bray knows nothing, but acts as if he were merely reserved. That Bavarian separatism will be rather strengthened by the war seems to me somewhat probable. The pleasure will not, however, be of long duration.

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* Prince Wittgenstein.

MUNICH, *August* 17, 1870.

Spoke yesterday morning with Völderndorff on the question of the proposals for the constitution. Tauffkirchen's project is well meant, but unpractical. Tauffkirchen has now gone to the Palatinate to act in the interests of the Red Cross Society, and with Görtz to put a stop to many irregularities.

At eleven o'clock I went to the Club and to the South German Correspondence Bureau, and received news of the fighting before Metz. At half-past one lunch at Castell's, where I found Schanzenbach, who gave us details of the death of his brother-in-law, Major von Schlichtegroll. He fell in an attack at Wörth, struck by a bullet in the stomach, and died immediately. The Bavarians lost many men there.

Schanzenbach then took us to various hospitals. Excellent are the hut hospitals on the American model. They are wooden buildings open on one side, which may be closed with sail-cloth. The beds are placed against the wall; they have each two pillows, woollen blankets, slippers underneath, everything very cleanly; three Sisters of Mercy are on duty. No wounded will come in till to-day. In the military hospital in the Müllerstrasse, to which we then drove, we found many wounded French, Bavarians, and Prussians. The lazaret is dirty, and doubtless liable to engender pyæmia. Ventilation is bad, and the staff insufficient. A part of the wounded are to be transferred to the huts. I spoke with some Frenchmen, who are all quite good-natured-looking men. On the other hand, the Turcos produced a disagreeable impression. They are partly blacks, partly Arabs, partly a heterogeneous yellow crowd. One black, father of a family, was sent into the Army by his master in place of his son, and was in a deplorable condition. A sergeant-major seemed an educated man. None of the wounds are dangerous, yet Schanzenbach is afraid that pyæmia will break out in this hospital also. A Prussian who died yesterday had only a slight wound. I confess that the war is here shown in its saddest form, and when I went in the afternoon to a patriotic garden party in the Zoological Gardens the impression remained with me. All these worthy citizens with their roast veal and beer, sitting under flags and crying "Hurrah!" were most repellent to me, and with the noise of the song *Die Wacht am Rhein* was mingled the accents of the wounded Frenchman, whom I had found lying on the grass in the hospital garden crying, "*Mon Dieu! mon Dieu!*" The *fête* was, moreover, splendidly got up. Gilt oak-leaves served as entrance tokens, which the patriots pinned on themselves like Orders. The untiring Knorr * had organised the affair. I was often saluted, and the hope was expressed that now I should soon be Minister again, and bring Germany into being. The good folk do not dream of the difficulties.

MUNICH, *August* 17, 1870.

To-day Barth and Deputy Stauffenberg were with me. The latter had just come back from Berlin, and reported his impressions. He says that they there consider it a matter of course that the German Empire should come into being. "They" refers to his conversations with Könneritz, the Darmstadt Court politician, and the National Liberal party. They imagine there that the *élan patriotique* will be so strong as to cause us to make proposals for the constitution of the German Empire. They have no conception yet of the reactionary current here. The title of German Emperor seems specially aimed at. We took counsel, therefore, what was to be done. To stir up an agitation here seems inexpedient, for that would at once call forth a numerically stronger Ultramontane counter-agitation. At all events, sympathy might be found even in the Ultramontane camp for a National Assembly with powers to draw up a constitution, but there was still time for that. For the present, we thought it best to warn influential persons here against the dangers of an anti-national policy, and in Berlin first to work towards producing an understanding between the German Governments on a constitution for Germany, and then to lay it before a Convention Parliament. The suggestion of calling together the German Princes to a conference was also mooted. I consider the last suggestion as the most fitting and most suited to work against the disruptive influence of foreign conferences — European congresses so called. It will not now be possible to forbid the German Governments to come to an understanding about their mutual relations. I doubt whether this suggestion will be very welcome to the King, but if it is proposed Bavaria can hardly stand aloof. The longer we wait the cooler will the feeling become, and the more ground will foreign intrigues gain. But I doubt whether Bismarck will wait long. He has doubtless made his plan, which is all the more probable because he has shut himself up in headquarters away from all communication with other men.

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* Julius Knorr, proprietor of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten.*

MUNICH, *August* 19, 1870.

Yesterday at every street corner was posted up the news of the battle on the 16th at Metz, or Mars La Tour, or whatever it should be called, and was much discussed. It is thought that the French are cut off from their line of retreat. There will, therefore, soon be a life or death battle. If the French lose this also, there only remains the corps at Châlons, and the supposititious army in the South of France. It is to be hoped that peace will then be made.

The nearer we get to the end of the campaign, the busier do politicians become with the subsequent shaping of Germany. It is found necessary to even now make plain what position in Germany Bavaria is to strive for, so that the Government may not be forced by the national movement to unfavourable conditions. It is maintained that the anti-Prussian feeling in the Old Bavarian provinces becomes weaker and weaker.

To-day three more cannon and a *mitrailleuse* were exhibited before the Residence. They were also captured at Wörth. The *mitrailleuse* looks at a distance like a cannon. Behind is the handle, and in front, at the muzzle, one sees the barrels. I could not see the thing more closely as a large crowd of people were pressing round it.

At Ingolstadt there are already four thousand French prisoners. If more come they don't know where they will put them. The War Minister will certainly have to put them in camp on the Lechfeld.

The public believes I am going to become Prime Minister again. The Cabinet, however, don't think of retiring. Bray, too, wants to retain office and give the post in Vienna to Schrenck. Schlör was horrified to see me appear on the horizon, since he well knew that my coming would mean his going. Holnstein sees me here with regret, since he looks upon himself as the future Ministerial President. It may well be imagined how much intriguing is going on now. Fortunately the King is in Berg, unapproachable now as before, and will endeavour to preserve his seclusion till he is forced by future conditions to make a change.

It seems that I shall be able for the present to be at peace. I am taking no steps; when they need me, they must come for me, and then I will impose my conditions.

MUNICH, *August* 20, 1870.

Yesterday at the Club there was great excitement over the victory at Rezonville. I went at once to the telegraph office to send on the good news. With it the war seems to be near its end. On the way home I met Werthern. He told me that Bray had begged him already before the declaration of war to lay down conditions in Berlin by which Bavaria should participate in the constitutional movements, and should have the veto in the Customs Union and the revision of the alliance treaties. But Bismarck had written to him that he took no pleasure in conjectural politics, and had no time for newspaper articles. After the beginning of the war, too, Bray had returned to the matter, but Bismarck had done nothing but refer to a despatch, in which he had stated his views to Schweinitz on the attitude of Prussia to South Germany. In this despatch he asseverated that Prussia had no idea of annexation, and left the South German States a free hand. But this is just our danger. Whereas the Crown Prince seemed to be still open to the idea of a reform of the constitution of the union on a federal basis, it becomes to me, judging from all reports that I hear, ever clearer that after the war Bismarck will give us the alternative as before, of either simply entering the German Empire or remaining outside. He would never entertain the idea of altering for our sake the Constitution of the North German or *German* Federation, which only goes to prove what I said as early as August 1866. *Then* Pfordten, instead of securing the alliance conventions, might have achieved the entrance into a German Federation, and that under conditions which would have rendered our independence more lasting than the existing North German Federal Constitution allowed one to expect. These facts also explain the leaning to Austria which is manifest in Government circles here. Bray is said to have said to a Count Stadion: "You were very foolish in Austria not at once to declare war on us when we joined with Prussia." So declares W.

Whether people here will be willing to enter on a straightforward German policy and join Germany on condition of surrendering of part of our independence, imposing certain conditions in exchange, that I doubt. If I know the present Ministers here, they will await events, and then, under the pressure of them, do everything that is expected of them.

MUNICH, *August* 21, 1870.

Yesterday I went for a walk with Völderndorff, with whom I discussed the question of the treaty of peace and a basis for German inter-relations. He considers that Austrian influence has been making itself much felt here again, and that thence had sprung the phrase, "No annexation of French territory," and that this warning would be more willingly heeded here since the refusal of territorial expansion would, it was hoped, increase the chances of keeping intact Bavarian "independence."

He sees in a change of ministry the only means of keeping Bavaria out of this dangerous policy, and advised me, therefore, to speak to Eisenhart. I felt a certain diffidence in approaching influential people, since I start from the principle that I must be sent for if I am needed, but I went to Eisenhart to get information; not finding him, however, I spoke to Barth in Marquard's presence. The latter had letters from Baden, Berlin, and Stuttgart. These correspondents of his party all argued from the hypothesis based on the fact of the hasty decisions of the Bavarian Cabinet that in Bavaria a great change of feeling in the direction of union had taken place, consequently they believed that the initiation of a German nationalist movement might be left to Bavaria, either to the Chamber or the Government. Barth replied that this was a mistake, and at once declared himself willing to join an agitation which should have two aims in view: the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and the formation of a united Germany. For the first aim the Press will be employed, for the second a so-called pro-parliament was suggested, the which suggestion Barth — in my opinion rightly — refused to entertain; but on the other hand, in the name of his party, declared himself agreeable to a convocation of German delegates in Berlin. Barth declared that this agitation would assume great dimensions, and only when the Bavarian Government found itself in difficulties would it be necessary to look round for help. Till then he advised me to hold aloof. When the moment came when I should become necessary, then I might come forward and impose conditions that would place my ministerial activity on a sound basis.

I, too, share this view, and have, therefore, decided to do nothing for the present till that agitation shall have borne fruit.

Munich, *August* 28, 1870.

To-day Barth and Professor Marquardsen were here. The latter has been in France, in the Palatinate and in Heidelberg. He says that the feeling of the Bavarian soldiers has become quite pro-Prussian, and that the Army will begin a great propagandist movement for the union with North Germany when it returns. The officers are particularly convinced of the necessity for greater unity in army organisation. Of Heidelberg he stated that there (as in all Baden) the feeling was unconditionally for entrance into the North German Confederation. Some, namely, bureaucrats, desired the aggrandisement of Baden by the addition of Alsace-Lorraine and the formation of a kingdom of Alemannia. When Marquardsen proposed to some gentlemen in Heidelberg to cede Heidelberg and Mannheim to Bavaria in exchange, the project met with general opposition. This supposititious consequence and the dangers — or at any rate the difficulties — which threaten the Government from such an aggrandisement seem to incline the greater part of the Liberals and the Government to look no longer with favour on the acquisition of Alsace. They are more in favour of the idea that the newly acquired territory should become German Imperial territory. Marquardsen confirmed the previous reports, which tended to show that a decentralisation and a reform of the Constitution of the North German Confederation in the direction of federalism was not to be expected. Barth added that this could be the less expected from Bismarck since the constitution of the North German Federation had proved itself in the present crisis. All that was to be hoped for was certain concessions to Bavaria as he had proposed in his "preliminary convention." Würtemberg would follow us and endeavour to obtain something further also. The question was whether one should work the King first, who was reported to have national sympathies, or whether they should begin with the agitation. I replied that the Nationalist sympathies of the King did not seem to me strong enough to be relied upon. The King would do more and come to a decision more readily when he saw the necessity in consequence of the adhesion of Baden and Hesse and of the national movement.

We spoke, too, about the black, red, and gold flag, from which it appeared that the gentlemen placed little weight thereon, though they declared that it would be wise if Prussia accepted the colours. Finally Barth said he would notify me of the meetings at Junemanns * in case I wished to take part in them. For the present, however, there was nothing pressing and I might safely go away for a fortnight. But if peace became imminent and questions of the internal constitution of Germany came up for discussion my presence was necessary.

Völderndorff told me just now that Eisenhart had altered his views and also considered a change of ministry necessary. Völderndorff declares now as formerly that that is unavoidable. There are people who want Tauffkirchen as Ministerial President. The King will not consent, yet Völderndorff thinks that it would not be possible to pass him over in a change of Ministry. His following is great here and it is unwise to have him as an enemy. Barth, too, is not to be left out, or Stauffenberg either. The main clause of the programme must be the non-entry into the North German Confederation and the independence of Bavaria, but a remodelling of Germany, that is, an extension of the North German Confederation to the whole of Germany, and a reservation of the particular points which have already been under discussion.

MUNICH, *August* 29, 1870.

Völderndorff declared to-day that if I did not come back now while everything was still in movement I might later be pushed on one side. I told him and Barth, who agrees with me, that I would rather not come back at all than with half measures, that is, with concessions to the King in persons and things. The King is not yet ripe for decisions respecting German unity. Many things are preparing, however. Prince Luitpold is commissioned to make inquiries here as to Bavaria's future attitude towards Germany. We shall have, therefore, to come to a decision here. The Germanophile party is working for my return. I don't think it would be expedient for me to receive the mandate from Bray to conduct the peace deliberations. Whatever I might obtain would be sure to be criticised. It seems to me that the force of circumstances would decide the peace deliberations and the formation of Germany, and not the attitude of a single negotiator. If I am necessary concessions will be made to *me;* if I am not necessary I must endure the caprices of the King — which I have no desire to do.

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* A wine-restaurant.

MUNICH, *September* 29, 1870.

I returned to Munich yesterday after an absence of several weeks. During the first twenty-four hours I have been bestirring myself to learn something certain from among all the contradictory reports on the German Constitution question. The situation seems to be as follows. In reply to an evident desire entertained at general headquarters that Bavaria should make proposals in respect to the German Constitution question, Bray desired that Delbrück should pass through Munich on his way back from France. Delbrück came here therefore a few days ago, and negotiations between him and the Ministers were instituted, at which Mittnacht was also present, and the result formulated in a so-called minute. It seems, as far as I can learn for the moment, that the Bavarian Government began with the project of a "wider confederation between the North German Confederation and the South German States," which project had been already discussed in a meeting of Ministerial delegates under my presidency in the early part of 1867, but had again been set aside because Prussia upset our plans by a sudden renewal of the Customs treaty "on a Parliamentary basis." They naturally went beyond this project and made greater concessions, but still held firmly to the idea of the "wider union." But how this idea is to be carried out if Baden and Würtemberg enter the North German Confederation, what *this* union is to be called, how the wider union will look and how they will fit in with one another, is not clear to me. The so-called minute Delbrück took with him and will report thereon to Bismarck. I think that negotiations will then be opened on it. The King is said to have been invited to headquarters to enter Paris thence, but of course he won't go. The wish is said to have been expressed at headquarters that he should come at the head of the German Princes in order to offer the Imperial Crown to King William, but that is not certain. I would dissuade him from doing so, and I have thus informed Eisenhart. That would make him the laughing-stock of all Europe, unless in exchange for this demonstration he could get some real gain, for example, some positive concession or other. As a return for this, he might finally consent to play this comedy.

Barth and Marquardsen were just now here. They gave me information about their negotiations with Lasker and Bennigsen.

These agree to concede to Bavaria the malt tax, railways, and telegraph administration, and command of the army in time of peace. I shall have further particulars, as Barth is going to give me the minutes. The Ultramontanists will probably publish their resolution confirmed at the recent meeting of Deputies of their party not to enter the Northern Confederation. Then the Progressive party gets an opportunity of asking the Government whether it shares this policy, and if not, whether it will dissolve the House. "So that we may get ground for further agitation," said Barth and Marquardsen. The idea of the "wider confederation" is thoroughly unpractical, since Baden, at any rate, and Würtemberg probably, will enter the North German Confederation. Bismarck counts on our isolation, and reckons very shrewdly that he will be able to force us in without any concessions. In the meanwhile he vouchsafes the Bavarian Ministers the harmless pleasure of thinking out unpractical schemes, which he will finally refuse, especially if, as heretofore, no persons with definite mandates and instructions are sent to headquarters and only Sauer and Tauffkirchen act without mandates. Bray and Lutz ought to go themselves; but they don't want to. If the King goes to headquarters, which is very doubtful, I shall endeavour to go too.

MUNICH, *October* 17, 1870.

Since Delbrück left here, the situation does not seem to have changed much. No answer to the proposals of the Bavarian Government has yet arrived.

But Bismarck does not seem to be quite pleased with those proposals. If the answer comes, Barth, to whom I spoke to-day, thinks that a regular project will be worked out, agreed to by the Governments, and then submitted in Berlin to the Reichstag, and here and in the other German States to the Chambers. The Government intends to reassemble the old Chamber of Deputies. I pointed out to Barth that this arose from the desire on the part of the Ministers to cause the Chambers to raise difficulties against their own project in order then to proclaim that people had had their own way or that the Chambers had caused the Ministers so to modify the whole that Prussia could no longer accept and so consequently we stood alone. Barth replied that that was very possible, but that his party would be watchful and in that case would demand the dissolution of the Chamber. The power of the facts would become so strong that petty intrigues would go to pieces on it. It is possible that he is right, but I fear that between Schlör, Lutz, and the Ultramontane Chamber still many an intrigue will be woven. The Diet is to meet in the middle of November. The Ministers hope to come to an understanding with the Ultramontanists. They want to settle the Budget for 1871.

October 18.

It seems now to be fixed that Bray and Pranckh go to headquarters in order to discuss the German Constitution question. They are said to be taking with them an autograph letter of the King in which the Imperial title is offered to the King of Prussia. The King does everything if he is only left quietly in Berg; for the rest they do not seem to be by any means clear about the details of the future German Constitution. Werthern and the administration of the *Neueste Nachrichten* are pressing. The Ministers are doing everything merely to retain their posts. Political conviction and clear plans I find nowhere. The dynasty will be left in the lurch by the bureaucracy, merely to stand well with Prussia and by the Army in order to have a good position with their North German comrades and by the people whom the King in his inactivity ignores. Bavaria will therefore be easily drawn into the German Empire, which under the overwhelming circumstances is not to be deplored. At all events nothing else can be done; only it might be done with more dignity.

MUNICH, *November* 28, 1870.

Owing to peculiar circumstances I have been able to get exact particulars of the recent proceedings in Versailles; which I will write down here as far as I can recall them from the conversations I have had.

The following anecdote about the negotiations between Thiers and Bismarck: Bismarck complained that the French had brought barbaric nations to their help, whereupon Thiers replied that the Prussians too had called in the Uhlans, which Thiers considered also as a savage people. Bismarck took the trouble to explain to him that they were soldiers like the rest, distinguishable only by their weapons and the cut of their uniforms, but this explanation was only half believed by Thiers.

Thiers came to Versailles with the genuinely French statement that France had only agreed to treat about an armistice under the pressure of the foreign neutral Powers. To this Bismarck replied categorically that Prussia stood herself in diplomatic relations to the neutrals and did not need for this end the medium of the French Government. Thiers was asked to say simply whether or not the French Government wished to treat about an armistice, which Thiers answered in the affirmative.

In the middle of November Bismarck was very excited about the influence of Moltke, and particularly von Tresckow, on the King, since political action might thereby be paralysed. Afterwards this seems to have improved.

At that time Bismarck was very upset about Bavaria and Würtemberg. He reproached Bavaria with having given impetus to the Imperial question and of then demanding far-reaching concessions. Bray was once on the point of retiring. Prussia was particularly embarrassed by the demand for an independent army, international representation and participation in foreign politics; all points which were later conceded.

Remarkable is the disinclination of King Wilhelm to the Imperial idea. He can only with difficulty decide to break with his post and Prussian traditions. Only the reflection that military unity can be obtained, and the Conservative principles strengthened thereby, reconcile him to it. In his confidential conversations he ever came back to the statement that the acceptance of the Imperial Crown was "hateful" to him. The Crown Prince is favourable. The Bavarian Ministers seem to have bought the concessions they have obtained by the promise to persuade the King of Bavaria to propose the acceptance of the Imperial title. After that the Constitution would be changed and in the place of the Federal Council (*Bundesrat*), for instance, would be a *Reichsrat* (Imperial Council).

Archbishop Ledochowski has really had a mandate from the Pope. He was to obtain a protest from Prussia against the occupation of Rome, and to request a habitat for the Pope in the Prussian dominions. Bismarck and the King were unfavourable to the protest. The King remarked to the Archbishop that as a Protestant King he could not take the lead in a protest, but if the Catholic Powers did so, Prussia would consider whether she should join in this step. As for the habitat, the King was unfavourable, Bismarck favourable. Bismarck only looked at the political advantage; he underestimates the influence which the presence of the Pope would have on the preservation of religious freedom and considers he can use the Pope for his own ends. The King, on the other hand, fears the complications which might ensue, and I think rightly. Ledochowski went away without accomplishing his end. It is a pleasant story that Bismarck said to him, among other things, that he could not decide whether temporal power was necessary, that the infallible Pope must decide, so the Pope must first say what was to be contained in the protest.

Bismarck described the negotiations with the Bavarian Ministers as difficult, because each of them said something different, and so it was not easy to gather what the government wanted.

Saxony continues to entertain secret intentions of going back to the old union. The Crown Prince is more anti-Prussian than ever. He considered his nomination to the head of the army as a right, and hardly said a word of thanks. Weimar stands under his influence, received the idea of empire at first coldly and spoke of elective capitulation, but seems to be reconciled to the idea. Coburg wants an Upper House and reform of the Constitution.

Bismarck seems really to have had the idea for some considerable time of reinstating Napoleon. Moltke was against this. In this way I explain Bazaine's attitude, who doubtless corresponded with Bismarck till it was too late for him to break away. When Grammont said to me yesterday that Bazaine was a traitor *par ambition*, I replied: "*Il a fait de la politique au lieu de faire la guerre;*" which he admitted with the remark: "*Un soldat ne doit pas faire de la politique.*"

They seem to have gone very far in their concessions to Bavaria. The concession of an independent Army was hard for William. The Crown Prince, too, did not wish to concede as much as Bismarck, and in consequence of his conversation with the Crown Prince he had his usual *accès de bile*.

Prince Otto has been summoned by the King. He had no mission from Versailles. The King wanted to hear him, and Otto has stirred up animosity against the Imperial title, the journey and everything; when the Queen wanted to speak with the King he is said to have sent her the message: "I am not in a mood to see a Prussian Princess!"

So they vacillate between willing and not willing, between submission and old family pride, and will finally give in out of fear.

MUNICH, *November* 30, 1870.

Gelzer * told me that on his journey here he had visited Bishop Hefele in Rottenburg; he gave him the impression of a man who was mortally wounded. He was particularly depressed by the disgraceful apostasy of the German bishops, seeing that after they had pledged themselves before their departure from Rome to decide nothing about the dogma of infallibility without previously taking counsel together, they should nevertheless have submitted individually. Melchers had even denied that such an agreement had taken place.

It seems that Ketteler has played an entirely deceitful game. When one views the moral ruin, the complete lack of honour among the bishops, one shudders at the influence which the Jesuitical element in the Catholic Church can exert on human nature.

Here all the theologists have seceded. Only Döllinger, Friedrich, and Silbernagl hold firm. Huber believes that Döllinger alone will hold out.

The Parish of Mering † will perhaps give an opportunity for a wider movement among the lesser clergy. People here are very much excited about the upshot.

December 2.

According to the latest news, and particularly in consequence of a telegram from Viktor, which informs me that the acceptation of the treaty with Bavaria is doubtful and my presence necessary, I set off this afternoon for Berlin. I am only waiting for Barth to come to me to tell me his experiences in Berlin. He doubtless came back from Berlin last night. Public opinion of the Treaty of Versailles * is as yet vague. The Progressive party consider it bad, and the Ultramontanes are also working against it. If one, however, considers the consequences of non-acceptance all hesitation regarding its acceptance must disappear. If it were thrown out, the Ultramontanes alone would have the advantage. The alleged change in the feeling in the country is doubtful. If the Ultramontanes see that they can bring it to nought they will do so. If the treaty falls through and we remain isolated, the Ultramontanes will have power enough in the country to make our isolation definite and plausible to the country. The Franco-Austrian Ultramontane clique will then do its best to throw us entirely into the arms of Austria. The Jesuits act as if they hated Austria, but this is only a pretence, and will last only till they have regained the upper hand there. One must not count on the Franconian Protestant provinces. Their geographical position makes their defection impossible. But if once a wedge is driven into German unity, one cannot say how far its effects may go.

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* State Councillor Gelzer (*see* vol. i. p. 33), representing the Grand Duke of Baden, was then staying in Munich to work for the Imperial title.

† Father Renftle of Mering, near Augsburg, with the concurrence of his parish, had protested against infallibility.

BERLIN, *December* 3, 1870.

Left Munich at 5 P.M. by the Eastern Railway. Very cold journey with eight degrees of frost. In Leipzig I met Imperial Deputy Blum; we travelled together as far as Berlin. He put me *au fait* in respect of party feeling in the Reichstag about the treaty with Bavaria. He felt that as the treaty stood it could not be accepted; it would not be thrown out, but modified. I endeavoured in vain to convince him. About two o'clock I arrived at Berlin and went at once to the Reichstag; but the session was just over; the members came up to me. The German question had not yet been touched. I met Viktor on the way. Then came Lutz, who sees the special danger of modifications to consist in the fact that these would necessitate similar action on our side; he naturally shares my views as to a simple acceptance. Delbrück, whom I also met in the street, expressed his pleasure at seeing me here, and hoped that I should succeed in securing the acceptance. Soon afterwards we met Münster and Bennigsen. Both still seemed doubtful of the acceptance, so that I too became somewhat dubious. But when I came to Simson I heard better news; he believes that a great majority will vote for the acceptance without modifications. In the National Liberal party there is such confidence in Bismarck that they say he must have had very special grounds for making such great concessions to Bavaria. The people here forget that nobody was able or anxious to force Bavaria. Simson is against the Imperial title. He regards the word *Kaiser* as a derivation from Cæsar, a proper name, and therefore is opposed. He has nothing to object to the title "Empire" (*Reich*), but will conceal his sympathy or antipathy. In the evening I spoke to Friedenthal, who also declares himself in favour of acceptance of the treaties.

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* Concluded on November 23.

To-day at one o'clock there was a sectional meeting of the Free Conservatives, to which I was invited. There I found Bethusy, Friedenthal, Münster, Pless, Frankenberg (the last just back from Versailles), and many other members of the Reichstag.

Bethusy, who was in the chair, addressed a few introductory remarks to the meeting, and then in the name of the meeting called on me to explain our attitude towards the treaty. I said in a few words that if the treaty were thrown out, the Ultramontane majority in Bavaria would gladly accept; but if modifications were introduced others would be made by us too, and then the whole thing would be in the air. Consequently I advised simple acceptance. The treaties certainly left much to be desired, but this was inevitable with a badly drawn compilation, when at Frankfurt and Erfurt no result had been achieved with the most perfect drafting. I therefore begged the gentlemen to ask me questions if they wished for information.

Bethusy then asked me if I could give any particulars about the report that the King of Bavaria had offered the Imperial Crown to the King of Prussia, for this would be of great weight in the deliberations on the acceptance.

I answered that I had neither spoken with the King nor yet with the Ministers about this, and could therefore give them no authentic information, but that I believed the report to be correct. This produced a great impression and removed all doubts. Bethusy thought that the Reichstag, in the debate, might modify the draft upon the question of titles. I advised to the contrary, as did Friedenthal. Then ensued a conversation between Münster and myself upon the question whether, in cases when after the passing of a Bill by the Reichstag it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Bavarian Government, it would be necessary also to obtain the consent of the Bavarian Chambers. I answered in the negative, but advised that this matter should not be further discussed.

Finally, a motion of the Conservatives (drawn up by Blankenburg) was read, in which it was proposed, after the acceptance of the Constitution, to memorialise the Federal Council in favour of founding a House of States. This proposal found no favour with the Free Conservatives. They will now only accept what is offered and reserve all modifications till the time when the Constitution will yet have to come up for revision. The question of the Imperial title introduces this stage of the proceedings.

In a private conversation Münster told me of his stay in

England. There he had spoken with many statesmen, and said that public opinion in England was delighted with the defeat of the French. The *Standard*, which was writing against Prussia, had been bought by the Duke of Cambridge and his Conservative friends.

The English statesmen advise before everything the establishment of a monarchy, and the rejection of the republican form of *President* of the federation.

I saw Perglas for a moment. He is very much upset, complains as usual that he has not been placed *au courant* with the deviations of the Ministry in Munich. He has no doubt of the acceptance by the Reichstag and considered the displeasure of the National Liberals to be merely bluff.

Through Pless and Frankenberg I heard from Versailles that there is no sign of the end yet. Sickness in the army of investment increases. They are quarrelling at headquarters as to whether they shall bombard or not, but for the present, however, the war munitions are not quite complete.

December 5.

To-day at half-past eleven with the Queen in "morning dress." She spoke very feelingly about the long duration of the war, then about the Catholic question. The apostasy of the German bishops and the business arising from Roman intrigue seems to have much disturbed her good opinion of Catholicism. I told her of Hefele, and then of the Mering incident.

Then to the Reichstag, where Schulze-Delitzsch spoke against the treaty. Delbrück's reading of the letter of the King of Bavaria produced a great impression, nevertheless the treatment * of this great and momentous event has been considered petty. Windthorst's speech was, it seemed, intended to incite his Munich friends against the treaty. Lasker answered him very much to the point. His criticism of the Bavarian Treaty was quite correct. Dinner at the Queen's, where Lutz was present.

In the evening at the Woltersdorff Theatre, where *Wir Barbaren* was given, a very appropriate play for this moment. The Bavarians play no particularly brilliant *rôle*. On every hand, the way in which Bavaria has allowed herself to be forced into the confederation is a subject for jest. Had we done earlier and with *éclat* what we are now forced to do, we should have gained the respect of the whole world, whereas now we are laughed to scorn.

BERLIN, *December* 8, 1870.

Yesterday I went to the Crown Princess about half-past eleven. Viktor and I had been invited to luncheon. The

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* Deputy Friedenthal, in agreement with the Government, introduced the subject of the Imperial title, whereupon Delbrück read the letter of the King of Bavaria.

Crown Princess received us on the stairs and led us to a gallery in which were war pictures. It was so cold there that I had to make some effort to keep my teeth from chattering. Princess Alice of Hesse then came in, and we went to lunch. The conversation turned principally upon the questions of the day. The Crown Princess said that she did not know how the discussion upon the title of *Kaiser* was proceeding, and I was able to assure her that the adoption of the convention at Versailles was the less doubtful as the document of the King of Bavaria had been there drawn up. She was very dissatisfied about the convention with Bavaria, but listened attentively to my defence of the special nature and justification of the Bavarian claims. It seemed to me that she and the Princess Alice did not care to recognise this preference shown to other German dynasties. Even with Saxony they were not satisfied. They are apparently enthusiastic upon the idea of a united empire without any exception, and do not like the proposal of federation. There was much discussion upon the King of Bavaria, and the Crown Princess recommended the elder daughter of Prince Friedrich Karl as an excellent wife for the King. This Princess happened to come in after luncheon. She is a pretty, gentle-looking girl of fifteen years.* Whether she would have the necessary energy to influence the King seems a doubtful matter.

In the evening in the Casino I met a member of the Prussian Embassy, by name von Holstein,† who told me stories of sport in the American prairies. He said that an expedition for that purpose could be carried out in three months.

Among the papers in the country house of Rouher, a report by Cadore has been discovered in which it was stated that any hopes of Bavarian co-operation in a war against Prussia must depend upon my previous expulsion from the Ministry. It is certainly a most honourable testimonial to my political career.‡

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* Princess Elisabeth, born February 8, 1857, afterwards Grand Duchess by hereditary right of Oldenburg, had not completed her fourteenth year at that time.

† He had retired a short time before from his office of Effective Privy Councillor and Director of the Political Section of the Foreign Office.

‡ This affair is described in greater detail in the *Kölnischen Zeitung* of October 21, 1900, as follows: "At that time (1870), upon an estate belonging to the French Minister Rouher, the so-called Vice-Emperor, papers were found by German soldiers, including despatch-books belonging to the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs. These had probably been sent to Rouher to provide material for parliamentary speeches or for other purposes, and had then been forgotten. One of these books contains reports upon German affairs for the year 1866-67, including a condensed despatch of the French Ambassador in Munich, the Marquis of Cadore, in which two conversations were reproduced held by Cadore, immediately upon his entry into office, first with King Ludwig and then with Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe, who at that time had been appointed President of the Bavarian Ministry (December 31, 1866). Cadore, a naval officer who had risen through patronage, related that upon his first conversation with King Ludwig he turned the talk, with a bluntness rather naval than

This evening I met Roggenbach, who has just returned from Versailles in order to support the proposed convention in the Imperial Diet. He says he does not understand the terms of the convention, and that the present opportunity should be seized, as there is not likely to be another King of Bavaria who would offer the Imperial Crown elsewhere because he suffered from toothache. Bismarck seems to have spoken somewhat contemptuously of Holnstein's work. I agree with Roggenbach that we should never be able to forgive ourselves if we allowed the moment for a final union in Germany to pass without availing ourselves of the opportunity. He urged the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and asserted that the Crown Princess was not against it; but he insisted that the frontier line must include the Vosges on account of the coal-mines of Mülhausen. He considers the cession of the district of Hagenau to Bavaria as impossible.* With regard to the war, he thought that we should not be content with the mere capitulation of Paris, but should also press at the same time for the conclusion of preliminaries of peace. He objects to any armistice. I hear that the title of the King of Prussia is to be "King of Prussia, Emperor of Germany."

MUNICH, *December* 14, 1870.

The Minister of War has invited me to pay him a visit. He seemed to be anxious to justify himself to me with regard to the convention of Versailles. He told me to-day when I reached him that he had at first much difficulty in coming to an agreement with Roon. Pranckh asserted that he could not modify his views to suit the special needs of Baden and Hesse. Roon

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diplomatic, upon the war of 1866, which had been disastrous to Bavaria, and directly asked the King what position Bavaria would take up in the event of a war between France and Prussia. Upon this question the King showed himself rather 'crushed than resigned,' and the Ambassador therefore received the impression that the King was by no means determined to support Prussia in the event of a war. Immediately afterwards the Marquis of Cadore had a conversation with Prince Hohenlohe, to whom he put the same question. After some hesitation the Prince answered that if a decision became necessary Bavaria would join the side of Prussia under any circumstances, without reference to the cause of war or to the reasons for which France might declare it. The Ambassador formulated the impressions which he had gained from this conversation as follows: if France did not wish to renounce the possibility of an alliance with Bavaria in the event of war, she must first and particularly induce the King of Bavaria to change the President of his Ministry, as a French agreement with Bavaria was not possible under Prince Hohenlohe. This document was sent to the German Emperor in due course; Prince Hohenlohe resigned his Presidency of the Bavarian Ministry on March 7, 1870 and was afterwards appointed Imperial Ambassador at Paris. It is probable that the despatch which thus became published by chance, and was so brilliant a testimony to the firm nationalism of the Prince, exercised some influence upon his appointment."

* The Bavarian Minister, Count Bray, had requested the Prince to support this project.

thereupon replied that he could not agree to a Federal Constitution, but that they could conclude an international union. Pranckh accepted this. Bismarck, however, was very dissatisfied, and induced the King, against the military party, to treat with Pranckh apart from Roon, when the latter gained the concession he required. Pranckh was very indignant concerning Holnstein's journey to Versailles. He went without the knowledge of the Ministers and without informing them of his objects.

I then learned further details upon this point from Gelzer. Holnstein had given full information to the Grand Duke of Baden upon the means by which he had induced the King to entertain the *Kaiser* idea. It appears that Holnstein went to Versailles under the pretext of enabling the King to avoid a journey. In Versailles, Holnstein opened communications with Bismarck (who does not trust him) and agreed upon the form of the letter. He then went to Hohenschwangau and informed the King that he had a secret commission for him from Bismarck "to arouse the King's curiosity," as he told the Grand Duke. When he gained an audience with the King, he persuaded him to accept the letter, and travelled back with it to Versailles.

Bray has thoroughly disgraced himself in Versailles. Before his departure he had received a *mémoire* from Völderndorff in which it was made clear to him that the question of the cession of Heidelberg and Mannheim would not be raised before the Grand Duke of Baden, as the claims of Bavaria could only be justified if the ruling family of Baden and Hochberg were regarded as of inferior dignity. Bray seems to have forgotten this and to have discussed the matter with the Grand Duke, who was naturally highly indignant, and Bray retired with his tail between his legs. His stupidity was the greater as Bismarck had previously definitely refused to entrust him with negotiations upon this question. To this occasion belongs an assertion by Roggenbach, who expressed himself somewhat contemptuously upon the capacities of the Bavarian Ministers. Würtemberg wished to have Hohenzollerns in Versailles; Darmstadt wished to cede North Hesse in return for part of the Palatinate; both States met with a decided refusal from Bismarck. The Prussians then talked about "the sale of souls, and land grabbing," but when the question of Alsace-Lorraine comes forward, they say, "the *bien* must be done."

Speech of PRINCE HOHENLOHE *in the Cabinet discussion of the Imperial Council "concerning the German Constitutional Conventions" on December* 30, 1870.

I intend to vote for the acceptance of the convention, and if I venture to justify my action by a few words, it is not with the intention of proving to you that these conventions do not infringe the independence of Bavaria. I agree with the previous speaker that the independence of Bavaria, or, in better words, the isolated position of Bavaria in Germany is more permanently shaken by this convention than it has been by any constitutional or international federation in which Bavaria has been involved since the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia. But, my lords, it seems to me that the question is not whether Bavarian independence is endangered by this convention and whether we must therefore reject it, but that the question should be formulated as follows: Shall we accept this convention notwithstanding the limitations upon our independence which it involves? This question I must answer with a decided affirmative. I base my arguments, not upon the reasons which the proposer has adduced in favour of acceptance, but upon the facts before us. But I beg of you not to misunderstand me. I am no blind worshipper of success. I think that my political past is evidence of the fact. If I, therefore, speak of the deciding power of historical facts, I refer, not merely to the great events of this year, but to the whole course of German development. It seems to me that two facts, above all others, have tended to guide German policy into new paths, to modify the position of Bavaria, as it has developed during recent centuries, and to unite the country more closely to Germany.

One of these facts is the awakened spirit of nationalism throughout the German people, and the other is the changed position of the German great Powers. When Bavaria became a kingdom in 1806 she reached the highest point of that policy which I have styled isolation, and which found its explanation, if not its justification, in the general condition of the German Empire and the absence of any national feeling. The German Federation had been tottering since the peace of Westphalia, and it finally collapsed entirely. Bavaria had, formally at least, attained full sovereignty. Yet a few years afterwards the kingdom surrendered important rights in favour of the German Federation, and the deciding motive in this case was respect for the growing sense of nationality throughout the German people. When the war of liberation had begun, it was impossible to continue the policy of the Rhine Federation. In the year 1866, after the dissolution of the German Federation, when Bavaria for the second time secured a doubtful freedom to determine her own course, the kingdom immediately hastened to sacrifice the independence she had secured in the convention of August 22, apparently guided by the idea that German nationalism would make the pursuit of any other policy impossible except that which was expressed in the convention. You also, my lords, were witnesses of a similar turning-point in Bavarian history in the autumn of 1867, when the renewal of the Customs union and the acceptance or refusal of the conventions therewith connected came before you for discussion.

The majority of you at that time could not decide to secure that economic isolation of Bavaria which would necessarily have resulted in political isolation. After serious doubts, you made your determination and voted as you did, because a non-German policy was no longer possible in a German state. When in the summer of this year the decisive moment approached and it seemed possible for the last time to enter upon a course which would have replaced Bavaria in the position of 1806, you resisted the temptations which one party placed before the Bavarian people and which are rightly termed unpatriotic. You rejected that neutrality which would have led to an alliance with France, and unanimously resolved to embark upon that course which was not only the course of honour for ourselves, but has become the path of honour and of imperishable glory for our Army. At that time a political opponent cried to me: "Now the German Empire is complete." The prophecy has been fulfilled, not, as a previous speaker has observed, because military alliance necessarily implies subordination to the power of the stronger ally; it has been fulfilled because German nationalism has become a power in this war and a force to which the preference for long-standing institutions must give way, and before which the antipathetic tendencies of the German races have disappeared.

This consciousness of nationality is no mere abstraction; it has found a practical basis in the rising power of the House of Hohenzollern. As the position of Bavaria within the German Empire resulted from the decay of the Imperial power, so was the position of Bavaria in the German alliance the result of the dualism; in the rivalry of the two great German Powers lay the reason and principle of Bavarian independence during the last fifty years. Then, in 1866, the success of the Prussian Armies broke the tie and excluded Austria from Germany, and the predominance of Prussia in Germany was no longer doubtful. Since that date Bavaria was confronted with the choice either of joining the efforts of those who wished to destroy the results of 1866 by a renewed struggle or of facing the facts as they were and attempting to secure the most favourable position for Bavarian independence.

You know, my lords, that I am of the latter opinion, and you know the efforts which the Bavarian Government has made during my tenure of office to secure this object. If these efforts have remained unsuccessful, I cannot entirely acquit my political opponents at home and abroad of all blame. The small sacrifice at the price of which union with North Germany was to be attained seemed to my political opponents at home to imply an undue limitation of our independence; my foreign opponents who were able to make their influence felt regarded this sacrifice as an infringement of the Peace of Prague.

The phrase which solved the problem at that time was the maintenance of the *status quo*, which was uttered not without some secret hope of the restoration of the *status quo ante*, that is to say, of the restoration of a condition similar to the old German Federation, and implying the overthrow of Prussia. These plans and hopes were defeated by the power of the Prussian people and Army, which our opponents underestimated, by the national spirit of Southern Germany, and finally and especially by the noble resolve made by our King in July of this year; those hopes have now been buried in the battles of the German war and in the conventions of Versailles. These conventions, however, are not the result of North German treachery or of South German weakness; they are, and I think I have demonstrated the fact, the natural result of an historical development in which neither the individual nor States of the size of Bavaria can possibly interfere.

As regards the several articles of the Convention, I do not propose a detailed consideration, the less so as I have no intention of proposing any changes in the measure or of supporting such changes if they should be brought forward. I am ready openly to admit that the value of many of those rights reserved for Bavaria herself in the convention seems to me more than doubtful. I could have wished that less stress had been laid upon securing particularism, upon maintaining special institutions and fragments of legislation for the Bavarian Government as such; I should have preferred to see more stress laid upon the participation of Bavaria as a federal member of the German community in the administration of the affairs of the Federation.

As I have said, I do not wish to criticise; on the contrary, I hasten to express my belief that the men who have brought this convention forward under great difficulties have performed a most meritorious service; for the details of the convention are overshadowed by the great achievement implied in the new foundation of the German Empire. The foundation has now been laid on which Germany may rise to a great future, and the generous initiative of our King, together with the unqualified assent of the German Princes, is a guarantee that the new German Empire will become a real and vital force. Our votes to-day are to secure that this empire will be based upon a strong central government and a free representative assembly; from henceforward the fruitless agitations of particularism will be replaced by a German policy in which we can loyally and honourably cooperate. As his Royal Highness* has justly observed, a firmly established German Empire will be able to open those permanent friendly relations with the neighbouring Empire of Austria-Hungary which are the sole guarantee for the peace of Europe; henceforward every German may pride himself in every quarter of the globe upon the fact that he is a citizen of the German Empire, an empire protecting his person and working in his interest. If these objects are attained, then, my lords, we can truly say that by voting for this convention we have helped to the accomplishment of a great object, and that the blood and tears which this war has caused have not been shed in vain.

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* A reference to the speech of Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, who spoke before the Prince rose.

Prince Bismarck *to* Prince Hohenlohe.

Versailles, *February* 12, 1871.

I fully understand, from your Highness's letter of the 3rd inst., with what energy you have helped to advance the progress of German affairs, and for the favourable conclusion of these questions the German nation owes a considerable debt of gratitude to yourself.

I shall have great pleasure in considering your Highness's recommendation of Count Marogna, and I may observe, in correction of the rumours to which you refer, that from the outset of our occupation I have always been desirous to find employment for Bavarian officials in the French Administration; if the application of this principle seems to have been somewhat restricted, the fact is due solely to the scanty number of applications which have followed repeated requests for their services.

From the Journal.

Munich, *March* 6, 1871.

A few days ago, after dining with Baron Bruck,* a long political conversation began, in which the relations of Germany and Austria were discussed. We agreed that a friendly relationship between Austria and Germany would prove highly advantageous to the peace of Europe. I took occasion to urge that a permanent constitutional union would provide a better guarantee for the position of Germany, and would enable us more easily to dispense with the Russian alliance than a mere alliance with Austria could do. Without entering upon the details of this question, Bruck asserted that, notwithstanding the recent change of Ministry,† Vienna attached the utmost importance to the maintenance of good relations with Germany, and requested me to use my influence in Berlin to bring these convictions to public notice. He voluntarily offered to open further negotiations if my efforts should be crowned by success.

He returned here to-day, and said that he had communicated the points of our conversation to Count Beust; whereupon the Imperial Chancellor had written a full letter, which he brought with him and read aloud to me. In this letter Count Beust repeated his conviction that the maintenance of good relations with Germany was entirely to the interest of Austria, and that the policy was not the outcome of some temporary school of thought, but was rather imposed by political necessity. Count Beust regards the constitutional union as impossible, but he thinks that an understanding could be secured by other means. He commissions Bruck to give him full information upon the question.

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* Austrian Ambassador.

† Hohenwart Ministry, February 7, 1871.

Bruck developed these ideas in a conversation, and asked me to use my influence in Berlin in this direction. He thinks it possible that the good feeling of Prussia might be proclaimed by means of a commercial convention, and assures me that any measures leading to the object of a permanent understanding will be entirely acceptable. Beust's only reason for making no definite overtures was his fear that he might be taunted with intimidation by the power of Prussia. But any overtures would be gratefully received, and would find a response. He said that Austria was fully convinced of the necessity for co-operation with Germany, and that no party would work against its views, not even the Czechs. He offered, if Count Bismarck should be able to make any proposal which would pave the way for an understanding, to become the medium of its private communication.

To COUNT MÜNSTER.

MUNICH, *March* 10, 1871.

MY DEAR COUNT, — You were kind enough, in your letter of the 18th inst., to communicate your views to myself concerning the formation of a new party in the coming Reichstag, and for this I beg you to accept my sincere thanks. I was by no means certain of my election for that constituency for which my candidature had been proposed, and hence I was obliged to postpone my answer until the conclusion of the elections,* but there is now no longer any necessity for delay.

Your observations upon the former Conservative and Free Conservative sections were of extreme interest to me as a character sketch, and in many respects confirm my own opinion, which was, however, based upon fragmentary knowledge. I think both sections will undergo considerable changes. As regards my adherence to a new section, to be based upon the principles proposed by yourself, I must request you to allow me time to consider the matter in full detail. I am not yet certain whether a more detailed consideration of the several points in the programme which you propose would convince me that our views are sufficiently harmonious to admit of effective co-operation within one section. I am obliged to remind you that here, in South Germany, there is no Conservative party exactly corresponding with that of the North German Conservatives. From a social standpoint the nobility have been somewhat democratised, if I may so phrase it. An aristocratic policy, untinctured by religious views, exists here only in theory, and a serious politician is obliged to choose between adherence to one of the two great parties which are struggling for predominance and influence among us; one of these is dependent upon Rome and pursues theocratic ideals, while the other, from the practical standpoint of the constitution, is attempting to realise the modern constitutional State. One or other of these parties is joined by the Social Democratic and Conservative-Liberal parties, according to the nature of the situation. Thus, for instance, though a Conservative National party has been formed in other German States, as in Baden, no trace of anything of the kind is to be found here. Any politician, therefore, who goes hence to Berlin already belongs to one of these two parties, if not by express statement, at any rate by reason of his political past, and is thus not entirely free to act as he pleases.

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* The elections to the Reichstag took place on March 3. Prince Hohenlohe was elected for the district of Forchheim-Kulmbach.

With special reference to those points of your programme to which I have referred, I may sum up my opinion in these words: Construction of the German State; Imperial Ministry, and Upper House, but not a House representing States.

At this point I must admit that the German State seems to me too far remote to be made the object of a programme. I prefer to confine myself to the fact of the moment, and this is the federation of the German Empire. An abandonment of this basis might prove dangerous. On this question it is impossible to avoid particularism within certain limits. But before I express my desire for a responsible Imperial or Federal Ministry, I should like to see the Imperial machinery in motion. An Upper House constructed upon your principles seems to me to presuppose the existence or the near advent of a united State. And I have other scruples against the proposal. Theoretically, I consider the aristocratic republic, as it has developed in England from the feudal State, a most desirable form of government. England, however, has to thank the special nature of her position, the far-sightedness of her aristocracy, and the course of her history for the fact that the English feudal lords avoided the modern State form, and were able to secure the transition from a feudal aristocracy to an oligarchy of wealth. An aristocratic State constructed upon English models would be nothing more in Germany than an empty imitation, because we cannot create the necessary historical development, the hereditary capacity of the noble classes for political life, or the resources of the classes called upon to rule. In general, I consider that it is always inadvisable to construct parties with a view to changes in the Constitution, and most certainly inadvisable at the present moment. The Federal Constitution has been in force in North Germany for four years, and I think we should allow it to continue for the present in order that we may see what modifications may appear advisable. Upon these principles it seems my obvious duty to adopt a waiting policy for the moment. I shall decline to join a party which unites, under the title of "Federal and Constitutional," tendencies which would work for a dissolution of that unity which the German Empire has secured. I shall be equally disinclined to join a party which would regard the existing unity as nothing more than a basis for continuing the work of complete unification and of the abolition of particularist independence.

Practical men who honestly wish to serve their country will find many opportunities of valuable work in the task of removing those obstacles which an unjustifiable particularism opposes to the development of the power and prosperity of the Empire and its citizens. Whether I shall find a section prepared to act upon these principles is more than I can say at this moment.

From the Journal.

Arrived in Berlin, March 21, 1871. On my way I learned that the Reichstag had been opened at one o'clock. Nothing of this was known in Munich, although it is published in every newspaper here and has been known for weeks, and though Perglas repeatedly informed Bray of the fact, as he told me today.

The session began about half-past two. I went without delay and found Roggenbach and Barth, with whom I discussed the question of party construction. We resolved to issue an invitation to all South German Liberal members to discuss whether a new party should be formed or whether we should join one of those already existing.

At eight o'clock in the evening a sectional meeting of the Free Conservatives took place. The advisability of dissolving the party and of forming a larger section was discussed. I was present with Roggenbach, Hermann Langenburg, and Wagner, formerly War Minister of Würtemberg. When we were asked to declare our position, I explained that I had no intention of interfering with the resolves of the party as to its continued existence or otherwise. As regards ourselves, we were ready to discuss a new party programme with our South German associates, but first requested time to settle the individual points of the programme. Bethusy then delivered a somewhat confused and bombastic speech from which little could be learned. A discussion then took place between Ujest, Renard, Friedenthal, and others. In a somewhat halting speech, a fat and jovial-looking gentleman then explained that he came from Bavaria, and that he had joined the Free Conservative section merely because he had heard that the Prince of Hohenlohe, for whom he had a great personal regard, belonged to it. I learned that my admirer is Herr von Swaine. I did not wish to spoil his pleasure, and therefore did not tell him that I was anything but a member of the Free Conservative section, but no doubt he heard this elsewhere. Since that time he has been even more quiet than before.

Yesterday, the 22nd, there was a discussion of the South German Deputies, which led to no result, though we heard in the course of it that the Würtemberg Deputies had already joined the National Liberal party. No doubt they have acted thus in order to get the start of those Bavarians who are of their way of thinking. About twelve o'clock all members of Royal rank had an audience of the Emperor; there was a perfect blaze of red Johannite coats and other uniforms covering the forms of bold mediatised personages who had left their castles to wait upon the German Emperor. About one o'clock there was a Court of the Privy Council, to which the doyen of the Reichstag, Freiherr von Frankenberg, who is eighty-five years old, and the Presidents of the Customs Parliament were invited. I was thus able to attend the performance. The Emperor welcomed the meeting with a speech, in which he said that Germany had placed him at its head, though he had not sought the honour; he went on to express his wishes for the prosperity of the Empire and to refer to the duties incumbent upon all.

About five o'clock there was a great dinner of the whole Reichstag in Arnim's hotel. I sat between Roggenbach and Herr von Oheimb, who had been my fellow student at Bonn thirty years ago. Frankenberg, as senior President, proposed the toast of the Emperor. Any other toasts were forbidden "by habitual custom." In the evening there were great illuminations and a great concert in the Emperor's Palace about nine o'clock. Another display of marvellous uniforms, ribbons of various Orders, and Royal personages of either sex. I discovered the Prince of Bückeburg, whom I had not seen since 1847. We talked of old times, but he seemed rather distracted, for he asked me at every pause in the conversation, "Well, and how is your wife?" This intermezzo was probably repeated ten times. I got home about one o'clock.

To-day, the 23rd, was held a session of the section to which I have been assigned. The Conservatives wished to appoint me President, but the National Liberals were in the majority, and according to their habitual party methods, would only elect those who were bound to them body and soul (like the Jesuits); thus, Hölder of Stuttgart and Marquardsen were elected Presidents. The full session began about half-past eleven. Simson was appointed First President, myself second, and Weber third. Simson expressed his thanks with his usual delicacy and neatness of expression. My speech was greatly applauded; Viktor, who was listening from the gallery, and also Weichs confirmed the fact that I had made a favourable impression. After the session was a deliberation with the Old Liberals and some Saxons in the hope of organising a new central section. We have hopes of success; we cannot follow the National Liberals and we will not be associated with the Free Conservatives alone, and certainly not with the Catholic Centre. Our object, therefore, is to collect the outsiders and then to pave the way for a fusion with the Free Conservatives. These latter are somewhat vexed at their failure to capture us immediately. "We" means Roggenbach, Langenburg, Wagner, Hörmann, Luxburg, and others. It is doubtful whether Barth will join us or whether many will come over from the Bavarian Forward party.

The speech of the PRINCE *after his election as First Vice-President of the Reichstag on March* 23, 1871.

I am ready to accept the honourable position which the Diet has conferred upon me, and I find it difficult to make appropriate expression of that deep gratitude by which I am inspired from the fact that you have thought me worthy of this high distinction. I value this proof of your confidence the more highly for the reason that I belong to a country, the representatives of which were the last to agree to the conventions, the conclusion of which has made it possible for us to meet here. Allow me, therefore, to regard your choice as a favourable omen and as the token of a growing desire to compose our differences. Yes, gentlemen, in Bavaria we hesitated to agree to the conventions because we were obliged to sacrifice to the unity of our joint Fatherland the long-standing theory of independent constitutional existence. But we did not hesitate — and you will not deny us the credit of our action — when German honour was at stake and when we were asked to seal our federal faith with the blood of our sons and brothers; nor shall we hesitate to join you in honest co-operation in the work that lies before us, the reconstruction of the German nation in order that Germany, once more united, may become an Empire of power, prosperity, and freedom.

From the Journal.

BERLIN, *March* 24, 1871.

A Court dinner to-day at four o'clock, to which the whole of the Diet was invited. An interesting scene was the introduction of a deputation of Alsatian notables, at which I was present. They were received with the greatest affability, and to this Roon drew my attention. I saw and spoke with Prince Karl, Prince Friedrich Karl, the Crown Prince, Bismarck, Moltke, Podbielski, and, in fact, with all the celebrities of modern times. Bismarck has now become a prince, and is addressed as "Your Highness."

After dinner a general absence of formality. Pfretzschner* has become quite at home, and wins the hearts of all the Court ladies by his beautiful manners. . . . The Empress expressed her approval of this financial Adonis to me. My successful election and my oratorical powers are making Lutz thoughtful.

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* Bavarian Financial Minister and Plenipotentiary of the Federal Council.

The Grand Duke of Weimar thinks it absolutely necessary that the King of Bavaria should make a journey to Berlin. I have told him to try if he can bring it about.

BERLIN, *March* 25, 1875.

Yesterday there was a sectional session about ten o'clock. I was appointed to report upon an election case, and hastened to read through the documents. It so happened that I was the first to report. It was by no means a trifling matter, and some small discussion arose, but everything went off satisfactorily and my proposal was accepted. At 12.30 the full session took place, and afterwards a meeting was held under my presidency of the members who were to form a new section. To my astonishment Völk and Fischer were present. They soon agreed to appoint a committee to draw up a programme. About five o'clock I dined with Viktor, and then went to Münster to tell him that I thought it better not to go to the discussion of the Free Conservative section, since I could only tell the members that we were forming a section of our own and that the question of union between the new section and the Free Conservatives must be reserved for later discussion. Münster and Bethusy urged me, however, to accompany them. I therefore went and offered my explanation, which naturally annoyed the members considerably.

In the evening, to tea with the Emperor. Yesterday, Saturday, a long session in committee to discuss the programme, followed by a sectional meeting and then by another committee meeting. Dinner with the Crown Prince about half-past four. I sat next to him, and we had an interesting conversation upon King Ludwig and the Bavarian Army. Upon my saying that we had hoped to see him in Munich, he replied: "Do you think it would have been tactful of me to come in view of the King's behaviour to his Army?" I could only keep silence. His observations were very carefully made, but I was able to see the current opinion of the King. Of Prince Otto he said that he had plenty of energy but was unpunctual.

In the evening I went to Bismarck's house; there were some ladies and several gentlemen there, including Viktor and Amalie. I was placed upon the sofa in front of a table covered with teacups and bottles of beer, and also with herrings and oysters. His new Highness speedily arrived, and sat down by me. He began by consuming innumerable oysters, herrings, and ham, and drank beer with soda-water. Our conversation first dwelt upon Varzin, the wood trade, agriculture, &c., but by degrees he became more communicative, and began to talk politics. With regard to affairs in Paris, he said that he had predicted to Thiers that the French Government would never be able to disarm the mob without German help, which Thiers declined to believe. Passing to German problems, he said that the Reichstag made the same impression upon him as a story told him by his parents of his youth. It appeared that he had had a garden, and used to pull up the radishes every day to see how thick the roots were, and thus the Reichstag was treating itself. On one occasion he made a clearing for planting young trees, and his forester then said to him: "My lord, please keep out of the clearing for the next three years." Things must be allowed to develop in their own way in the German Empire, and people must have patience. He had only once been afraid, and that he said was in Versailles, for if Bavaria had not agreed to the conventions at that time, a state of enmity with the South would have been produced lasting for centuries. He said it was possible that he had made a mistake in granting us such large concessions; this, however, could not be helped in politics, and the eventual success of a statesman's measures must be awaited before judgment was passed upon him. We had much desultory conversation of this kind, and I finally took my leave at half-past eleven.

March 28.

A long sectional session to-day. Under my presidency a programme was approved. Some shamefaced Ultramontanes were obliged to declare their colours by one article of the programme, and probably will not join. In the evening I was with the Queen about half-past seven, but we were interrupted by the arrival of the King of Saxony, so that the audience only lasted for a quarter of an hour.

Programme of the "Liberal Imperial Party" of March 28, 1871.

(1) We consider the point of union for our common activity as members of the Diet to consist in honest co-operation to secure the practical achievement of the constitution of the German Empire, which has been approved under the influence of the great events of the immediate past.

(2) We shall defend the authority of the Imperial power and the autonomy of the federal members upon the basis of the Imperial Constitution impartially, and oppose all unnecessary centralisation; proposals for extension of powers or other constitutional changes which seem advisable in the interests of healthy development will secure our ready support.

(3) In addition to organic unity, the German nation desires a guarantee of personal, civic, and political freedom. We shall keep this demand in view, working in the direction of real progress upon all questions of Imperial legislation which may affect it, especially upon the censorship of the Press and the legislation upon associations.

(4) We shall conscientiously emphasise the moment at which the burdens of the nation can be permanently diminished without endangering the security of the Empire.

(5) We leave the question undecided whether it shall hereafter be necessary to make the relations between Church and State a matter for Imperial legislation to a greater or less degree; at the present moment we consider that no adequate reasons exist for this course. In any case we shall support a proposal to guarantee the independence of the religious communions as part of the Imperial Constitution only upon the condition that an Imperial law be passed at the same moment fully defining their position and asserting the inalienable rights of the State and the entire freedom of its individual members in the religious sphere.

BERLIN, *April* 16, 1871.

Returned to Berlin on the evening of the 14th. An early visit to Simson on Saturday to discuss Monday's festivities with him.* He informed me that the magistracy proposed to offer only one address of welcome, and that only one answer was therefore necessary from the Presidency. Then came a sectional session and calls in the afternoon. About five o'clock dinner with Viktor, Amalie, Hugo, and Prince Wilhelm of Baden. In the evening tea with the Empress. I sat for a considerable time between the Emperor and the Empress at a table with three Princesses (Biron, Radziwill, and Gagarin). The Emperor brought the latest telegrams, which contained much Paris news, mostly of insurgent successes.

The conversation also turned upon the declaration of the Catholic nobles of Silesia against their associates in the Free Conservative section. The Emperor asked for information, and I explained the situation. I was surprised when the Empress asked me, with some anxiety, whether I had been discussing religious matters with the Emperor; I was able to reply, to her satisfaction, in the negative by explaining the subject of our conversation. The Empress is in constant fear of religious quarrels, as if these could be avoided. She cannot understand that the Jesuits have begun the struggle and would like to reduce their opponents to passivity. The danger is not understood here as yet. The thought and action of the political world in these parts is made up of carelessness, anxiety, ignorance, or unjustified calculations upon an alliance with a Power which can never act permanently with Prussia, and which has in view nothing more than a Catholic league against Protestant and non-Jesuit Germany. Lulled by confidence in the victories achieved, people think they can now rest, while the enemy is active.

At eleven o'clock in the evening I went on to Bismarck's house. Most of the guests had already gone, and I found only his intimate friends gathered round the great supper-table. I paid my respects to Bismarck and the Princess, and sat down with

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* Public holiday in Berlin in honour of the Reichstag.

Count Kleist, a member of the Imperial Diet and a sensible man, with whom I talked and drank spiced wine until we parted.

To-day, Sunday, a long conversation with Roggenbach upon the religious question. Then to pay calls. At the house of Frau von Schleinitz the same subject, which is becoming more and more the topic of conversation.

BERLIN, *April* 18, 1871.

Yesterday, session of the Reichstag till 4.30. After the session, conversation with Simson and Weber, with whom was Runge the City Councillor, about the ceremonial at the banquet in the Town Hall. Simson read us his answer to the address, which the President of the Council was to deliver to him. Then the question of a toast to the town of Berlin was discussed. The Berlin gentlemen had heard that an impertinent Würtemberger, Professor Römer, I think, had some such toast in mind, and they were in a state of excitement about it. They had asked me to propose the toast, and at the conference held at Simson's the request was repeated. I consented reluctantly, for there was now no time to prepare a good speech. After the conversation (it was 5.30, the banquet was to begin at 8.30, and I had not yet broken my fast), I went for a long walk in deserted streets, and thought over the speech. It was soon ready. I intended to say that Berlin was now indeed the new capital of the German Empire, but that it had long before been chosen as such by the realm of German intellect; here, I was going on to say, had German intellect chosen its working centre. Hegel, Schelling, and Fichte had here found a home, from which they had sent forth their enlightening beams, and I intended to conclude in the usual manner. The thing was ready at 6.30, when I went to dinner, and at 8.30 I was in the Rathhaus. The Presidents took their places on a raised platform, in three arm-chairs, Simson in the middle. The Burgomaster Seidel being ill, his deputy, Herr Hedemann, read a long speech to Simson out of his opera-hat. From time to time, at quite inappropriate places, his voice rose to a piercing cry, then he continued reading. Being in full view, I was obliged rigidly to control the muscles of my face. Simson was as motionless as a statue, and thus remained while delivering his somewhat lengthy reply. His only gesture was a movement of his eyebrows, which he raised at particular places. Otherwise he held his hat motionless on his knee, and did not move.

After this ceremony the Emperor, the Empress, and the Princes arrived. Upon that there was an endless crush, and at 11.30 everybody trooped upstairs to supper. I was delighted to find the Emperor with the Princes, who had already sat down; I took my seat at the same table with Simson and Wrangel, the latter of whom repeatedly confessed his affection for me. As the Emperor unexpectedly resolved to stay for supper, the programme was altered, and all the toasts fell through. So I was able to avoid my speech.

BERLIN, *April* 30, 1871.

The last few days have been very tiring for me. The law about compensation in railway accidents, mining accidents, &c., came forward, and was, as the custom is here, considered in an independent committee. Simson had told me that on personal grounds (his son is justiciary in a railway company), he could not preside, at any rate not over the discussion of every paragraph, so I was obliged to get up the subject and go to the session of the commission; this, and the full session, took up much time. The session was held on Thursday. I had discussed the difficulties in the various articles with Lasker and Simson, and as only the first article was discussed, the division went very well. There was only one incident in the debate which might have given rise to unpleasantness. Herr Prince-Smith, a well-known writer on political economy, rose on a point of order, and reproached me, saying that I must have a list of speakers, which is forbidden by the Orders of the House; since he had several times tried to catch the Speaker's eye without success, while I had allowed others to speak, who, so far as he had observed, had not caught the Speaker's eye. Now the man was quite right, only, as ten or more members always want to speak at once, one must note those who wish to speak, and choose out of them those who are to be called upon. In the Customs Parliament there is a list of speakers. In the Standing Orders of the Reichstag this is forbidden, and the President must allow the first applicant to speak, which is naturally impossible. Therefore, notwithstanding the fact that Herr Prince-Smith was in the right, I was obliged to oppose him, and I did it so vigorously that he was silenced, and a *sensation prolongée* in the assembly showed me that my words had created no less surprise than impression. I have thereby sensibly strengthened my position as President, and those who have hitherto regarded me as a courteous man now see in me the despot of the House, which the President should always be.

Recently I had an interesting conversation with Moltke, who, when he meets with a subject which interests him, is in no wise a silent man. He lamented over Thiers, who, from jealousy and envy, is interfering in military matters, and hindering MacMahon from decisive action. Otherwise, he thought, the insurrection would soon be at an end.

The Crown Prince had a great *soirée* yesterday. All the celebrities in politics and learning, &c., were assembled. A little general, decorated with the highest orders, roused my curiosity. I asked, and discovered it was Werder. I was introduced to him. He is a man like many in the Prussian

Army, cheerful and ingenuous, whom one does not suspect of having solved one of the hardest of problems. He talked of it as a happy chance, and took no credit to himself. The evening was very tiring — stifling heat and no air. Luckily it only lasted till 11.30, therefore only two hours. There was much conversation about the Döllinger affair.* At first the members of the Reichstag wished to do something — that is to say, the non-Ultramontanes — but I remonstrated in a specially convened assembly † that it was necessary, above all things, for us to remain in the Catholic Church. So long as we had no bishops, no clergy, and no congregations, but only a number of cultured laymen, we could not talk of an Alt Catholic Church. It was a case of waiting till the Pope should die, and then there was hope of a better spirit in the Catholic Church. If we left the Church — and this might be the result of any serious step — the Catholic Church would lose so many reasonable men to no purpose. If we made a mere demonstration, we should be doing something unworthy of the members of the Reichstag. It was decided, therefore, to remain quiet. I do not think that the agitation will produce any great results. Interest in the person and fate of Döllinger, for it is nothing more, does not make a Reformation. Interest in dogmatic subtleties no longer exists. There are only believers, who wish at all costs to remain Catholics, and who would remain so were the Pope to declare himself the Dalai Lama, and introduce the Buddhist praying-wheel; and the indifferent, who in general have little belief, and will not violate their reason. The latter will not throw themselves with enthusiasm into a fight against the dogma of infallibility, which obliges them to adhere to all the other dogmas, which they have long ceased to believe, or of which, at most, they only believe a part. In this way no new church will be formed, and the uproar will shortly cease. At the most, the number of free-thinkers will be increased by a few thousand. But this will be all, and if seventy millions believe, it matters little if six thousand secede. That makes the strength of the Jesuit Order.

In the Centre, Ketteler has a quarrel with Windthorst. The former has gone away. It is said that Ketteler has accused Windthorst of misusing the ecclesiastical question for political ends. Windthorst might have replied that Ketteler misused politics for ecclesiastical ends; whether he did so, I do not know. At any rate, Ketteler has gone, so has his faithful squire, Löwenstein.

The whole party is annoyed that the alliance with the Conservatives has miscarried. Now new plans will be secretly considered.

* On April 17 the sentence of plenary excommunication was passed upon Döllinger.

† *See* the Note, page 50.

Note of the Prince, *with the heading, "Anti-Ultramontane Demonstration."*

I am of opinion that the *Concilium Vaticanum* of 1869–70 is in no wise œcumenical, and that the time will come when the infallibility of the Pope proclaimed therein will be pronounced heresy. But, as the Bishops collectively, and almost all the clergy, have accepted the doctrine set forth, he who denies the doctrine must secede from the Catholic Church. Thereupon he joins the community of the Alt Catholics, and has no standing within the Catholic Church.

I have therefore refrained from expressing my opinion openly; especially as I believe that the Alt Catholic community cannot remain where it now stands, but will be driven further. But I have no interest in the formation of a new sect, even though I fully understand the Alt Catholics, and respect the motives which have induced them to take public action.

So far as I am concerned, I wish the Catholic Church to reform herself. That can and will be done only with the co-operation of her Bishops. This co-operation will not take place until the moment has come for the assembling of a really Œcumenical Council. Even if this is an empty hope, it in no wise alters my present opinion. In this case the Catholic Church is doomed to fall, and then other forms of religion will be constituted, which we need not now discuss. In the meantime I have this hope, and therefore am waiting. Hence I remain a member of the Church, without going over to the Ultramontanes.

So much for my personal standpoint. What draws us together, if I am not mistaken, is a purely negative disposition. We wish to affirm that there are Catholics who are not Ultramontane. I can only thus define the conception of Ultramontanism; he is Ultramontane who allows his thought and action to be controlled by instructions from the Order of Jesuits. Moreover, since the Vatican Council was brought about by the Jesuit Order, and since the bishops have submitted to the Council and continue to support the Jesuits, those Catholics who act according to the instructions of their bishops or of the Jesuit Press are under the influence of the Jesuit Order. Our community can, therefore, in principle, be designated as an opposition to the Jesuit Order. Its programme is as follows:

Since the Order of Jesuits believes that it must further the interests of the Catholic religion by political activity, and conducts its politics according to the interests of religion, the programme is easily formulated; it is, that we remain faithful to the German Empire, and hold aloof from religious-political agitation.

From the Journal.

BERLIN, *May* 5, 1871.

After I had received Völderndorff's letter the day before yesterday, telling me that in Munich there is a plan to dismiss Bray and form a Hohenlohe-Lutz Ministry I spoke with Barth. He thinks it is possible to act with Lutz, supposing that I had at least three colleagues on whom I could rely. As such, after he had accepted my direct offer to take office myself, he recommended Fischer for the Interior and Hocheder for Commerce. Thus, if he will take Public Worship, we should have a majority in the Ministry. I will now answer Völderndorff, and tell him of my readiness to take office again, but on the condition that I may myself form the Ministry with reference to my proposals on this question to the King.

Afterwards I talked with Arco, who had just come from Munich, and reported on the Döllinger movement. But it seems after all, according to what I hear from Arco, that the people of Munich do not yet know exactly how they mean to attain their end. The clergy do not go with the movement, the masses remain passive, and the Government will have no other course than to decide these questions as they arise.

Further, I must add that I have also discussed the question of Hörmann with Barth. It is my opinion, which is shared by many members of the Progressive party, that Hörmann is not the man for us. Moreover, Hörmann has declared so imprudently against the re-entry of Lutz to office that he cannot withdraw from his position.

Yesterday evening *soirée* at Court. I sat again at the Empress's table; next to me the Minister Jolly, from Baden, who told me some interesting things about the clergy in Baden. Their want of culture is as great there as with us. The Emperor, who complained of indisposition, soon withdrew.

May 11.

These are days of continual sittings, dinners, *soirées* at Court, or party meetings. The news of the conclusion of peace was known yesterday.* After the sitting I had an interesting dinner-party at Roggenbach's with Brandis, Curtius, Bunsen, and Schlözer. The last named, for a long time Minister in Mexico, is now going to Washington, and takes Ludwig Arco with him as Secretary of Legation. He also was among the guests.

At seven o'clock a meeting of the commission on Alsace-Lorraine. The heat was so great that I soon left and went to the Leipziger Garten, where the Deputies meet every Wednesday to drink beer. Luxburg brought with him the Alsatians whom

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* Prince Bismarck had gone to Frankfurt on May 5, in consequence of the failure of the Brussels peace negotiations; and on May 10 he concluded a treaty of peace with Favre and Pouyer-Quertier.

Bismarck has summoned. They were Klein of Strassburg and three other gentlemen. At Luxburg's request I clinked my glass and introduced them to the company, and said that I thought I was expressing the feeling of the assembly in offering them a friendly welcome. Great excitement ensued. Thereupon some gentlemen desired me to make a speech on the peace. But as I had only just spoken, and the heat was so great and the tobacco smoke so strong that I felt ill, I refused, and hurried into the fresh air and then to bed.

BERLIN, *May* 12, 1871.

To-day the benches of the Reichstag were fairly full, for it was known that Bismarck was back from Frankfurt, and would inform the Reichstag of the conclusion of peace. Until two o'clock there was a tedious debate on the Post Office Bill. Then Bismarck appeared, amid the cheers of the whole Reichstag. Soon afterwards he rose, and first apologised for interrupting the debate "with a heterogeneous subject." Continuing from his earlier communication about the adjournment of the negotiations at Brussels, he related that he had determined to have a personal interview with Jules Favre, and with this object he had gone to Frankfurt. There he had succeeded in achieving his purpose. He then announced the terms of peace as already known, and concluded by saying that it was, in his opinion, a peace founded on reasonable terms, and he hoped that it would be a lasting peace, and that the French Government would have the strength to carry it through. It was to be ratified before May 20. Afterwards Bismarck came amongst the members present and received their congratulations. He shook hands with me. I asked him if he had met with much difficulty, to which he replied "Yes," and added that the French representatives had at first been very difficult to deal with. He has carried the matter through by the force of his personality. This is all the better, because Moltke and his subordinates are always carping at Bismarck, and finding fault with whatever he does. It is difficult to reconcile these two great men, and it is one of the Emperor's greatest merits that by his tactful amiability he always succeeds in keeping these two in their proper places. The fact cannot be too strongly emphasised that the gracious personality of the Emperor has been of the utmost service in all the great successes which have been achieved in the past year. It requires great self-abnegation to look on, without envy, at the ovations which Bismarck and Moltke receive. My respect for the old man has greatly increased on that account.

People here are very well disposed towards Austria. They wish to avoid everything which could be regarded as favouring an element hostile to the Austrian Government.* This temper prevails not only in the Government and Court circles, but also among the members of the Reichstag. They are equally cautious about the problems of Catholicism. The Döllinger movement finds little sympathy here. Support of the Moy party through Prussian influence is not to be thought of. People here cannot get up any great interest in this dogmatic strife. The Catholic Church, such as she is and as she wishes to be, is satisfactory to the Government. What is not in subjection to the Papacy is regarded as apostate. The movement in Bavaria will soon fall to the ground in consequence of this indifference on the part of the Protestants, if not from its own weakness.

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* The federal policy of the Hohenwart Ministry aroused a decided German opposition at that time. The Government attempted to prevent the victory celebrations in the German towns by police measures.

BERLIN, *May* 17, 1871.

Spent yesterday evening with Bismarck. The usual company was there. Frau von Arnim, Bismarck's sister, Spitzemberg and his wife, a Würtemberg diplomatist, Count Uexküll, and some others.

At eleven o'clock Bismarck arrived. We smoked and drank beer and *Maitrank*. By-and-by Bismarck reached the stage of anecdotes. He treats every one with a certain arrogance. This gives him a great ascendancy over the timid exponents of the old European diplomacy. He has done that at all times. But now his great successes stand him in good stead, so that he is the terror of all diplomatists. In this manner he carried through the negotiations in Frankfurt with Favre and Pouyer-Quertier. He threatened the French representatives that if they did not agree to his demands, he would telegraph immediately to Paris and instruct the German Army to attack Versailles. They must either be allies or enemies, there was no third course. Le Clerc, who had come with them and who is recognised as a good diplomatist, was not allowed to speak. Bismarck negotiated only with Favre and Pouyer-Quertier, who understood nothing of diplomatic transactions. This explains how the terms in Frankfurt were arranged so favourably for Germany.

He talked then of the earlier negotiations with Thiers, mentioned the famous Uhlan story, and made merry about Thiers. The latter had one day asserted at the conference that Rouen was on the left bank of the Seine. When Bismarck questioned this, Thiers remarked bitterly: "*Vous êtes le vainquer et nous sommes les vaincus. Vous n'avez qu'à décider.*" Bismarck then sent for a map, and Thiers pointed to the railway, which was marked with a thick black line; whereupon Bismarck pointed out to him that this was not the Seine, but the railway. Thus Thiers's ideas of geography were enlightened.

He also described the scene in which Thiers and Favre had lectured him, and as he could no longer defend himself he told them he could not prevail against their eloquence in French, and would therefore now answer them in German. He thereupon began to speak German to them. Result, utter desperation! Favre strode up and down the room and Thiers said no more, and at last, without speaking, handed him a slip of paper on which he had written down the concession which Bismarck wanted. He only said: "*Est-ce que cela fait votre affaire?*" To which Bismarck answered: "*Parfaitment,*" and then everything went smoothly again.

This explains why Thiers and Favre were able to say of Bismarck: "*C'est un fier barbare.*" Bismarck told the story himself.

May 18, 1871.

Headache yesterday after the *Maitrank.* Sitting till 4.30. In the evening the Wednesday meeting of members in the Leipziger Garten to drink beer. Supper with Brockhaus, Schricker, Weber, and Stadthagen. General talk of my entering the Ministry. I know nothing of it.

BERLIN, *May* 26, 1871.

Yesterday another lively day in politics. The Alsace-Lorraine affair was put down for the third reading in the Orders of the Day in the Reichstag. Bismarck appeared and suddenly declared that he wished to ask the Reichstag for permission to withdraw the amendment, which we had accepted after a second discussion and which made the contraction of debts for Alsace-Lorraine conditional upon the consent of the Reichstag. He put the matter so that it became a question either of a vote of confidence or one of censure. This threw us into the greatest embarrassment; on the one hand, it would have been absurd to propose a vote of censure upon the Imperial Chancellor on a pure matter of form, while, on the other hand, it was hardly to be expected that the Reichstag would repeal at Bismarck's beck and call a measure passed with but a faint objection from the Federal Commissary. The result was general confusion. The Centre, headed by Windthorst, rejoiced at our embarrassment; the Forward party, bigoted as ever, was anxious for conflict; while the Right were ready for submission. I advised that the debate should be adjourned, and informed Simson that I was ready to speak to that effect, but Hennig anticipated me with a proposal that the matter should be referred back to the committee. I agreed in a few words, and our proposal was accepted by a small majority. The sitting of the committee was held in the evening. Bismarck was present and was at first very surly, but the members of the committee handled him so skilfully that at length he quite forgot why he had got angry. Friedenthal, a hard-working and clever fellow, brought forward a proposal, in conjunction with Lamey, which satisfied all parties, and thus this interlude ended satisfactorily. A sitting had been appointed for to-day, but an Ultramontane demanded a count out, and I then found that only 172 members were present, whereupon Simson said that he would hold the next session at one o'clock on the Wednesday after Whitsuntide. Hence everybody is now going off for a few days' holiday.

BERLIN, *June* 1, 1871.

The articles in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and in the *Provinzial-Korrespondenz* against the Reichstag have caused as much astonishment as misgiving among the Deputies. They are absolutely unjustifiable, and people are vainly asking what can have induced Bismarck to act in this way. To-day Miquel came over to myself and Bernuth during the sitting to propose that we should join the National Liberal party, secure the withdrawal of the Pension Law and replace it with a vote of credit, which would place the sums required by the Government for the soldiers invalided in the present war at the Emperor's disposal. Bernuth was inclined to accept the proposal, but Roggenbach was against it, and observed, quite rightly, that the National Liberals were anxious to avoid the difficulties raised by the law and to carry out a change of front under cover of them.

After the sitting, I went once more to Simson and asked his advice as to what I should do if the Emperor asked me about it. Simson spoke from Miquel's point of view, and doubtless under his inspiration; he sees danger in the discussion of the Pension Law, and fears a conflict "which he would be sorry to place in the cradle of the new Empire." Afterwards I met Roggenbach again, who holds to his opinion that the National Liberals are anxious to defer the Pension Law only through apprehension of its difficulties. It ought to be carried through, for this would be an easier process now than six months hence.

I was in great anxiety as to what the Emperor would say to me to-day during dinner. The rumour had gone abroad that he and the whole Court were irritated with the Reichstag. I found the Emperor as usual; he came up to me first and then talked with Wilhelm Löwenstein, whom he had not seen since the war, and observed: "We have gone a long way since then"; then he took me by the arm and said in his usual jesting manner, "and this man has placed all kinds of difficulties in our path."

During dinner I sat by the Emperor and waited for an outburst of bad temper with the Reichstag; but it did not come. At last he said: "What have you done to-day in the Reichstag?" I replied that we had thrown out Lasker's proposal.* The Emperor was much delighted. As he manifested none of the displeasure which I had been warned to expect, I began the subject myself, and said that the Reichstag was lasting a long time, and then passed to the question of its attitude, saying that on the whole the feeling of the Reichstag was excellent. Some proposals had been brought forward which aroused misgiving; but this did not justify the attacks which had been hurled upon us by the official Press. To my astonishment the Emperor merely replied that that was so, and that the *Ministers* were considerably vexed in consequence. He then expressed his fears that the Reichstag would divide the Pension Law, that is to say, would discuss the pensions for the soldiers invalided from the war in a separate Bill, apart from the pensions for peace invalids, and added that in this case the Bill would be withdrawn. I asserted that this was not the intention of the generality of the Reichstag, and went on to say that I had heard a proposal discussed for a vote of credit to the Emperor for the pensions of the war invalids, and to leave the Bill in abeyance. Of this the Emperor knew nothing. I now asked him whether he considered the law of any value or regarded it as necessary, to which he gave a decided affirmative. In that case, I said it was better that the law should be thoroughly discussed at the present moment, when the Reichstag was still under the influence of recent events. The proposal for a vote of credit should only be discussed if no importance were attached to the law, and if things might be left as they were. The Emperor did not seem to approve of this, and is of the opinion that a law of this kind is necessary. My general impression of the whole conversation was that the Emperor's irritation with the Reichstag is pure fiction.

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* The Deputy Lasker had brought in a Bill proposing that Bills of unusual length should be referred to a committee by the vote of the Reichstag, which committee was to deal with these matters in the interim between two sessions of any one legislative period.

There were several military celebrities at dinner: Tresckow, who was in command before Belfort; von der Goltz, who led a brigade at Metz; Generals Dannenberg, Rauch, &c. The Emperor told us of the anxiety through which he had passed before the outbreak of hostilities, and his constant fear that the French would be ready first.

June 4.

The next day the Bill came up for discussion concerning the subsidies for those who had been expelled from their property. Patow raised all kinds of objections to the law, as also did Bamberger and others. Bismarck, however, would not hear of referring the question to a central commission. After the sitting I had a talk with Bismarck, but he clung to his opinion. I think he wishes to trouble as little as possible about the whole business, and to give as little as possible. He would rather see the individual States incur the odium which insufficient support must produce.

In yesterday's sitting upon Alsace-Lorraine, the Bill was brought up for the final reading, with the modifications which the committee had proposed. Bismarck spoke several times, but with surprising difficulty. When I met him at the usual Saturday evening party, he told me and Weber that he was exceedingly tired. He slept ten or twelve hours, and yet could not get rest enough, and said that his nerves were only calmed by drinking several bottles of beer, so that to get a thirst he ate large quantities of caviare. Weber and I sat with him for some time at a small table, where he explained the reasons for which he had opposed the annexation of Alsace by Prussia. He thought the Alsatians would more easily become Germans than Prussians. Afterwards a certain Herr Hartmann of Alsace came up to us, and when Bismarck went away told many interesting stories of Versailles, where he had just been. He said that Thiers was much too prejudiced in his parliamentary habits, and had not the necessary energy for action. Questioned upon the future, he said that the Duc d'Aumale was most likely to become President of the Republic; Henry V. was impossible, but d'Aumale would have to avoid being influenced by the clericals. These latter were indeed necessary in the country, but in the towns they were hated, and a Government which gave way to their influence could never stand. A proclamation of monarchy would be equivalent to civil war in Hartmann's opinion. As regards Alsace-Lorraine, Bismarck would have to remove the influence of the clergy from the schools, otherwise Alsace would never become German, for the clergy would always use their influence in the French interest.

June 11.

I had a long conversation to-day with Gelzer over different persons and things here. He has spoken with the Emperor, and found much sympathy with the idea that the relations between Church and State should become an Imperial matter. Ministerial conferences are held about a new German concordat, but it is questionable whether Bismarck will agree. Bismarck is under the influence of the Jesuits (it is a question whether Bismarck's personal ambitions with regard to Alsace were not the vulnerable point, the heel of Achilles, by which the Jesuits were able to gain a hold of him). As regards the Empress, she appears to be greatly under Jesuit influence. The party is making tremendous efforts to gain influence here, and shrinks neither from promises nor threats.

June 12.

A sitting to-day and a group dinner at five o'clock. I had invited Frankenberg. It was my duty to propose the health of the Presidents; I made a long speech, in which I first apostrophised Barth as a man who had always fought on behalf of freedom and right and had held the national banner high; I then dwelt upon his good qualities as President, passed on to Bernuth, the type and model of the Prussian Jurist, and then referred to the third member, Roggenbach, a diplomatist in the truest and highest sense of the word, a man who never lost the guiding thread amid a labyrinth of diplomatic intrigue, and who had consequently proved it possible for a man to retain his sense of honour and respect, and yet to be a good diplomatist. The speech went off very well and made an excellent impression.

Bernuth replied in a lofty strain, showering all possible praises upon me, and asserting that I had really sowed where the National party had reaped. Numerous toasts followed, until eventually, during coffee, a man from Murnau delivered a poetical speech in which he mentioned the "grotesque mountains" of his native land.

June 14.

Yesterday was the first discussion upon the Donations Bill. It was resolved that a preliminary discussion should take place in secret committee, and the committee was appointed immediately after the sitting. I was proposed by our section together with Marquard Barth. The committee came into being immediately, and I was appointed President. I then sent a letter to Bismarck forthwith, inviting his presence at a sitting at seven o'clock in the evening.

At seven I was back in the Reichstag to appear punctually at my post. We waited until half-past, as Bismarck had been with the Emperor in the meantime. After I had opened the session with the observation that it had been decided in the morning not to appoint any Reporter, there was a pause. Every one was waiting, whereupon Bismarck broke the silence, and declared himself ready to give any information for which he might be asked. Hennig now spoke and requested to know who would receive donations, observing at the same time that Delbrück was not to be excluded. Then came Schulze-Delitzsch, who uttered some general observations in opposition to donations. Bismarck replied that no names could yet be mentioned, but that it was not yet settled whether Prince Friedrich Karl and the Crown Prince of Saxony would receive donations. The Crown Prince of Prussia was out of the question, and he himself (Bismarck) would not participate, as the King would found his title of Prince by some other means. As regarded the Crown Prince of Saxony and the Bavarian generals, it would be necessary first to approach their respective Sovereigns. None below commanding generals would be considered, and perhaps an exception might be made only in favour of certain Chiefs of the General Staff. There would be about a dozen generals.

Von Leuthe made a vigorous speech against any donation, and said that the generals ought to be satisfied with the honour they had gained. Bismarck replied, especially emphasising the fact that in the year 1815 donations had been given at a time when the country was drained of its resources. Now there was money enough and a few millions were of no great consequence. Kiefer objected to making donations too general, but was on the whole in favour of the proposal. Reichensperger was in favour of it, but wished to exclude the Princes. Craemer proposed a grant of four millions, but would vote against it himself. Frankenberg and Friedenthal objected to the insertion of names in the law. Bennigsen wished to vote a smaller sum, but proposed no amendment. Schulze said that the proposal was premature. Bismarck said that if only three millions were voted the Princes would be left out of the question. He then said privately to myself that he would prefer the Princes to get nothing. I was unable to vote against the proposal, however, because, as Barth explained, I was of the opinion that there should be no haggling. Eventually an amendment was adopted in order that Delbrück's case might be considered with the others.

We broke up after eleven o'clock and went to Rubin's wine-shop, where a *kneipe* was continued until half-past twelve. The second reading took place on the following day, the 14th, and the law was accepted upon a division. Bennigsen's report was masterly.

On the 15th, Thursday, the last session of the Reichstag took place, and the session was brought to an end at the Palace. On the next day took place the entry of the troops.

The entry,* which I saw from the stand reserved for the Reichstag, was the most splendid feature of the festival. I could not suppress a feeling of regret that I had been unable to share in the events of the war, if only as a spectator. The enthusiasm was unbounded. Moltke, who had just received his Marshal's baton from the Emperor, and Bismarck were special objects of popular favour. The march past the Emperor proceeded in front of the stand upon which we were placed. The Reichstag, the Diplomatic Service, and the Federal Council were seated upon two stands between the Palace and the Opera House, and between the Opera House and the Palace of the Crown Prince. The weather was magnificent, but exceedingly hot; Prince Albrecht had a slight sunstroke and was carried off the scene. When the Bavarians marched past with the other picked troops, my neighbour, Herr von Beer, was so moved that he thanked me heartily for my share in this arrangement. At half-past three all was over, and then came the unveiling of the monument of Friedrich Wilhelm III. Then dinner with Viktor and illuminations in the evening; I went to the Rathhaus; the museum was magnificent and Schinkel's pictures were illuminated with Bengal lights.

On Saturday, the 17th, there was a great dinner at the Palace, and in the evening a gala performance at the theatre in a temperature of 36° Reaumur. Every one was nearly melted. The text of the play was exceedingly poor. Bennigsen, with whom I talked upon the subject, referred to Goethe, who he said had also written very poor occasional pieces, to which I answered that he had never had such an occasion as this; unfortunately we have no Goethe to sing the triumphs of this time. On Sunday there was a Court concert and reception, the heat and crush as great as before, the music very well selected, and an infinite number of Sovereigns, Princes, generals, &c.

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* On June 16.

On Monday evening I went to Bismarck's house and sat for a long time in the drawing-room with the ladies before he arrived. About eleven o'clock he appeared, and immediately came up to ask me to come into this study with him and hear him read a letter which he had written to Frankenberg.* He sent for the letter (it is to be published in the newspapers) and asked me whether I approved and whether it was not too strong. I said that I could raise no objection, though the Clericals would not be altogether pleased. Bismarck then replied: "I do not want to please them," and added that the alliance of the Clericals with such Democrats as Schröder-Lippstadt irritated him exceedingly and might have "knocked the bottom out of the cask." He now proposed to proceed more vigorously against them and in particular to expel the Krätzig clique from the Ministry of Public Worship. After some discussion concerning Bray,† whom he likes but cannot use in the Federal Council, as he only understands the usual diplomatic jargon and is not a man of business, and after some unfavourable remarks upon Perglas, though he did not further deal with the Munich crisis, he said: "Now we must go back to the drawing-room, or Pfretzschner (who was there) will think that we are conspiring." At half-past twelve all took their leave.

AUSSEE, *July* 13, 1871.

Upon my return to Munich on the 6th inst. I made every effort to realise the situation in Bavaria. This appears to be as follows: The fundamental principles upon which Lutz now proposed to act in the ecclesiastical problem had been discussed in the Ministerial Council. Here a considerable difference of opinion declared itself between Bray and the other Ministers. Bray clings to the Roman point of view, whereas the other Ministers wish to adopt a more defensive, and perhaps even an aggressive, attitude towards the encroachments of the clergy. I cannot say whether there was any question of announcing a concordat. On this point the King must now decide whether he will keep Bray and dismiss the other Ministers, or whether he will part with Bray. He would do the latter if he could find any one to take his place. The Ministers are aware that I cannot act with Schlör, therefore they do not know how they should advise the King. In their dilemma, as they wanted to retain Schlör, with whom some of them are closely allied, they even thought of Stauffenberg, and proposed that he should join them as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Whether Stauffenberg declined, or whether the whole story is nothing but a rumour, I cannot say. Völderndorff thought that Lutz would come at this time to negotiate with me, and try and persuade me to come in with Schlör. The King apparently did not as yet want to have anything to do with me. I believe, however, that if Lutz wished, Eisenhart could have put matters right with the King for me, and that he only excused himself on the grounds that the King didn't wish it. Huber, whom I met in the street, seemed to want to be Minister of Public Worship himself. This number of candidates for the Ministry is very interesting. I discussed the matter with Völderndorff. We agreed that it was impossible for me to be in the Ministry with Schlör, but that Lutz, Pfretzchner, and Pranckh might remain. Pfeufer was to be Minister of the Interior, and Völderndorff Minister of Justice.

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* In this letter the Imperial Chancellor asserted that the attitude of the Central group in the Reichstag had displeased Cardinal Antonelli. The parliamentary influence of the section was characterised as follows: "It threw all its weight into the same scale as the work of those bodies which were chiefly opposing the restoration of the German Empire."

† The Minister of Foreign Affairs in Munich, Count Bray-Steinburg, resigned on June 17.

The Ministry of Commerce was to be abolished, and part given to the Ministry of Finance, part to the Ministry of the Interior, and all matters of commerce and communication to be united with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

However, should the winding-up of the Ministry of Commerce present too many difficulties, then Braun, who had formerly worked in the Ministry of Commerce, could take over the management.

On Monday I was again with Völderndorff. He said that the King could not yet be persuaded to dismiss Bray, not out of consideration for Bray, but because he shrank from the inconvenience and from the necessity of making up his mind. On Monday (the 10th), Eisenhart went to Hohenschwangau. In any case there must be a decision of some kind in the near future. According to Werthern, Holnstein is said to have expressed the opinion that the matter would soon be decided. In this week, and during these festivities, the commencement of negotiations with me was not to be thought of, so I came here on the evening of the 11th.

MUNICH, *August* 28, 1871.

Hegnenberg* was with me this evening. He came by appointment. I would gladly have avoided seeing him, but it was not possible. He explained to me why he had deemed it necessary to accept, and declared he had done so in my interests, as my time had not yet arrived, and that I should have encountered too many difficulties. Touching consideration! His finances are in a bad way, and his Ministerial salary is a godsend to him.

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* Count Hegnenberg-Dux was appointed Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs on August 21.

He looked fat and greasy, and on the subject of the heart-affection* he was silent. Then he spoke of Völderndorff; he did not know how he stood with him. Völderndorff had asked for three months' leave; would therefore have nothing to do with him, &c. &c. It was evident that he was under Lutz's influence. I advised him to leave Völderndorff in his present position as Reporter, as I knew that he wished it.

I then asked him to use his influence to arrange that Parliament should be opened not on October 1, but on the 15th. Then I can remain longer in Aussee; I am not coming here for the Landtag.

In the evening I went to the circus with Philipp Ernst. Here I found Holnstein, who accompanied me a little way, and was confused and embarrassed. He, I saw plainly, is also under the influence of Lutz. He, too, declared that it was for my own interest if I was not Minister now; complained that the Press was commenting on my not having been asked, and blamed Völderndorff for it. I replied that Völderndorff and I were quite innocent, and told him straight I knew that Lutz had worked against my return to the Ministry, which Holnstein admitted. This influence of Lutz's is evident everywhere, and annoys me so that I don't wish to hear any more about the matter. I shall now wait and see what comes of my statement. This is now necessary and unavoidable. Anger about the whole business in Munich has this advantage: it leaves me no peace, and makes me work. It is better for human nature to be roused with this kind of anger than to submit with passive amiability.

MUNICH, *September* 11, 1871.

On Thursday the 7th I received a telegram from Assessor Thelemann from Forchheim, informing me that he had fixed the meeting of the Liberal electors for Sunday the 11th. Accordingly I left on Sunday evening, went with Gustav as far as Ansbach, and from there to Erlangen, which I reached at ten o'clock, after many delays, and spent the night at the Glocke. While I drank the good Erlangen beer and ate my supper, the landlady came and kept me company, conversing about the high price of meat and bread, the discontent of the working man, &c. Then some of the inhabitants of Erlangen emerged from some *keller* or other where they had drunk so much beer that they were all in a merry mood. These I left to their fate and went to bed. In the day-time Erlangen is as quiet as a churchyard, whereas at night every one goes about singing and yelling, which much disturbed my sleep.

The next morning I visited Professor Marquardsen and Professor Sörgel. The latter showed me the sights of the place, and at half-past one they, with several other prominent advanced

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* *See* vol. i. p. 384.

Liberals, accompanied me to Forchheim. Here a deputation, with the Mayor and district officer, awaited me at the station. A great crowd gathered around, and stared at me. After various greetings, we went to a neighbouring hotel, where we had coffee. At three o'clock I was driven to the Town Hall, where a number of people were waiting. Proceedings began with a speech by the Mayor, at the end of which he mentioned my statement. A sort of platform covered in red cloth stood in front by what is called *Podium*. Luckily I was so well prepared that I could speak without notes. I now submitted my statement, which lasted about an hour. When I had finished a Dr. Schmidt spoke and expressed agreement on the part of the audience. No one said any more. The Mayor proposed my health, to which I replied in a few words. Then with my train I went to a church to see pictures by Wohlgemuth, and other objects of interest; we also visited the old Imperial palace. The town is old-fashioned and interesting. At half-past five we drove to the Keller, a pretty place, with an oak forest and view. Here we drank beer, accompanied by music, choral unions, mutual drinking of healths, &c. At nine in the evening back to the hotel, and at two o'clock left for Munich.

BERLIN, *October* 20, 1871.

There is nothing much to relate about my arrival and the first few days. Great kindness is shown me on all sides. This is apparent by the arrangement of the divisions, where I was chosen in the third to preside. Münster, who was also in the division, and thought he had a right to it, was somewhat cross. All parties were represented, and all chose *me*. It was the same at the electing of the first Vice-President. Yesterday I was elected by 173 votes out of 213. After the meeting I was with the Emperor. He was as usual very kind. In the evening a long consultation by the officers, at Simson's, about the restaurant question. It was explained to the various landlords, but nothing decided. Later a party consultation, in which I was asked to make a report the next day on civil marriage. That will mean much work.

Midday sitting in the Reichstag. Count Eulenburg, the Head of the Administration, Wiesbaden, asked me to take part in a meeting for the establishment of a national monument in the honour of the restoration of the German Empire, which was to be on the Niederwald. Cost, 300,000 thalers. There will be an occasion for great festivities and speeches at the laying of the foundation stone. The meeting will take place as soon as the details are settled. The corruption of the Austrian Press was spoken of. It would be difficult to find respectable people who would be willing to write for these papers.

October 22.

Yesterday, once more dined with the Emperor. This time in my capacity as Vice-President. At a quarter to five the Presidents, with Simson at their head, were received in audience, and then dinner. I was on the Emperor's right, on his left Field-Marshal Herwarth von Bittenfeld. How he ever became Field-Marshal I don't know. Next me sat Kameke, who was in command at Spichern, and was at the siege of Paris. He has the sly face of an ambitious military man. He is a friend of Konstantin, having been some time in Vienna, and has some resemblance to him. *He* is one who will probably succeed in becoming Marshal. Podbielski in hussar uniform. It is wonderful how the best people delight in childish things. This celebrated general likes to appear in a hussar uniform, and for this reason he has shaved off his beard so as to look Hungarian.

The conversation at table consisted principally of military reminiscences. It was the anniversary of a French disaster. The Silesian Grenadier Regiment was invited to dinner that day for four o'clock — that is, the officers. The alarm was sounded at one o'clock; the regiment went into action. At six o'clock it was all over, and as the Emperor was returning the Lord Chamberlain asked him how about the dinner. He answered: "Ask the officers to-morrow." Then came the adjutant of the regiment; announced that the regiment was just about to march in, and so the Emperor decided that they should come to dinner as they were. And so it was; soon afterwards they were all at table. "Straight from the battlefield into the really beautiful halls" in which the Emperor was then living.

BERLIN, *October* 25, 1871.

Yesterday evening the meeting was held, at which I had to make a report on civil marriage. This I did in a fairly simple way. I spoke first about the motive of the report, of the desire of the North German Progressive party to get our opinion of the causes which led to the demand for civil marriage, of the historical development of the forms of marriage, of the opposition which civil marriage encountered, and ended with discussion of the question of competence. Then followed a long debate, which lasted till ten o'clock, and was then interrupted. The Saxons were against Civil Marriage, the Bavarians and Prussians for it. It was agreed, however, that we would have to proceed cautiously. The discussion was postponed till to-day.

As I was going to the meeting to-day I met Lasker, who gave me his opinion about the motion. He agrees with me that it would be better if each province first tried to introduce civil marriage. If the opposition in the country prevented them from succeeding, then the Reichstag could step in. It is too early as yet to take the odium upon us. Bismarck was not exactly against it, but yet not for it. Lasker thought we ought to leave the matter alone, for the fear that the clergy would form an alliance with the Conservatives. There was a good deal of beating about the bush at the meeting. Eventually Bernuth, Roggenbach, and I were requested to confer with the other parties about the matter. To me it seems unnecessary that the Reichstag should pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Bavarian Ministry.

BERLIN, *October* 29, 1871.

The civil marriage question has reached a new stage. The doubts as to whether the measure is opportune have got the upper hand, and the motion falls to the ground, as they want to introduce a motion for the extension of the power of the Reichstag to deal with the whole question of the Civil Law. Hörmann and Fischer were opposed to this, and wanted to know first what the Ministry in Munich thought of it. While I was out shooting, Roggenbach and Fischer nearly came to blows at a party meeting; the former wanted to break up the group altogether, and showed himself in this matter a somewhat excitable politician. However, he calmed down later. Gradually, however, all members of the party agreed that it would be better to throw in their lot with the above Bill, which had been introduced by the National Liberals, supported by the Free Conservatives and the Advanced Liberals, and which would probably be agreed to by the Conservatives. I was brought forward to propose the motion.

Yesterday evening there was a reception of the Deputies at Bismarck's. The Princess was ill; she was represented only by Frau von Spitzenberg and her daughter. As I was sitting with the ladies, Bismarck came up. We spoke about the Ultramontanes, and he referred to the story of the schoolmaster who said to a boy who was crying before the school began, "Boy, if this is how you howl now, what a howling there will be when I am whacking you." This was just like the present attitude of the Ultramontanes to him, although so far he had not harmed them.

November 4.

Yesterday one of the usual dinners was given by Delbrück to the Deputies of the Reichstag. I sat between Camphausen and old Frankenberg. Opposite and near to Delbrück were Bismarck and Simson. The dinner was endless, like all public dinners. Afterwards coffee was served in the different rooms leading into the dining-room, and by chance I found myself with Bismarck in one of the smaller rooms, surrounded by a circle of listeners. In response to various questions put to him by those present, Bismarck was induced to speak of recent years. At first he spoke of his stay in Frankfurt, and gave amongst other things a very amusing account of the methods employed by the Austrian Government to gain a hold over the Federal Representatives. He himself had been offered an annuity of 30,000 thalers. Many of the representatives had sons in the Austrian army. If one of these representatives or a Minister from some small State acted up to the desires of the Austrian Government, his son was advanced; if he had other views, his son was then immediately sent to some distant land to be eaten by fleas and bugs, a condition of things which could only be changed by an appeal to his father. He also gave us a vivid description of the cigar story. At the commencement of the sittings, Thun always smoked at the meetings of Committees, but no one joined him. This Bismarck noticed, and one day he asked Thun for a cigar, and from then on smoked along with him. This went on for some time. Suddenly Schrenck, who was not in the habit of smoking, appeared with a cigar-case, and solemnly lighted a cigar. Shortly afterwards another representative appeared who had never smoked before, lit up a very yellow, mild cigar, dropping it afterwards under the table, and in the end every one of the representatives smoked at least once in order to assert himself. Later on Bismarck spoke of Benedetti. He said he had cases full of documents which he had not had time to read, containing the most extraordinary things. These were the cases which were found in the country house at Rouher. Among these papers were letters of a very compromising nature. With regard to his attitude towards Benedetti he related the following story:

Already in the summer of 1866 Benedetti had opened up the question of compensation. He had never ventured to demand concessions in Germany, but spoke of Belgium. There the matter rested until the beginning of 1867. Bismarck said: "I could, of course, have thrown Benedetti down the stairs; the result, however, would have been war, and this I wished to avoid, as I always hoped it might be possible to avoid it altogether. Besides, we were getting stronger every year. So I let him talk on in the belief that I was the type of man capable of betraying his country. As soon as he ceased to believe this, war broke out at once." When Grammont was appointed Minister, Bismarck told Benedetti that this was an indication that the Emperor had some dark design, otherwise he would never have made so stupid a man Minister. Benedetti maintained that the Emperor did not know Grammont well enough, on which Bismarck remarked that the Emperor Napoleon had described Grammont to him as *un ancien bellâtre.* This continued till ten o'clock.

I also heard from old Frankenberg that Bismarck had contemplated retirement in the early part of the summer. He was then very decided, and more so on account of the difference he had with Stillfried, who did not wish to see the title of prince added to his honours. At the time, this was laid at Frankenberg's door.

Bismarck also related how, in the year 1852, he had said in Vienna that in ten years from that date he would like to be Minister, remain Minister for ten years, and rest for ten years afterwards to think over his experiences. This had really happened, for in 1862 he became Minister, and next year would be the time when he might give up.

Against this all present protested.

To COUNT HEGNENBERG.

BERLIN, *October* 30, 1871.

Your Excellency's letter * of the 24th inst. contains a threefold command: first, to discover the feeling of the Reichstag on the subject dealt with in the supplementary law which you forward; secondly, to sound the opinion of the Federal Council; and finally, to propose some one in the Federal Council who is more or less of my way of thinking politically and who might be entrusted with the bringing in of the Bill.

As far as the Government is concerned, I do not think I am wrong in anticipating that they will agree. It was more difficult for me to discharge the remaining tasks, as I am not personally familiar with the Federal Council. I therefore resolved to submit the matter to Prince Bismarck, as I knew that his views would be accepted in the Federal Council, especially if he was working in harmony with the Bavarian Government. Prince Bismarck was very obliging about the matter, and remarked that it was more and more necessary to take up a firm attitude towards the Ultramontanes, and to define more clearly the position between Church and State. The motion in question seemed to him to be quite right, and would receive his support. As to the terms of the article, the Prince had only one fault to find, namely, the proposed punishment by fine, which he considered unsuitable for such offences. He took the draft of the Bill away with him, in order to look more closely into its working. With regard to tactics, Prince Bismarck was of opinion that it would not be feasible for any but the Bavarian Delegate to bring the matter before the Federal Council. If this was not acceptable there was another way, *i.e.*, for the proposition to be submitted by one of the Bavarian Deputies in the Reichstag. It would be easy to find some one to do this. In any case, the proposition, no matter by whom it was submitted, would be favourably accepted by the Federal Council. "All would agree," said the Prince, "with the possible exception of Herr von Perglas." Prince Bismarck, in the course of the conversation, mentioned that the Office of the Imperial Chancellor intended next spring to submit changes in the criminal law, and asked him if he thought that this matter should also be postponed till the spring. But he said that he thought not.

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* Count Hegnenberg, in a letter of October 24, 1871, had sent to the Prince the draft of a proposed addition to the ecclesiastical provisions of the criminal code. The occasion of this was the "ungovernable turbulence which the Government had to complain of in the clergy, especially in their pulpit utterances." The Court requested the Prince to ascertain whether the Bill could reckon on a majority in the Reichstag and the Federal Council, as the Bavarian Government "would much rather abandon the Bill altogether than expose it to the danger of a miscarriage. Count Hegnenberg wished it to be brought in by some one whose political convictions resembled those of the Prince.

After this interview, I turned to that old Parliamentary authority, Dr. Barth, who explained to me that if necessary the motion would be supported by a number provided that "we are sure that there will be no opposition in the Federal Council." I would therefore beg of your Excellency either to honour me with further commissions to secure supporters in the Reichstag for the Bill, or to follow the advice of Prince Bismarck, and bring the matter before the House at once. In neither case will opposition be met with from Prince Bismarck or in the Federal Council.

In conclusion, I must mention a remark of Prince Bismarck's. He was of opinion that it was better not to take the public by surprise with such propositions when they emanated from the Government, but to prepare the way by means of the Press. Whether this advice can be followed depends entirely upon the decision of your Excellency. It seems to me that this advice is only applicable should the motion be introduced by way of the Federal Council.

I do not know whether I have carried out your Excellency's intentions, but, in any case, it seems to me that no harm has been done in the matter. In anticipation of further news from you, I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Journal.

BERLIN, *November* 30, 1871.

About the middle of the month the question was brought up for the first time in the Group as to whether the idea of the Bavarian Government should be followed up and a Bill proposed which would deal with the political sermons of the Catholic clergy. As I did not wish to have anything to do with the matter, I gave it to Barth, who took it in hand. A meeting was now called of delegates of the various groups, and I was made President. Here the matter was explained by Fischer. Lowe spoke against the proposal, but explained that should all be in favour he would not stand on one side. He recognised the political importance of the matter; but he and the Advanced Liberals didn't like the Ultramontane question being brought up in this particular way.

Bennigsen thought it necessary to take one step to bring the Ultramontanes out of their defences. Another opportunity would not soon be found. Consideration for the South was an equally strong consideration.

Miquel thought it necessary to strike a blow against the Ultramontanes, but not unless the whole of the Liberal party agreed to it. Under these conditions he would say yes. The Bavarians had come with a request for protection. The Empire must seize the opportunity and not turn away. Bamberger could not see much prospect of success, but if the Bavarians thought it necessary, he would not be opposed to it. Hörmann would have preferred some other way, although a pronouncement on the matter by the Reichstag would strengthen the Liberal party in Berlin.

Forckenbeck said a fight with the Jesuits would be a question of power. It had been conducted since 1870 with some slight success. The Ultramontanes have played their last card; they had been excommunicated. The same fight was going on in Northern Germany. Forckenbeck thinks that the Liberals have progressed and the Ultramontanes lost ground (a somewhat optimistic view). He had been asked to bring in a law regulating the share of parishes in Church property, but had given it up as impossible. There therefore remained only the present law or a law to be proposed. The Liberal party must, however, be united on the question and protected by the Press.

Zedlitz, in the name of the Free Conservatives, declared himself favourable. Krausshold fears that the police will have to be brought into the churches. Bennigsen is favourable. He advised that the Imperial Liberal party bring the matter forward and then communicate with the other groups.

This took place the other day. There were, however, so many points of drafting to settle and so many defections among the supporters that Lutz determined to bring the matter forward himself, first in the Federal Council and then in the Reichstag.*

On November 10 I was with the Crown Prince in the afternoon. He asked me if I thought that the Empire was consolidating itself. The aversion of the Emperor to giving up the style of King of Prussia and Prussian things in general, which aversion was encouraged by the nobility, appeared to give him serious matter for thought.

On the 11th I dined with Bunsen, with whom was staying a Mr. Childers, formerly Minister of the Navy. I returned home with Lasker, who was also there. Lasker, who was somewhat excited after dinner, spoke of the South German Ministers with unconcealed aversion. Mittnacht, namely, had excited his highest scorn. The *résumé* of the conversation was that these Ministers were betraying their King, and that people here were profiting thereby. In the evening a reception at Redern's.

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* The Federal Council adopted the measure on November 19. The debate in the Reichstag began on November 23 and was opened by a speech by the Bavarian Minister Lutz.

On November 22 I presided at a sitting on the motion dealing with the standing orders. Windthorst's proposition* appeared to be so harmless that I did not take the voting sufficiently seriously. Had I put the questions in some other form, or laid more stress upon them, or called the attention of the meeting to the import of Windthorst's proposition, it would never have gone through. I and many others walked into the trap which Windthorst had prepared in order to create mischief. Simson, whom I afterwards advised not to take the matter too seriously, said he would think it over. On the 23rd, however, he did not appear at the meeting. I presided and during the session a letter arrived from him resigning the Presidency. I left Weber to preside, and went below to advise with the heads of the Groups. We agreed that I should fix the election of a new President for that evening. This was now announced, to the astonishment of the House.

At seven o'clock there was a meeting of the committee of Group III., at which I took the chair. Roon was there. Bethusy,† in a senseless and high-flown speech, proposed the prolongation for three years of discharge by purchase. Roon at first opposed, but afterwards declared that he himself would like to see the proposal made law.

At 8.15 we went into the House, where Weber had in the meantime opened proceedings, in order to confirm the choice of Simson. Many gentlemen who had dined hastily were in cheerful agreement. Weber's Swabian accent was jeered at, he found it hard to keep order, and as he remained seated while speaking there were cries of "Stand up!" "When will the fellow stand up?" &c., until the secretary told him to stand up. As soon as the choice of Simson was confirmed I went to his house with Weber. It was ten o'clock. We found him in bed, and he declared himself willing to accept. When I asked him whether I should communicate the news to the House, he said he preferred to do it himself.

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*At the sitting of November 8, 1871, the President, with the approval of the House, had refused to hear the Deputy Bebel. At the sitting of November 9 the latter contended that this decision of the House was contrary to the Standing Orders, as by sec. 43 it was only permissible to silence a member after he had been twice called to order. The President replied that it was true that he had not twice repeated the phrase, "I call you to order," but that he had twice called the honourable member's attention to the breaches of order he had committed in his speech, and that he did not consider he was bound to use any particular form of words. The decision of the question was entrusted to a committee on the Standing Orders, which pronounced in favour of the President. Their report was dealt with at the sitting of November 22. Windthorst, without questioning the Committee's interpretation of sec. 43, proposed to refer the matter back to them with the direction that they were to make proposals for more strictly defining the procedure which must precede the silencing of a member of the House. Prince Hohenlohe said that he would first put Windthorst's motion. If that were carried, the report of the Committee would be settled. This was done, and Windthorst's motion was carried in spite of the opposition of Schwarze and Lasker, who pointed out that Windthorst's motion as affecting the future contained no answer to the question put by the President, which referred to a past event taking place on November 8, and to which he had a right to expect an answer.

†The Government had at first limited their military requirements for the next financial year, but had foreshadowed an increase in future years. On the 25th the Federal Council adopted the proposal that discharge purchase money in a lump sum of 225 thalers should be accepted for three years.

On the following evening there was much discussion in the Groups over the discharge money for three years. On the evening of the 27th we had the final meeting of the Groups. The Saxons and some Bavarians were in the opposition. I drew attention to the general situation, asked if any one really believed that in the next three years two hundred and twenty-five thalers would ruin us, and whether they wanted us to introduce the Militia system. If not, then the pretended "exercise of constitutional rights" was an illusion. We must have order in our military matters, a strong Army, and we must prove to other countries that we are armed for three years. Moreover in this way we should profit in that we should not be compelled to concede any more.

During the following plenary sittings the clerical laws and the military laws were discussed. About the former, and in particular about the proceedings of Lutz, the Ultramontanes were much excited; others shook their heads. Münster, amongst others, said that if the bishops are as Lutz paints them they should every one of them be shot dead. One gathers from this that it is unwise to paint the evils one has to go on living with in such glaring colours. The diplomats do not approve of Lutz's behaviour, and many of the Ministers here have spoken to me in the same manner. Schleinitz thought that Lutz was already regretting what he had done.

On the 28th I was invited to a dinner of the American colony by Bancroft at the Hotel de Rome. I sat between him and his wife. He made speech after speech, and had included me in the programme. I proposed the toast of the United States in the following words. Bancroft was very pleased with it and is sending it to Grant in Washington.

"Gentlemen, — In travelling through the various towns and market-places of my country, particularly in the Franconian district, it would be difficult for you to find a single place in which one or more inhabitants have not some tie with the United States of America owing to the emigration of their relatives to that country. It could not be otherwise. Many years ago, when legislation hindered the free development of the industrial intercourse, the United States was the refuge of thousands of industrious workmen.

"During long years of political struggle in Germany, North America was the refuge of many an honourable fighter for a cause which is to-day victorious. For many years Germany has looked upon the stupendous growth of the American Free States and derived much hope and comfort from it. And so the two nations have bound themselves together with spiritual and material bonds, both equally unbreakable. Every pulse-throb of American life is felt on this side of the ocean.

"With what excitement did we follow the great struggle of the last decade in which the union of your country was at stake. For it was a struggle in which *our* union, too, was concerned. We also in our late great struggle were fortified by the sympathy of the American people. We have received the most splendid testimonies of this from them, and I am glad that I am called upon to-day to express to them the thanks of Germany.

"So I drink to the health of the United States. They supported Germany in the beginnings of her development. In the time of our great triumph they were friends who knew not envy; they will be, I dare hope to say, in the time of peaceful development, our great and faithful allies. Three cheers for the United States of America!"

MUNICH, *March* 5, 1872.

Dinner to-day at the Prussian Legation, with Döllinger, Reinkens, and Werthern, in honour of Harry Arnim, who is travelling through here on his way to Rome to deliver his letters of recall. At table Reinkens opened up in his usual frank manner and contested the necessity of the Nunciatures in Germany. Arnim considered that they were harmless.

After dinner I had a long conversation with Arnim. He is not content with Tauffkirchen, whom he does not consider to be able enough. He spoke of Rome with much intimate knowledge. The present Pope he calls a monstrosity such as they have never known before. As to the successor after the death of Pius IX. they are not quite clear in Berlin. Arnim considers that a German Cardinal would be suitable. This much, however, was certain, that Bismarck will undertake the fight with Rome and carry it through. He does not attempt to conceal the importance of the fight, but he has made up his mind. Arnim will carry a declaration of war to Rome.* It appears that the compromising papers† found in possession of the Jesuits in Posen have upset the apple-cart. It is certain that letters from Windthorst to Kozmian were found in which the former had given to the Poles certain retaining measures on the school question, &c.

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* Count Arnim, who had been appointed Ambassador at Paris, presented his letters of recall to the Pope on March 21.

† On account of an alleged attempt on the life of the Imperial Chancellor, the house of the Prelate Kozmian at Posen was searched. Nothing was found relating to the attempt, but a correspondence was found which contained compromising revelations of the relations between the Centre and the Poles.

BERLIN, *May* 10, 1872.

Yesterday a rumour was spread that Bismarck was again unwell, and that he would have to retire to the country for six months. As I had seen him some few days previous looking fresh and healthy, I thought this was curious, and I expected he was simply playing truant. This was the case. Bismarck has difficulties with the Emperor. His powerful and imperious nature cannot stand the pressure which the old gentleman brings to bear upon him. On the Church question Bismarck is determined to go forward. The Emperor, however, is afraid of the fight, or rather, he will not embitter the last years of his life in a fight which promises to bring him little credit.

Yesterday I was at Münster's, with Prince Wilhelm of Baden, Hermann Langenburg, Benda, Cardorff, Simson, and Lasker. I sat next to Lasker. The conversation took a literary turn, and I was interested to hear that Lasker could not stand Heine. He told us how he had once won a bet. In a company Heine was being extolled and he challenged Heine's champion to read something from Heine. He would then read the finest thing he knew from Platen, and the company should decide. After the reading of one of Heine's poems Lasker recited one of Platen's most celebrated ballads, and the company decided for the latter. "Compared with him, Heine gave one the impression of a strolling player." For beauty of style Lasker places Heyse on an equality with Boccaccio.

Lasker's importance is due to the fact that he has no wants. He requires no money, seeks no place, is unapproachable on all sides, no one can get the better of him, and he uses his talents to satisfy his own ambition only.

The members of the Government are occupied with the Jesuit question as well as with the Cardinal.* The latter is not so much discussed now that the matter has been settled and the Pope has not accepted him. Opinions vary very much on the Jesuit question. In the end Gneist's proposition will be accepted, the Imperial Government to take over the proposed legislation of the South German States on the subject, a mild form of the expulsion of the Orders. No one will be energetic about it. The necessity for expelling the Jesuits is not as fully understood by the people as it should be, if a simple expulsion order is determined upon. This, at least, seems to be the opinion of many. Personally, I have very little information on the subject.

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* On April 25 the German *Chargé d'Affaires* confidentially informed the Cardinal Secretary of State that the Emperor had appointed Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe as Ambassador, and that the Cardinal would come to Rome in order to ascertain whether his appointment would be acceptable to the Pope, and, if it were accepted, to present his credentials. On the request of the *Chargé d'Affaires* (May 1) for an answer to the notification of April 25, the Cardinal-Secretary of State replied that the Pope could not authorise the appointment of Cardinal Hohenlohe to the post.

Yesterday, during the sitting, Lasker brought me the Bill to extend the jurisdiction of the Empire to the civil laws, questions of procedure and judicial organisation. It had already the same signatures as last autumn, and he wished me also to sign it as proposer. As, however, the Bill had greatly displeased the King on account of the inclusion of the judicial organisation, I explained to Lasker that I could not possibly sign if the judicial organisation were named. Stauffenberg and Herz had already signed. Bernuth was much embarrassed; he was afraid of Lasker. Upon my openly declaring that I would not sign, Lasker, to my great astonishment, said that he would endeavour to modify the Bill to meet my wishes. He appears to value my signature very highly.*

The foreign diplomats are somewhat concerned that Bismarck should have spread the report of the Cardinal's recall before the answer had come from Rome. This is not very considerate to Gustav, and it will do him harm. One could easily foresee, however, that he would do this.

At the discussion on the status of the mission to the Holy See, for the Embassy, May 14, 1872, the deputy von Bennigsen had discussed the withdrawal of the Cardinal, whom the Imperial Government had wished to appoint Ambassador at Rome. The Deputy Windthorst had in the meantime attacked the Cardinal, and had reproached him with having gone to Germany on September 22, 1870, two days after the Italians took Rome, and with being there now without the Pope's leave.

Prince Hohenlohe replied to this: "The honourable member has expressed his regret that questions should have been touched upon without giving the House an opportunity to inform themselves as to the documents. If I can bring myself to an understanding in this respect with the delegate Windthorst, I cannot suppress the remark that this regret did not deter him, without any knowledge of the documents which will be brought before us, from making a criticism on a Prince of the Church of a character which I, in default of a parliamentary expression, cannot more closely define. The honourable member has suggested that the Cardinal left Rome at a time when the Holy Father was threatened. I must now state that the Cardinal, during the siege of Rome, was in Rome, and left only after its capture. The honourable gentleman has also criticised the stay of the Cardinal in Germany. I do not think that he is justified in this, and can only answer that he certainly would not at present have at Rome the influence which his wishes and abilities deserved."

In a personal explanation in reply to the Reichensperger (Crefeld) the Prince stated that the Cardinal left and remained away from Rome with the full consent of the Holy Father.

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* On May 29 Lasker announced that the words, "including the judicial organisation," in the former motion, already twice carried, were to be omitted in deference to the wishes of certain indispensable supporters.

BERLIN, *May* 16, 1872.

Yesterday the Jesuit debate commenced. As the party had called upon me to speak for them, I did so, and announced my intention to Simson. I had so much more inducement to do this as I had answered Kiefer's wish and had subscribed myself as a supporter of the Lamey-Kiefer proposal. The rush to the strangers' galleries was quite enormous. The people streamed from all quarters. Moufang spoke first, and his speech came in very well *before* mine. Wagner, who followed, took away many of my points, but I did not trouble myself about that, but kept on fluently with my speech as it was, with the necessary additions due to the speech of Moufang. It is very comfortable, speaking from the platform. The draft of the Bill, which I necessarily defined and specified at the end of my speech, made a deep impression upon the Centre. Some gentlemen sitting near the Centre told me of this.

It was very remarkable to me that Bismarck, who greeted me as I left the platform, said to me, "Yes, such a Bill as you have described must certainly come."

I got no cheers. As my speech ended without a peroration, no one knew that I was going to stop. I did that deliberately, because I considered the thing to be too serious, and carefully avoided all effect. The speech itself will make noise enough. Marquard Barth pressed my hand as I passed before him, and said, "Very good." The pronouncement of the "old parliamentary hand" is always a sign that the speech is a good one.

Speech of PRINCE HOHENLOHE *at the sitting of the Reichstag of May* 15, 1872.

Gentlemen, — The petitions* lying before us to-day present to the Government a problem which at first sight seems very difficult of solution. When one reads the grounds of these petitions, when one goes through the recital of the merits of the Jesuits which they contain, one is nearly driven to the idea that the problem before the members of the Reichstag is one where they are required to sit in judgment upon the deeds of the Jesuits during the three centuries of their existence, for which purpose they would act in the double capacity of judges and historians.

If this really were the problem, then it would indeed be difficult to solve. But, gentlemen, this is by no means the point. We have not to trouble ourselves with the deeds of individual Jesuits, but *with the Order as a whole*, and I am so convinced of the necessity of establishing this distinction, that is to say, to differentiate between the deeds of the individual Jesuits and the policy of the Order, that I am heartily ready to concede to the first speaker that many Jesuits in all times have distinguished themselves by their learning, their blameless lives, and by the practice of all the works of Christian compassion. Yes, and, gentlemen, I will go further; I assert that no man can do his duty, and especially endure the humiliation which the Order imposes on its members, if he is not impressed to his most inmost soul by the conviction that he is really working for the glory of God — *ad majorem Dei gloriam* — in the proper sense of the word, and for the salvation of mankind; if he is not convinced that the great antithesis which excites our time can only be solved in the way which the Society of Jesus defines as the right way, and if he is not convinced with Dr. Jörg, whose words I will quote:

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* Against the Jesuits and in their favour.

"That the Encyclical of Pius IX. contains in itself the real master stroke of statesmanlike knowledge and a foundation for the reconstruction of Christian States."

But, gentlemen, if I concede to individual Jesuits all justice, if I indeed admit to the honourable member, Dr. Moufang, that patriotic Jesuits exist, I must also at the same time assert that the opinion expressed by Herr von Radowitz in St. Paul's at Frankfurt with respect to the Order of Jesuits remains correct. Herr von Radowitz said at that time:

"The advantages to the Catholic Church in Germany which may be expected from the Jesuit Order stand in no proportion to the disturbances and dangers which their presence entails."

Herr von Radowitz, who at that time represented the Catholics in Parliament, and whose opinion is certainly closer to us than that of Frederick the Great, quoted to us by Herr Moufang, has anticipated rightly. The disturbances have appeared. and we are in the presence of dangers, the importance of which is sufficiently indicated by the report of the commission and the petitions against the Jesuits.

Gentlemen, what astounds me about the whole Jesuitical and anti-Jesuitical movements of our day is that the Jesuits and their friends wonder that the modern State abhors them. And yet the Society has taken upon itself to make war on the modern State, and its members declare with the utmost openness that the purpose of the Order is to maintain the unity of the ecclesiastical doctrine and the ecclesiastical life in rigid connection with the Church as the centre of the system. In this of itself lies no danger, but the interpretation, which has been put upon this original definition of the founder, contains a distinct declaration of war by the Society of Jesus against the foundations of our life as a State. I will not enter upon the question whether the Encyclical of December 8, 1864, and the Syllabus connected with it, is a decision of the Pope *ex cathedra* or not — this is a question which is controverted inside the Church itself — but there can be no doubt that this Syllabus forms the guide for the action of the Jesuit Order and the goal of their endeavours. The writings of the Jesuits upon it leave not the slightest doubt about that.

Now, gentlemen, some sentences from the Syllabus have already been quoted by the previous speaker. You know the Syllabus. I notice that several copies of the Syllabus are here in this house. I will, therefore, only remind you that the Syllabus declares war upon progress, liberty, and modern civilisation; that it condemns as pernicious errors freedom of the Press, freedom of education, religious toleration, and also the freedom of conscience appealed to by the honourable member. All the writers of the Order advocate these principles, therefore I must accept the fact that the Order adopt them as such, and then the Jesuits marvel when this world, condemned by them, opens its eyes and asks itself: "Can we tolerate in our midst an institution which is cutting the foundation of our existence from under our feet?" If these propositions were advanced by individual scholars, who, making use of the right of free utterance, were appreciated by the republic of letters, then we would have little to say against it. But the Order which advocates these propositions is a well-organised multitude, based on a discipline far stricter than that of any military organisation. Its champions are obliged to yield a degree of obedience to their chiefs which not only demands a sacrifice of free will, but also the sacrifice of intelligence as well. If you are in any doubt about this, read the letter of Ignatius Loyola of 1553, *De virtute obedientiæ*. You will then be sufficiently enlightened as regards conditional or unconditional obedience with respect to the matter in dispute. The Order is a power, which every member of this meeting has, or at least will have, the opportunity of recognising. And, gentlemen, shall we allow this hostile multitude a free hand to spread these principles by the power which the cure of souls, the confessional and instruction give, and to offer nourishment to them who hunger and thirst after righteousness? Gentlemen, if we are not to give up our own being, we cannot longer tolerate such conditions. This condition of things is in the proper sense of the word a dangerous condition.

The conclusion I derive from these premises is that the most suitable course to pursue would be to agree upon a Bill based upon the example of Switzerland, which simply forbids the Jesuit Orders; such a Bill would require about three paragraphs, the first of which would establish the principle:

> The Order of Jesuits, and Orders standing in connection with that Order, are prohibited in Germany.

The second paragraph would run:

> Every German who enters the Jesuit Order loses thereby his rights as a citizen of the State.

And the third paragraph, according to my judgment, should state:

> No German, who has been educated in a Jesuit teaching establishment, may be installed in the service of the State or of the Church in Germany.

I have decided, however, not to give you the pleasure of discussing such a Bill at present. I conceive that the formulation of such a motion is not a matter for the Petition Commission of the Reichstag on the occasion of a deliberation on a petition, but it would be much more suitable if such a Bill were presented from the side of the allied Governments. I have therefore associated myself with the motion which was introduced by some members of this House this morning. I have done this in the expectation that this motion, when it finds acceptance, will give to the allied Government a basis for the submission of a Bill of the kind I have indicated. I recommend to you this motion, which has likewise the advantage that it will not cause the allied Governments to take up half measures.

Continuation of the Journal of May 16.

When I entered the sitting to-day, they were trying to win over the Conservatives to the adjustment motion.* This was attained. Likewise the independent Conservatives, who nevertheless endeavoured to oppose it, because in their programme they had engaged to favour the free action of religious societies. Lamey withdrew our Bill, and so the adjustment motion got its great majority. After the debate I spoke with Bismarck and Friedberg, who still desire to present a Bill at this Diet.

In the evening a ball at Itzenplitz. The Emperor greeted me with special friendliness, the Ultramontane ladies with sour-sweet laughter. Princess Pelagie Radziwill had accustomed herself to the whole transaction.

May 18.

Yesterday I spoke with Friedberg about the drafting of the Bill. Likewise with Gneist. My third article was seen to be the basis of the new Statute, and was much discussed.

Berlin, *June* 14, 1872.†

The Jesuit question, which is being debated at this moment in Parliament (Windthorst is just now at the rostrum, but speaks with astonishing feebleness), gives us much work. I appear from all sides as the real father of the measure against the Jesuits, though I am not in any concerned with the present badly drafted Bill. Yesterday there was a meeting of the Group, at which I communicated the draft I had received from Bennigsen which had been agreed upon by the National Liberals and which was practically adopted. Afterwards — it was already 10.30 — I went to the meeting of the so-called Free Unions, who discussed the Bill. I found there Roggenbach, Friedenthal, Münster, Miquel, and others. The debate made me feel as if none of the speakers had the courage of their opinions, and were seeking for some means of throwing the unpleasant Jesuit affair off their shoulders. Miquel and Roggenbach propounded that one must first ask what would be carried through by the Government; others sought out something else. As I listened quietly in the corner of the room, I at length lost my patience. I called the attention of the members to the fact that we were already in the presence of a decision of the Reichstag, that this decision had to a certain degree expressed and justified the disquietude as to the activity of the Jesuit Order, and that it was duty to accept the means whereby the danger might be counteracted. The Bill offered this means, even though in an incomplete form. But we must agree upon something. The Federal Council would do what we proposed it should do; it would not therefore have the courage to refuse its sanction to the Bill. This appeared to make an impression, and a commission of three members was at once elected, including myself, which should come to an agreement with the other sections and prepare a draft. It was half-past eleven when we separated.

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* That of Marquardsen, who promoted a Bill for the regulation of the proper position of the religious Orders and for the penalising those of their activities which were dangerous to the State, that is, the activities of the Jesuits. The motion was carried by 205 votes to 84.

† First reading of the Jesuits Bill presented by the Federal Council.

This was only the first day of the debate, so that there was only a general discussion. No decisions were come to. After the sitting we had our group dinner. I had invited Simson and Bennigsen. The former was, however, unable to come. Bennigsen sat beside me, opposite to Prince Wilhelm of Baden, who had invited Rabenau. Bernuth made a dignified speech upon the presiding officers of the Reichstag, in which he said that the names of Simson, Bennigsen, and Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst would ever be prominent in the history of German union; that Simson had worked in the east, Bennigsen in the west, and I in the south — and so on.

Bennigsen replied in our name in a longish speech. Kastner then drank to the health of the three presidents of the group, forgetting, however, that since last year I had taken the place of Roggenbach, and named Barth, Bernuth, and Roggenbach, which caused great merriment and forced Roggenbach to reply. In this way I received the, to me, unexpected toast of the group. After the dinner I went with Barth and Bennigsen to the Reichstag, where there was a meeting of the delegates of all the groups for the purpose of deliberating upon the Jesuit Bill. I was immediately elected with acclamation to the position of chairman. We deliberated till 11.30, and brought a draft into such a condition that it will probably be introduced into the House on Monday. After the close of this sitting I went with Lamey and others to the Restaurant Wilde, where I informed the gentlemen assembled there of the results.

BERLIN, *June* 20, 1872.

Yesterday the third deliberation on the Jesuit Statute. I was prepared to speak on this occasion also, but found no opportunity. The speeches of Dorn and Gneist were annihilating for the friends of the Jesuits; the brothers Reichensperger could not make good the damage, though they made great efforts.* After despatching the Orders of the Day, the Diet was closed by Delbrück in the name of the Emperor.

Before this the senior President had made a very pretty speech of thanks to Simson, who, as usual, answered in choice phrases.

In the evening to the Woltersdorf Theatre, where a farce was given, in which there were songs, as usual, about the Pope, infallibility, Jesuits, &c.

Then to the so-called parliamentary union. After I had conversed for some time with Thomas and Swaine, I went away. As I was going Marquardsen stopped me, and said that Fäustle † wanted me very much to join the Ministry. The only question was if I was inclined to join forces with Lutz. I answered in the affirmative, provided the Progressive party would not let Lutz drop, which he distinctly denied. There was no doubt that they would stick to him in these circumstances. From this it seems that things are getting serious for the Ministry, and that is the main question. In any case Marquardsen was empowered by the Ministry to ascertain about me. Bennigsen then came and urged the necessity of my taking office in Bavaria. It would be of the greatest value to the Government here to have some one there upon whom they could reckon. The leaders of all the other parties assured me of the same thing. It would be foolishness to allow oneself to be restrained from entering the Ministry by the University affairs.‡ If there was opposition to Lutz here and in the Progressive party, then, with the desire to see me in office again at Munich, it would be easy to get rid of him. But as they want to keep him, I must take him into the bargain.

EMS, *July* 9, 1872.

Yesterday I arrived at Ems at eleven o'clock. To-day I was early on the promenade. I saw the Emperor passing, went towards him, and was then invited to accompany him in his walk. We spoke about the Bavarian situation. He wished that I would again become Minister. I then fell in with General Count Stolberg, whom, as he had no carriage, I invited to drive with me to Nassau. There with Countess Kielmannsegg was the grand-daughter of Stein, and all was ready for the reception of exalted personages — the ladies *en grande toilette*, the great-grandson of Stein, a youngster of twelve in a light blue jacket. Every one had bouquets. The *salon* was decorated with garlands of oak-leaves, which made me uncomfortable. I found the committee, Simson, Bunsen, and Arnim Boitzenburg, who brought to me the extremely unpleasant information that I was to propose the toast of the Emperor. At half-past eleven the Empress came with the Crown Prince. The former was rather cold, the Crown Prince very amiable; he will come to Schillingsfürst in August. The Emperor came shortly after from Ems. Thereupon dinner, and about one o'clock we made a movement in the direction of the monument. I led with Bancroft and Albedyll up to the foot of the hill upon which the monument is erected. We waded up through the mud, — it had rained until then. Above, a pavilion for the Emperor, &c., and we round the monument. Speeches by Simson and Sybel. The latter spoke for an hour. Unveiling, cheers, "*Heil dir im Siegerkranz*," white-clad maidens, school children, &c. Thereupon a circle, and finally departure. I went to Arnim's, where we awaited the hour of the celebration banquet. At four o'clock to the Kursaal. I sat between Eulenburg and Simson. Beside me a gigantic cake with busts of the Emperor, Bismarck, &c. After the fish I stood up and said, "Gentlemen, — The great honour has been given to me of proposing the first toast. I believe I cannot better discharge this task than by reminding you of the words which the Great Elector wrote down in the year 1660. He said, 'Remember that you are a German!' These words are a legacy; they have become a precept for his successors, and the Hohenzollerns have remained true to the bequest. Therefore they have won the greatest of all prizes. They stand now at the head of all Germany, respected and beloved by all. To none, however, of all the princes of this illustrious House has it been granted to translate these principles into glorious deeds in the same degree as our Emperor Wilhelm the victorious. Posterity will look thankfully upon him as the second founder of the German Empire. We, who have all been privileged to behold the deeds of the Emperor; we, who not only venerate the Emperor, but adore the most amiable of men — we will offer him a most hearty greeting, and therefore I ask you to join with me in the toast — The Emperor and the whole Imperial House. . . ."

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* At the sitting of June 19 the Jesuit Statute, in a form acceptable to the delegates of the sections, was read a third time.

† The President of the Ministry and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Hegnenberg-Dux, died on June 2.

‡ This refers to the differences between the University of Munich and the Second Chamber which promoted the appointment of professors who favoured infallibility.

Then came many more toasts. General conversation. Evening festivities. Then back to Ems.

MUNICH, *August* 1, 1872.

Just back from the University, where Döllinger on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Munich University made a brilliant speech. Princes Ludwig, Adalbert, and Karl Theodor were present. Many acquaintances greeted me. The careworn countenances of the Ministers were explained by the following. The King had commissioned Gasser, behind the back of Eisenhart, to construct a new Ministry! He (Gasser) had conferred with Pranckh and Pfretzschner, and all the Ministers had resigned. The Ministry which Gasser will construct is essentially particularist. It will also be so regarded by Prussia, and thereby the situation will be cleared up. Which of the old Ministers will enter the new Ministry is not yet certain. Pfeufer probably not; whether Lutz will remain is doubtful. In any case those of the nominally Liberal Ministers who remain will be thoroughly ridiculed. The King is treating the Emperor and the German Crown Prince quite badly. At St. Bartholomä it is said that the Crown Prince was not permitted by the *personnel* of the Management of Woods to enter the house. The tension between Berlin and here is increasing. If the King will quarrel with Prussia, he will not think of sending for me; also, as the position is, I could not at all accept. The result of this mad policy will be, without doubt, the mediatisation of Bavaria. I would be very glad if the Ministry of Gasser comes into existence, so that the National Liberal party at length takes here its natural place. In this way Gasser and Schrenck will pretty well balance each other. Up to now, nobody here except the King, Ministers, Gasser, and some initiated people know anything of the affair.

8 P.M. — I have just come from a banquet at the Odeon. Döllinger has proposed the toast of the King, Prince Ludwig proposed the University of Munich, Duke Karl Theodor the other German Universities; both spoke well. After that, general intoxication. I went home very soon, and am now going on to Döllinger's, who has invited me.

MUNICH, *August* 2, 1872.

To-day a banquet in the Town Hall in honour of the University. The two Princes, Ludwig and Theodor, were again there. I sat opposite to them between Körmeritz and Brey — the brewer and president of the Town Council. The food was better than yesterday; also the wine, which, nevertheless, I scarcely tasted, was very good. The Mayor proposed the King, Wilfert the Emperor, the Deputy-Mayor the University, and Döllinger the town of Munich. Then there was a general outbreak of speech making, and two generally spoke at once. A Norwegian professor spoke for a long time without any one hearing him. Professor Halm stood upon a chair and gesticulated with his glass, whereby he drenched a Ministerial councillor who was sitting underneath. With the roast, cigars were distributed, and then the company surged about the hall. I have forgotten to refer to Völk's toast to Döllinger, which came soon enough to be heard and was received with acclamation. This, too, is a remarkable sign of the times — Völk toasting Döllinger! — when one thinks of the years '48 and '49 and the position of Döllinger in those days!

The Gasser scheme is doubted in many quarters. Körmeritz doesn't believe in it. Fäustle told me that he would not remain if Gasser entered. I have strengthened him in this. We will see whether Fäustle will do as he now says. Schleich came to me and said, "I would like to join the Ministry again!" Another strange reversal! I was greeted from all sides by tipsy people, who spoke to me of their hope that I would again become Minister. Lutz kept at a distance. I believe more and more that the proposition which Lutz and the other Ministers made to the King with reference to me was not meant seriously, and that Lutz still hopes to be Minister-President himself.*

In the evening a so-called cellar feast at the Augustinerbräu. I was conducted straight to the beer-hall, where I sat opposite to the ubiquitous Prince Ludwig, who had a large beer-jug before him, and between Madam Brey and Madame Wiedenhofen. Döllinger received a tremendous ovation. The heat and the crowd of inquisitive people was unendurable. At nine o'clock I had seen enough stupid faces, and went home unobserved in the middle of a display of fireworks.

From a letter of the PRINCE *to his brother-in-law,* PRINCE FRIEDRICH KARL ZU HOHENLOHE-WALDENBURG.

AUSSEE, *August* 9, 1872.

Apart from the action of the order in the Press, it is known that the Jesuits appear everywhere as the enemies of Germany. This is specially the case in Posen, where the Jesuits, under the leadership of Archbishop Ledochowski, offer open battle to Germany. Had they been permitted to go much further, the "allies of law and order" would soon have made a revolution in Posen. These intrigues of the Jesuits in Poland offered just the right pretext for proceeding against them. Bismarck shirked fighting. He knew very well that the contest would not be limited to the Jesuits. He had formerly used the Order as an ally against the revolution. But finally he was compelled to give up his former friends. The Jesuit Order cannot do otherwise than fight against an Empire whose basis is religious toleration: a basis which the Order has never acknowledged and never will acknowledge. If follows of necessity that the Protestant Hohenzollern dynasty, being at the head of Germany, is hateful to it. I believe a Jesuit would take it as an insult if one hinted that he could be a supporter of the new German Empire. That the contest against the Jesuits would not be against them alone is no doubt probable, and is much to be deplored. If the favourable position which the Catholic Church occupies in Prussia were changed for the worst, who would be to blame? No one but those people who for years have been egging on the Pope to make adventurous declarations against the State, against civilisation, against religious toleration, &c., and, quite recently, against the German Empire. By "those people" I understand, however, the Jesuits who rule the Pope, those doctrinaires of the Catholic Church who turn everything upside down with theocratic fancies. The most sheep-like patience, therefore, must at length give way. If we Liberals persist in sticking to the Jesuit law, that does not mean that we will thereby fight the Catholic Church; we only wish for peace. If the clergy are to be taken under the supervision of the State, that does not mean that the Old Catholics and the Jews are to train the clergy, but the State has the right and the duty to take care that in the seminaries enemies of all State order and the tools of the Jesuits are not manufactured. As to the bishops, after blindly subjecting themselves to the Jesuits, they cannot possibly complain if the State has placed them upon the same level though it has not treated them in the same way.

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* The attempt of the Bavarian Minister at Stuttgart, von Gasser, to form an Ultramontane Ministry failed. On September 19 the former Minister of Finance, Pfretzschner, was nominated First Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I marvel that historians have not seen the obvious analogy between the present contest with the Romist Church and the contests of the Middle Ages. For myself, I am a Ghibelline, and shall be till the end of the chapter.

From a letter to the same.

AUSSEE, *September* 8, 1872.

. . . I protest against the statement that I have based my condemnation of the Society of Jesus, not on facts, but on the Press and public opinion. The decision of public opinion can form no condemnation, although a general condemnatory decision of public opinion gives to the politicians the opportunity of testing the question with which it deals. I have quoted from the Press in this dispute only so far as is necessary to show the trend of opinion and the intentions of the Jesuits. I may take it that what a man says is his opinion, and that he makes his plans accordingly. So when books, newspapers, and periodicals — as to which it is notorious that they are edited and inspired by Jesuits — express certain principles, the tendency of the Order is thereby made known.

For I can *never* admit that a Jesuit can do anything independently of his superiors. The discipline of the Order is much too strict for that. I differentiate obviously between punishable actions of individual members which are caused by human weaknesses, and actions which are part of a systematic plan of political agitation and publications. For the first category of offences I cannot make the Order responsible, but for the second I certainly can. If, therefore, a Jesuit comes to grief owing to a woman, as occurred in Brest, the Order is naturally not responsible. But if the Jesuits agitate in Posen and in Alsace, they do this under the command of their superiors, empowered by their Order, and for this it is answerable. When the Jesuit Father Schrader in his book, *The Pope and Modern Ideas*, advanced a whole system of theories dangerous to the State; if the *Civiltà Cattolica* and the *Korrespondenz* of Geneva — the first under the eyes of the Pope, and the latter with his expressed approval — both being edited by Jesuits, both proclaim the sovereignty of the Church over the State; when the local Bavarian papers, under the control of the Jesuit father Weisser, daily preach the shattering of the State; when the *Osservatore Romano*, conducted by Jesuits, reminds us that no heretic can be Emperor of Germany, that the Pope must dethrone him and the people drive him away — then these are no "rash journalistic excesses," but facts of such importance that no one can shut their eyes to them. From the Catholic standpoint it may be regrettable that we are not a Catholic country with a Catholic dynasty. But this objective complaint must not be made the spring of political action, and it can still less be tolerated that any one in Germany makes it the starting-point of an attack on the Empire. This the Jesuits have done since the institution of their Order, and to this they are committed, that is to the violent extermination of Protestantism. What will happen if we tolerate tendencies for which we have to thank the Thirty Years' War, and which can lead to nothing else than a renewal of the Wars of Religion? I am therefore always of the opinion that the German people must expel the Jesuits in self-defence, and if you object that I, as a Catholic Prince, have no right to participate in this, I answer that I am before all things a *German* Prince, and as such must do my duty.

What the bishops have done, they must settle with their consciences. My opinion, however, is that it was their duty to represent the beliefs which obtained in their dioceses at the Council, and not to submit themselves to the inspirations of the Jesuits in Rome. That I should leave the Church, however, because according to my judgment the bishops have acted against duty and conscience, does not seem to me to follow. If all the scandalous occurrences which have happened in the Catholic Church are to be taken as a reason for leaving it, then my study of the history of the Church would have already made me leave. I mean that the Church has already withstood worse things, and will also survive triumphantly through the present crisis. You speak of steps which I have taken against the Council. Of this I know nothing. But I do know well that my Ultramontane opponents, with their usual cunning, have invented this form of words in order to raise suspicion against me. I do not reproach you for this, as you are misled by the general cry. The truth is, however, that I did nothing more than to direct a circular despatch to our legations, in which I asked for information to the attitude which the European Governments would adopt with respect to the Council (which had not yet met). Had the Governments followed my advice, by meeting in conference before the Council met — as had been done in the case of former Councils — and sent representatives to the Council, then the plans of the Jesuits would have been frustrated, but the Church itself would manifestly have suffered no harm. That the Governments did not do this was not my fault. Napoleon feared the influence of the Jesuits upon the approaching plebiscite, and Beust was apprehensive of the same influence upon his master. So the two great Catholic States failed me, and thus my project fell to the ground. If a little insert of your letter indicates that you take me for a Freemason, then I beg you to take note that I am not a Freemason. I share your view that when the masses waver in their beliefs they fall away into infidelity, and come to murder and rapine. I dispute only that the Jesuits are the proper people to be entrusted with the preservation of the faith among the German people.

I admit that many dangers stare us in the face. If I, just as little as you, desire to enter upon the heritage of Bismarck, and to become his successor, the reason is that my ambition does not go so far, and that I do not feel myself equal to this task. If, however, something were to happen which would cause me to wish to become Bismarck's successor, then it would be a pleasure to me to finish the struggle which was begun by him.

Journal.

BERLIN, *March* 19, 1873.

Here at the Reichstag since March 11. Audiences, visits, State dinners, and *soirées*. The Persian and Japanese Legations took part in various Court functions, both in European costumes. The Japanese are numerous, five Envoys and the corresponding suite. They are all small. The Persian is a splendid man.

The Empress sighs for peace and reconciliation. She said so to me alone, and repeated her exhortation when I waited upon her with Simson. The Crown Princess expressed her disapprobation in some casual remarks at a *soirée* about the hostile policy of the Government towards the Church. We were, however, too quickly disturbed, so that she scarcely had time to finish her sentence, nor could I answer. Yesterday I sat beside her at dinner, and she began again. She thought that we should be content to influence the education of the people, and that would of itself make the people independent of the hierarchy. I emphatically dissented. "I do not underestimate," I said to her, "the importance of educating the people, but the party against which we are fighting would oppose all popular education if it were not confined within their limits." The Crown Princess then said: "I count upon the intelligence of the people: that is a great power." I answered thereupon: "A much greater power is human stupidity, which we must bring into our calculations before everything." And so the conversation spread over the whole table. She referred also to the hatred with which she is pursued by the Orthodox Protestants. What specially hurt her was the speech of a parson, who, when he heard of the death of the little Prince, the son of the Crown Princess, gave utterance to the hope that this was a trial sent by God to humiliate her hard heart.

BERLIN, *March* 30, 1873.

Yesterday I paid a visit to President Friedberg. In the course of conversation about many things we touched upon the policy of Bavaria, and I was astonished to find that Friedberg had the idea that it would have been for the advantage of the country if Gasser had managed to form a Ministry. "I would have rejoiced had Gasser come into the Federal Council," said he. "We would have brought him on so far in three months that he would have had to declare either the withdrawal of Bavaria from the union or his agreement with us. As it is, we are always trying not to endanger the position of the Bavarian Minister, and do not get a step further. The Bavarian Ministers also know that their only support is here, and that they are lost if we do not uphold them." Friedberg thinks that we shall have to come to a Gasser Ministry.

I asked him how the objection of the Prussian Minister for War to Colonel Fries arose. He could give no positive reason. With reference to the Church law he is of good courage. The fear that unrest would arise he repudiated. Once the measure becomes law, the agitation will cease of itself. Moreover, we shall have enough energy to suppress any opposition to the law.

In the *soirée* at Bismarck's I found Sybel, who confirmed Friedberg's views. "How can one believe," said he, "that the bishops who have betaken themselves so pitifully to Rome will find the courage to oppose Bismarck!" He only regretted that Falk, out of consideration to the Empress, appeared to be somewhat too cautious in dealing with the school brothers. Then Bismarck came up to me, and spoke of his altered position.* He saw more and more that he had done rightly in giving up the position in the Prussian Ministry. It would clear up the relations between Prussia and the Empire. The Emperor must get accustomed to see that he is greater as Emperor than in his capacity of King of Prussia. The Imperial style appealed to him as much as the title of major does to the chief of a squadron.

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* Prince Bismarck, at his own request, was relieved from the office of First Minister on December 21, 1872. On January 1, 1873, Count Roon became his successor.

Then, passing to Bavarian matters, he regretted the mistrust of Colonel Fries in the leading military circles here, whom he held to be unsuitable only because he had not a sufficiently prominent position (that is to say, because he is only a colonel). A Bavarian general who knows what he wants, who openly vindicates the Bavarian separate rights, but does not attempt any trickery, is necessary here. A part of the blame he laid upon Perglas, about whom he asserted that he was less friendly to the Empire than the King of Bavaria, and that in Berlin it was natural that they should wish to have a Bavarian Minister who would go at least as far as his King. We were then disturbed, and I could not reply. I could only have said that if so, Perglas must be representing the secret thoughts of his master, but that I obviously would not have said.

BERLIN, *April* 3, 1873.

There has lately been much talk here about the filling of the vacant post of Ambassador in London. I heard, in the first instance, about it from Hermann,* to whom the Crown Prince had spoken of his wish to see him there as Ambassador. The Crown Prince has probably also talked the matter over with Bismarck, and thereby the rumour has spread and also involved me. Roggenbach has contradicted the assumption which he has encountered that I myself am a candidate for the post.

Roggenbach thinks that Bismarck wants to keep Manteuffel away from here, and will therefore propose him for Paris.

Therefore, the thing will not at once be decided, as he does not yet know what to do with Arnim. Münster wishes very much to get to London. Perhaps he will get his wish.

At a dinner with Kameke, I spoke with him about Fries. It appears that it is chiefly his somewhat reserved style that has given cause for the lack of agreement in military circles. Kameke could make no definite charge against him.

Yesterday there was a sitting on the Lasker motion.†

I had a mind to speak at first, but realised later, after Braun (Gera) had brought forward all my arguments, that I had no desire to repeat them.

Along with the other Presidents of the Reichstag, I dined with the Emperor. The Empress, beside whom I sat, spoke of the extreme which should be avoided. I took the opportunity to demonstrate to her that the German races generally avoided extremes, and that it was a peculiarity of the Latin races to take up extremes positions in politics and religion. The Latins are either bigots or Radicals. The Germans hold a middle course, and do not push principles to their uttermost consequences, and as an instance I referred her to Protestantism. As the Empress referred to the Thirty Years' War as an example to the contrary, I remarked to her that the real evil of the Thirty Years' War came to us from abroad. That appeared to her incontrovertible. A bouquet of violets, which the Empress gave to me, I regarded as a sign that my discussion had *not* excited her august displeasure.

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* The Prince zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg.

† The motion on the extension of the Imperial jurisdiction to the entire civil and criminal law and to legal procedure, which had already been carried several times. President Delbrück this time gave some hope of its final adoption.

In the evening I was at a Parliamentary *soirée*, where I spoke first with Stefani, who developed very rational opinions about the difficulties into which the Liberal party had got by their friendliness to the Government, to which the German Liberal party was not accustomed. Wehrenpfennig, who then sat down beside me, referred to the intrigues which were going on round the Emperor, and that one had only now to let him get hold of the radical papers of Berlin in order to show him that the conditions which existed in the year 1848 are again to be feared. Zachariä told me and Hinschius about the treatment of the Church laws in the Committee of the Upper House. It makes no progress. To-morrow, therefore, an interpellation will be made in the House on which Bismarck will ask the Committee what they have accomplished, and then probably the Upper House will take the question away from the Committee, and it will be discussed in plenary session.

BERLIN, *April* 21, 1873.

To-day the sittings of the Reichstag are resumed. We, that is the presidents, were invited to the gala dinner in honour of the betrothal of Prince Albrecht. As the dinner was at three, and the Reichstag did not open till one, it seemed impossible to combine the two. Accordingly I advised Simson and Bennigsen to go to the dinner, and leave me in the chair. The session, however, was over by two, so I was free after all. All the big-wigs in Berlin were to be seen there. I sat between two court ladies. Conversation was out of the question, as the military band up in the gallery was making an infernal din. They began with the overture to *Fidelio*, and I thought I was listening to massed bands on parade. After dinner Bismarck came to me and said: "You have been in danger of being claimed by the Empire, and that for the London post." I replied: "I am surprised at that, for I thought the Crown Prince had pronounced for my cousin Langenburg." Bismarck said: "No, it was you they talked of. I proposed you with the other candidates to the Emperor, and the Emperor said of you: 'He would certainly be the most congenial to me, if he will accept.' I could not, however, disguise from the Emperor that your nomination would have certain disadvantages. You are the only *grand seigneur* in Bavaria who is faithful to the Empire, and at the same time has the confidence of the King of Bavaria. Hence you can do more in Germany than in England. It was this consideration that made me decline the idea." I thanked him for his good opinion of me, but replied that I could not have accepted London, adding: "If at any time I could be of service to the Emperor in any post, I beg you to arrange that the Emperor shall write to the King of Bavaria, asking him to lend my services for a couple of years." "Yes," Bismarck replied, "that is the proper way." We then talked of Bismarck's journey to Munich. He said it was his intention to wait on the King. I repeated to him what I had already told the King, namely, that Bismarck, in his capacity of Chancellor of the Empire, looked on himself as the servant of the King of Bavaria, and felt bound to pay his homage to the King. Bismarck acquiesced in this, and promised to do so when he came to Bavaria. No Prussian envoy would be necessary for this. He said he could go at any hour, and ask if the King would see him. I urged him to keep this in mind, for things go wrong when too many questions are asked. I must add that Bismarck told me he was going to St. Petersburg to silence the innuendoes of all the old women of Europe, which would be loosed upon the Emperor and which were lying in wait for him in St. Petersburg.

In the evening was a gala performance at the theatre, Gluck's *Iphigénié*, all the spectators in the first row and *parterre* being in full dress. During an interval, a reception was held in the concert hall behind the Royal box. The ladies wore magnificent diamonds. After the performance I went with Viktor, Amalie, Hermann, Sagan, and Radziwill to tea with the Empress in the Palace. When we were taking leave, the Emperor caught his spur in the carpet and fell, fortunately, however, only upon an armchair. Hermann and I went to his help, but he was on his legs again before we reached him.

BERLIN, *April* 24, 1873.

To-day I dined with Tauffkirchen, and then went to the theatre with him. He told me Bismarck wanted him to replace Perglas in Berlin. At the *levée* there was, as I heard from Radowitz, a violent scene between Bismarck and Perglas. It appears that Bismarck took the opportunity of picking a quarrel, and made a great scene with Perglas. Perglas unfortunately stationed himself with the Diplomatic Corps, instead of with the Federal Council. Bismarck reproached him for this, even going so far as to carry on the conversation in French: "*Comme vous êtes membre du corps diplomatique, je dois parler avec vous la langue diplomatique*," &c. Perglas is said to have turned quite white. I should think his position has become untenable.

In regard to Rome, Tauffkirchen says the Papal election will be in Rome, the cardinals being much too stationary to make up their minds to go elsewhere for the conclave. He grumbled because the Munich Ministry had refused to give him any other post, and is apparently here to effect his exchange to Berlin or into the Imperial Service.

BERLIN, *May* 23, 1873.

At Bismarck's Saturday reception the question of adjournment was discussed. Some of the Deputies are for it, the Prussian in particular, who are wearied owing to their own Landtag; the others would rather go on to the end of June, and have no autumn session. This will have to be decided immediately. Bismarck expressed his regret at not being able to go to Bremen.* He further remarked that it would be a good thing if I took the lead in the Reichstag instead of Simson, as there would then be fewer fine words and more tactful action. Why he ascribes less tact to Simson than to myself I cannot imagine.

The question of the housing of the Reichstag was discussed in the section. The majority were against Kroll's place, on account of the distance. I proposed my motion, which was well received. When the matter was discussed in the Reichstag on Monday the 19th, I was in the President's chair and could not bring my own motion forward. As the discussion became more and more heated, and Lasker accused the opposition of making no proposition, I sent my motion to Schleiden, who then proposed it, and it was adopted on a show of hands.

On Wednesday the great excursion of the Reichstag to Bremen took place. At 7 A.M. the party, consisting of many members of the federal council and a large number of Deputies, met at the Lehrter Bohnhof. I travelled with Stosch, Moltke, and Bennigsen in a saloon carriage. The train stopped at Uelzen. We were conducted to a gorgeously decorated station, where the Magdeburg-Halberstadt Railway Company invited us to a grand *déjeuner.* The director of the railway made a disconnected speech, to which I replied, pointing out the serious character of our journey, and then expressing our thanks to the company for having "graced our sober proceedings with the adornments of this *fête.*" I then thought I should be allowed to eat in peace, but a voice from the back of the hall suddenly shouted, "Gentlemen!" This was the Burgomaster of Uelzen, welcoming us in the name of the town. Delbrück, who was unprepared, begged me to reply to this also, so I once more uplifted my voice (the hall was a vast building) and called for a cheer for the citizens of Uelzen, saying it was a good omen for the unity of the German races, from the Alps to the heaths of Lüneberg, that a South German Deputy should greet this North German town. People seemed pleased with this wretched improvisation. Then we proceeded to Bremen. There H. H. Meier received us on a platform that had been constructed for the speeches. Delbrück replied in the name of the federal council and the Reichstag. We then went to our quarters. I, with Fäustle and Luxburg, was lodged with the Bavarian Consul Lürmann, where we were received in a pretty house on the Promenade by the family. Bremen looks like a nice English town and makes a very pleasing impression. At 3.30 came the grand gala dinner in the Exchange, which has been fully reported in the papers. My address was well thought out, but I had to speak so loud, in order to fill the great hall, that I turned giddy half-way through from shouting, and almost stuck. It went off well, however, and the interruption was only noticed by those nearest to me.

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* Excursion of the Diet to inspect the fleet at Wilhelmshaven.

We had evening parties at Meier's and Mosle's. Very fine houses.

Next day at 6.30 we went by train to Bremerhaven. There we embarked on one of the fine North German Lloyd steamers. She is one of the thirty steamboats that go to New York, and can accommodate twelve hundred passengers. The arrangements are very comfortable, the staff such as to inspire confidence. These are now the best ships that cross to America. Here, of course, we had luncheon, with speeches and general rejoicings. The sea got rough later on, but very few people were affected by it. The weather was glorious. Innumerable vessels accompanied us. Later, at the entrance to the estuary, some small manœuvres were executed by the three warships *Ariadne*, *Hertha*, and *Loreley*. Off Wilhelmshaven we also saw three torpedo explosions, which were highly successful. The effect produced was of the sea being driven up into the air like a tremendous fountain above the exploding torpedo. Then came the inspection of the dockyards and of the vessels *Augusta* and *Friedrich Karl*. The manœuvres of the sailors on the last-named ship were very interesting. At five there was a grand dinner on the *König Wilhelm* with the usual speeches. Here I entrusted the representation of the Reichstag to Bennigsen, who did it very well. At nine we went to the station, which is about ten minutes from the harbour, and returned by special train to Berlin, which we reached this morning at 6.30. I went with Moltke, Stosch, and a naval officer in a saloon carriage, where we each had a sofa to sleep on, so that I was sufficiently rested by the time we got here.

BERLIN, *June* 5, 1873.

Back yesterday from Grabowo.* The Reichstag session was poorly attended, and on dividing upon Freiherr von Ketteler's motion it was found that we were unable to form a quorum, so the sitting was adjourned. During the session I had an interesting discussion in the lobby about the buildings for the Reichstag. A number of Deputies were standing with Delbrück before the plan of the city, and discussing the site for the new building. I saw to my satisfaction that every one agreed with me in thinking it would be best to erect the buildings in the open space near the china manufactory. No one would listen to the idea of Kroll's site. In the evening there was a gala performance at the theatre for the Shah of Persia. The Emperor did not attend the performance. The Shah brought the Empress to her box, and seemed pretty much at his ease. He wore black, with diamonds sewn on to his coat and black cap. He wears gold spectacles. During the interval there was a reception in the *grand foyer*. I stood near while the Shah was talking to Bismarck through an interpreter. He seemed to be asking a great many questions and the answers he received from Bismarck appeared to surprise him very much. He is thirsting for information, and prides himself on being the Peter the Great of Persia. The ballet, *Sardanapalus*, was extremely wearisome, and I seized a favourable opportunity of leaving the stifling atmosphere at nine o'clock.

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* A property in the province of Posen which the Prince had acquired.

June 6.

Last night there was a reception at Potsdam in the New Palace. The illuminations in the garden were splendid. The Shah was rather late in arriving. There was a promenade in the garden, and supper, and at 10.30 we returned to Berlin. To-day, session of the Reichstag, at which we could hardly form a quorum. During the session the Shah came in for a quarter of an hour to have a look at the Reichstag.

To-night there is a party dinner given by the Imperial party in honour of Münster, at which I have to make a speech.

June 7.

Last night's banquet to Münster went off very well. Hermann proposed the Emperor's health, and Friedenthal pronounced a regular funeral oration over Münster, who returned thanks. Then Lucius proposed the health of the guests, coupled with the name of the President. I thanked them in a fairly long speech, which was much applauded.

At 10 P.M. there was a meeting of the commission. To-day, session of the Reichstag, and dinner at five with Bismarck. After dinner a long conversation at the round table, where Bismarck did almost all the talking. The topic was the Versailles treaty, the position of the several States in relation to the Empire, the title of Kaiser, and so on.

BERLIN, *June* 16, 1873.

On Friday, the 13th, I went to an interesting dinner at the house of the Minister Delbrück. Bismarck and Eulenburg were present (with some members of the Federal Council and officials), and embarked on a characteristic dialogue after dinner over their cigars on the balcony, the gist of which was that Eulenburg reproached Bismarck for arranging affairs to suit his own convenience, and in such a way that only he could carry them out. Bismarck defended his own point of view. On Saturday evening I was at Bismarck's house. There was much talk of Viktor's address from the Catholics of Silesia,* and Bismarck was delighted that Viktor had been able to act in the matter. He hoped good results would follow, and told me the gist of the answer which the Emperor proposed to send. We shall see what will come of it. On Sunday I was invited to dinner at Babelsberg with Viktor and Karl Salm. We met Roggenbach at the station. The park at Babelsberg was looking its best. The Emperor appeared to be well and in good spirits, and so, too, the Crown Prince. The Empress talked to me about rare books. After dinner she showed us her fowls. Then we returned to Berlin.

To-day the Reichstag met, and the session concluded with the great duel between Bismarck and Lasker. Both were in the wrong. Bismarck was out of order. The Centre rejoiced in this domestic broil.†

BERLIN, *June* 23, 1873.

The Reichstag sessions are coming to an end. Photographs are being exchanged and party dinners eaten. We had our banquet yesterday. I had invited Simson and Gneist, and quietly ignored the invitation to the so-called *Schrippenfest* in Potsdam. At 4 P.M. the party met in the restaurant of the Reichstag House. We were few in number, which is disconcerting to speakers, since the necessary stimulus of an audience is lacking. I toasted the Emperor in a few words. Bernuth then proposed Simson's health. The latter replied in a long and elaborate address. He thanked us, and remarked that he owed the success of his parliamentary efforts to his judicial training. From his own labours and their happy consequences he passed on to Frankfurt, to the South German Confederacy, and the union of all German peoples, and then began to speak of me, most kindly applying to me Goethe's lines :

Freigesinnt, sich selbst beschränkend,
Immerfort das Nächste denkend,
Tätig treu in jedem Kreise,
Still beharrlich jeder Weise,
Nicht vom Weg, dem graden, weichend,
Und zuletzt das Zeil erreichend.‡

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* The address which the non-Ultramontane Catholics sent to the King on June 14, 1873, after the publication of the Ecclesiastical Laws. The King acknowledged it in a letter to the Duke of Ratibor of June 22.

† Lasker, speaking in reference to motions initiative of legislation, had referred to the "Rights of the People." Bismarck censured this "oratorical digression upon the so-called rights of the people" as "reminiscences from a forgotten past." He declared that he also was an advocate for the people, and deprecated Lasker's attempt to secure a "monopoly of the people's name to the exclusion of himself."

‡ Professor Erich Schmidt has kindly informed the author that these lines are taken from the poem, *Die Feier des 28 August dankbar zu erwidern.* Weimar edition, 1819, vol. iv. p. 42.

Translation:

Free in mind and self-controlled,
Steadily the next step taking —
Deeds of prowess at each juncture,
Patient choice at every turning —
From the right way never flinching,
And at last the end attaining.

I shall carry these words away as a friendly testimony. Gneist then spoke well, as always, and lastly came Völk, who touched on his favourite theme of Ultramontanism.

To-day we shall be in session till three o'clock, then a pause and an evening session. On Thursday everything will be over.

Bismarck has given himself a respite from the business of the Prussian Ministry. Those who know say that he does this the better to unhorse his enemies. He will remain aloof for the present, and then, when the question of military organisation comes up, will say he can only carry this out with a homogeneous Ministry. Then Roon and Eulenburg will have to go, and Forckenbeck will take the place of the latter. He is right to do this if he can carry it out.

To-day there was a discussion upon the question of supporting the Catholic address. Very few people came forward to take up the matter. Völk is in favour of it, and also Bürgers. The others refuse to have anything to do with it. I did not press them, and let the matter drop.

BERLIN, *June* 25, 1873.

Close of the session. Bismarck declared the Reichstag closed at the end of the last sitting.

Last night I was in Rubin's restaurant, where I sat by Marquardsen, who told me I should be re-elected in my division without any difficulty. Miquel, who was there too, expressed his indignation with the Minister Eulenburg, who gives the most important posts to his own friends and relations. President Eulenburg in Hanover does not count for much, still less the President of Breslau, Nordenflycht, who has Ultramontane tendencies. In any case we shall have to demolish Eulenburg in the next Prussian Landtag.

To-day there was a poorly attended meeting of the section, in which Bernuth expressed the thanks of the president to the section, and Schleiden the thanks of the section to the president. We further discussed whether we would take part in the debates over the appointment or non-appointment of an ambassador to Rome. Löwe, who wanted to bring forward his motion for the abolition of the Ambassador's post, was persuaded by me to the better policy of silence.

To-day, the 26th, at Simson's. He thinks no election will take place, but that the same Reichstag will be recalled. We spoke for a long time of the new Chief President Nordenflycht, who was much praised by Simson. We parted with mutual expressions of esteem.

At four to Babelsberg, where I dined with the Emperor, together with Prince Wilhelm of Baden, Prince Wilhelm of Würtemberg, and Eulenburg. The Emperor looks very well, but appears to have aged; old age seems to have come upon him quite suddenly. The talk at dinner was very lively. The Emperor sat at the head of the table, the two Princes next to him, then Eulenburg and myself and the other guests. After dinner the Emperor thanked me for all that I had done in the Reichstag. "I know," he said, "that whatever you have a hand in will go well." I parted reluctantly from the old man, whom I may never see again. It is to be hoped that he will recover his strength.

AUSSEE, *September* 7, 1873.

To-day Gelzer arrived. He came from Gastein, where he presented his report to the Emperor of his stay in Rome.* He was there from the beginning of April to the end of June, to be present during the conclave in the event of the Pope's death. As the Pope recovered, and Gelzer had obtained all requisite information, he came away. He travelled by Bern, and had much conversation there with Welti, a member of the Swiss Federal Council. He gave high praise to the latter as a man who was prudent and energetic in his dealings with the Curia. The Nuncio has been at the utmost pains to detach Switzerland from Germany. Every possible concession has been offered to Switzerland in the hope of inducing her to adopt an attitude of hostility to Germany. Welti did not concur in this. The Austrian and Bavarian Ministers zealously supported these intrigues.

We then discussed Gelzer's position with regard to the Emperor and to Bismarck. Gelzer will not go to Rome again if Bismarck does not treat him better than he did before. Gelzer says the Emperor is looking very well. His memory, however, is failing rapidly, and he no longer has energy to oppose Bismarck, or to decide on anything without first consulting Bismarck. All hopes of *this* must be entirely given up. Personally, I abandoned hope long ago. Wilmowski declares that the Emperor no longer discusses ecclesiastical affairs with the Empress. Gelzer doubts this; and so do I.

Gelzer says of Gustav that his friends do not consider his immediate return to Rome as necessary. But his eventual participation in the conclave is considered to be an obligation from which he cannot escape. Gelzer will write to him to this effect. It is believed that the Pope's attacks, from which he suffered last spring and which were very dangerous, will recur with the cold weather; there is swelling of the body with congestion which might prove fatal.

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* During the *Cultur Kampf*, Councillor Gelzer frequently stayed in Rome, at the request of the Kaiser and the Grand Duke of Baden, in order to obtain information upon local conditions and to report on the same.

ALT AUSSEE, *September* 9, 1873.

Yesterday more talk with Gelzer. As to the election of the next Pope, Gelzer learned that Riario Sforza had formerly been considered the most suitable candidate by the Italian Government but had now been given up. It appears that at the time when Pius IX. was ill, Cardinal Riario was sounded, but without result, or, at any rate, without the desired result. So the Italian Government now has no candidate. Gelzer thinks the German Government might easily influence the conclave, and should exert pressure on the Italian Government, and thus make them spin the German web. He thinks that an older cardinal may be elected who would continue the present policy. But it is impossible to predict how the votes will go. We then discussed which would be best for Germany — the election of a bigoted zealot who would leave Rome and turn everything upside down, or of some one more moderate. Gelzer holds that the latter would be best, as no one knows how far the fanaticism of the people is to be counted on. For the rest, he is pondering deeply how the ecclesiastical tangle is to be unravelled, and *sotto voce* blames the over-confidence in ecclesiastical laws and in laws in general. It is hard to decide whether it is more dangerous to make martyrs of the bishops or not to apply the law in its full force. There must be some middle course, but for this an enlightened man is needed in Rome to speak a word in season. And he is not to be found. On these accounts he hopes for a moderate Pope.

The Crown Prince did not altogether agree with Gelzer. The Crown Princess blames the ecclesiastical conflict, because she thinks that it has been initiated by Bismarck, whom she hates. None the less Gelzer does not believe that the Crown Prince, should he ever come to the Throne, will allow himself to be ruled by his wife. We both think Bismarck will retain his place as the King's Counsellor.

In the evening I went to the market with Gelzer, where we parted at seven o'clock.

BERLIN, *November* 19, 1873.

To-day I went early to Falk. He is determined to pursue a forward policy in the ecclesiastical conflict; Ledochowski will accordingly be dismissed, and perhaps even arrested. Falk considers the right of civil marriage an inevitable introduction. The matter will come before the Emperor in a few days. Since Falk is determined to resign if the Emperor does not agree, the Emperor will have to acquiesce, although all the forces around him are gathering to prevent this, and to make the struggle harder for the government. For, as Falk very justly remarks, the wholesale confusion caused by the present recalcitrance of the clergy on the marriage question lies at the door, not of the bishops, but of the government. Accordingly it is a vital matter for the government to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

Karl von Koschentin,* with whom I have been discussing the clerical struggle, regards the secularisation of all Church property, the conversion of the pastors' tithes into salaries, and the abolition of patronage as essential. I referred these points to Falk, who considers them "probably unavoidable later." Dined with Karl, Bennigsen, Lasker, and others. Lasker bears compliments to Stauffenberg. He is said to be again standing somewhat aloof from the forward party.

BERLIN, *February* 18, 1874.

Viktor told me a few days ago of Bismarck's intention to send me to Paris as Ambassador, and I had been to Düsseldorf to discuss it with Marie; last night I was summoned by Bismarck about nine. He received me in his study, ordered in cigars and Vichy water, and at first talked of other things. Then he came to the Ambassador question. He first explained the difficulties he had in finding an ambassador, as the Prussian nobles were unsuited for this post, and he would prefer to take some one who was not a Prussian. He spoke of St. Petersburg, where Reuss was indispensable; of London, where Münster was doing splendidly; and of Vienna, whence Schweinitz could not well be removed, since he would not do for Paris. Vienna would not be good enough to offer me. Besides which it was not a purely diplomatic post. War with Austria would be no more a European conflict than her diplomatic post was of European importance. Paris was quite different. War and peace with France have European significance. Moreover, I should at Vienna be in a less favourable position with regard to the King of Bavaria, whereas in Paris I could represent the interests of Bavaria as well.

He told me rather bitterly all that was in his mind about Arnim. Apparently Arnim has shown himself to be the man I have always pictured him — vain, self-seeking, false, but extraordinarily clever. Arnim has already accepted Constantinople, so there is no difficulty there. If the Turkish appointment is made, Arnim will be recalled from Paris. In order not to inconvenience the Reichstag, however, Bismarck will not bring this appointment forward now, but will wait till the end of the session. I asked him if I should write to the King of Bavaria, and he thought this quite proper. We discussed the purport of the letter. The King's ratification is not necessary, but it is as well to manage the affair so that he may have the credit of giving his consent.

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* Prince Karl von Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen.

Leave will certainly be given for three months or more. There is a lull in business, according to Bismarck, when the sea-bathing begins, for July, August, and September. We spoke little about the political side of the question, since there is plenty of time for that. Bismarck merely said: "We want to keep the peace; but if France goes on arming so that she is to be ready in five years, and bent on war at the end of that time, then we will declare war in three years." This he had told them quite plainly. Bismarck blames Arnim very much for the overthrow of Thiers, or at least for not supporting him when he could. Consolidation will render France more capable of making alliances, and as Thiers was somewhat incapable in this respect, his continuance in office was useful to us.

BERLIN, *February* 22, 1874.

Last night came a telegram from Eisenhart: "The request proposed by me this afternoon was cordially accepted." So this side of the question is settled. I am very glad, as it makes it so much the easier for me to return, if I can be of use in Bavaria again at any time.

In the evening I went to Bismarck's reception, where I imparted the telegram to him and Bülow. Viktor, too, was very pleased, and told me Frankenberg had remarked to him: "So the question of the Embassy in Paris has been settled, then?" To which Viktor replied: "Yes, I have heard so too." Frankenberg and Maltzahn, who both consider themselves Bismarck's indispensable friends in the matter of Embassies or Legations, will feel very sore with me, even if they do not say so.

A great fuss has been made with Stanley, Dean of Westminster, who has arrived here from St. Petersburg. Last night he and his wife were at Bismarck's, till the smoke of our cigars drove him away from the supper-table. He is a polished gentleman, who has great influence at Court. He wears the clergyman's *habit habillé*, and a sort of black petticoat reaching to his knees. It looks exactly as if he had put on one of his ten-year-old daughter's black twill petticoats over his waistcoat by mistake.

Yesterday Bismarck sent his official proposal to the Kaiser. So the bomb will burst within the next few days. Völderndorff writes to me with great satisfaction about it.

In my despatch to the King I did not mention the Crown post, for if the King permits me to accept the Embassy it follows as a matter of course that I hold the other as well. As regards the State Council, I requested, at Fäustle's suggestion, that his Majesty should so arrange matters when my functions as German Ambassador were over that I might resume my post as State Councillor. This is a matter of course after the telegram from Eisenhart.

Prince Peter zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, at that time Russian Military Plenipotentiary in Paris, and brother to the Princess, writes to her on March 1 about the reception the Prince might expect in Paris:

"*Depuis mon retour à Paris je me suis occupé de tâter le terrain et de faire de la réclame en votre faveur en faisant sonner bien haut, qu'on devait être flatté de l'envoi d'un grand seigneur indépendant qui certes ne venait pas à Paris dans le but de faire des chicanes. J'ai pu constater que le monde officiel, le Président et son entourage, comptent vous faire l'accueil le plus hospitalier. Hier j'ai dîné chez le Président et ai longuement parlé de tout cela avec qui de droit. Une partie de la société vous accueillera de même, mais je crois que vous aurez de grandes difficultés avec les cléricaux qui répandent déjà le bruit que votre mari, ami de Dœllinger et vieux catholique, vient ici pour accentuer encore la politique anti-catholique de Bismarck. Voilà le point difficile, et on ne peut se dissimuler que ces gens-la sont fort dangereux ici. Maman peut beaucoup vous servir pour dissiper ces bruits fâcheux, si elle le veut franchement. Mais le voudra-t'elle?* Voilà la question. En outre Chlodwig aura pour ennemis plusieurs Juifs allemands qui font semblant d'être patriotes français et servent d'espions à Arnim en échange de nouvelles politiques que celui-ci leur donne et au moyen desquelles ils tripotent à la Bourse. Ces individus, craignant de ne pouvoir conserver les mêmes rélations avec Chlodwig, font une propagande active pour Arnim et contre Chlodwig. Je me suis déja empressé de jeter quelques bâtons dans leurs roues, grâce a mes rélations dans le monde des affaires, mais néanmoins les Juifs sont partout à peu près aussi dangereux que les Jésuites.*

Journal.

BERLIN, *March* 1, 1874.

Yesterday the news of the Embassy appointment was published in the *National Zeitung*. I received congratulations on all sides. Lasker expressed his great satisfaction. At Benda's, too, where I dined with a number of the Alsatian Deputies to the Agricultural Congress, it was much talked of. These gentlemen are all well affected. They and Count Dürckheim, formerly *Préfet* and landowner in Alsace, had many stories to tell and explanations to make. They declared the Alsatians would soon settle down under the new order of things, but did not wish to appear as if they took the separation from their old Fatherland too easily.

Reception to-night at Bismarck's. I could hardly get a word with him, as he was besieged by the deputies. Moltke also approved of my appointment. He thinks the Bonapartists have the best chance, and are less dangerous to us than the Orleanists. No one talks of Chambord any more. He only brandished the white flag in order not to have to go to France.

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* The Princess's stepmother, Princess Léonille zu Sayn-Wittgenstein (*née* Princess Bariatinsky), was not in sympathy with the Prince's ecclesiastical politics.

Herr von Schulte, in the love spirit of the German professor, is still unhappy because no one consults him any more, and he is less important than he hoped to be. He still busies himself with old stories about the Council, which no one troubles about now, and has all sorts of scandalous tales of the German bishops, which again no longer interest any one, although they may yet unfortunately be true.

The question of military organisation is still very obscure. This much is clear from Mallinckrodt's last speech, that the Ultramontanes have given up the idea of making peace at the cost of the military organisation. Their offers seem to have been rejected. The bill dealing with the transference and exile of recalcitrant clergy is to come before the Reichstag. Bismarck apparently does this to show that his policy is aggressive, lest the Opposition should cherish the illusion that he is giving way. For my own part I am convinced that the hand of peace would not be rejected. But it must be extended.

BERLIN, *March* 6, 1874.

I am meeting with more and more unfriendly faces among the Prussian aristocracy and the younger diplomats, who are offended at my appointment and think themselves set back in their hopes of promotion. I have been to Court at least four times since my nomination, but the Empress has not once alluded to it. There are queer people in the world. Her antagonism to Bismarck leads the Empress to the strangest things. The Crown Princess said to me: "You succeed in everything you undertake." The newspapers on the whole speak favourably about the affair. Some say all that is kind about me, others rob me of many good qualities. No one, however, finds anything to cavil at in the appointment. Windthorst congratulated me in session. He says the greatest difficulties will not be in Paris, but in the despatches I shall receive from here.

Last night's reception, which the Emperor did not attend, was in honour of the Count and Countess of Flanders. He has a good manner but looks most unmilitary in uniform. She is a true *Schwarzwalderin.**

Bismarck is laid up with rheumatism. The Princess and her daughter were at the reception last night. A French comedy was performed. Why the Empress does not insist on German plays instead of this wretched French company is incomprehensible to me. Our own German actors here are ten times better. At supper I did not sit as usual at the Empress's table, but for the first time at that of the Crown Princess. This was natural, since I no longer belong to those with whom she can sigh over the evil days. Prince Hassan, son of the Viceroy of Egypt, sat near me. A nice well-bred fellow, who is lieutenant in the Dragoon Guards.

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* *Née* Princess of Hohenzollern.

At the Reichstag the debate upon compulsory vaccination is proceeding, a question in which, it seems, Ultramontanes and Social Democrats make common cause; both are opposed to compulsory vaccination. The discussion will be prolonged for many hours yet. I must break off my journal, the debate disturbs me too much.

BERLIN, *March* 16, 1874.

The bill for the transference and expulsion of recalcitrant clergy is under debate in the federal council, and is said to have passed already. Timid spirits in the Reichstag hope it will not be discussed. Even Kruger, the promoter of the measure, said it would be well if, in view of Bismarck's continued illness, the measure could be left over till the autumn. In particular such Würtembergers as Varnbüler and Hermann,* hope it will not be debated because they fear that they may in consequence have to face the clerical war in Würtemberg, where they have so far escaped it. Bismarck says he cannot do without the law. Mere arrests are insufficient; transference is useless; power must be given to expel the insurgent bishops and clergy from the country. He quotes the case of Switzerland, where this weapon has done good service. The Ultramontanes are afraid of the measure, and offer to let the military organisation pass if the measure is not brought up. In that case they will send away twelve of their members, and reduce those who are against the law to a minority. Opinions are still widely divided upon the question of military organisation. The National Liberal party, that is, those who give the casting-vote, including Lasker and the South Germans, want to have no more effective force in time of peace than is required to maintain the strength of the cadres indicated in section 2, and to maintain the present organisation. They judge that 360,000 men will be sufficient for this. The War office thinks this too low an estimate, but would probably agree to 380,000. Eulenburg, however, told me that he cannot imagine how the Kaiser is to be induced to renounce a single man of the 401,000 for men which the law provides.

Bismarck is better; but whether he will be well enough to bring up the question of military organisation at the Reichstag before Easter is a great question. If he cannot come the matter must be left till after Easter. The proposal to sit again after Easter, till about April 20, is unfortunately gaining ground.

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* Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.

To-day I had a kind letter from Apponyi * in Paris, hailing me as a new colleague, and putting himself at my service. The proposed compromise with the Ultramontanes will find as little support as its predecessor. The Government risks arousing the distrust of the Liberal parties, and would thus fall between two stools, which Bismarck will never do. He is far too prudent.

BERLIN, *March* 19, 1874.

Morier,† whom I visited yesterday, spoke with some irritation of Bismarck. He thinks my mission to Paris will have a beneficial and soothing effect. He says that Bismarck's attitude to France is provoking and that he is trying to force France into war, and so on. I replied that if the French would give up their cry for revenge the danger would be averted.

Ziegler ‡ said to-day, the way to the Imperial Chancellorship lay through Paris. I hope this prophecy may prove incorrect.

BERLIN, *March* 26, 1874.

Yesterday I had a conversation with Gelzer: we discussed the clerical war, Bismarck's illness, and the possibility of a reaction and Manteuffel's influence. He thinks Bismarck will have to find some *locum tenens* in whom he and the Kaiser have equal confidence — and that I was the man. I insisted on the necessity for circumspection. I added that the name of "Bismarck" was a power, and that one could not afford to set it aside; nor was I myself fitted for such a post.

I saw the Grand Duke this evening. He spoke in the same sense as Gelzer, but did not suggest that he had selected me to be Bismarck's proxy or successor. With regard to the clerical war, he regretted the way it had come about. He thought that longer preparation was required, and better men than those Bismarck used, and that the present situation was critical. He said that the attitude of the National Liberal party was being utilised in the question of military organisation to set the Emperor against the party and Bismarck was not on the spot to counteract these influences. Manteuffel, an unpractical, ambitious man, who had nothing to do, was agitating to get Bismarck's place at this crisis. That would entail extraordinary complications. The Grand Duke thought it would be necessary for Bismarck to appoint a substitute. To my suggestion that a responsible Ministry would do as well, he replied that Bismarck would have to organise and direct this himself, and that it was now beyond him. He thinks Bismarck very ill.

* Austrian ambassador in Paris.

† The English Minister in Munich.

‡ Chief Burgomaster at Breslau, a member of the Diet.

Bülow too, whom I met in the evening at Court, thinks Bismarck still very ill.

The Empress mentioned the Ambassadorship to me to-day for the first time, and reproached me for not having spoken of it to her. I replied that I had not ventured to do so. She begged me to be as conciliatory as possible, and thought I was the right person to compose existing differences.

The GRAND DUKE FRIEDRICH OF BADEN *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

KARLSRUHE, *April* 3, 1874.

I received your kind letter from Schillingsfürst yesterday morning, and beg to express my warmest thanks.

I much regret that you have been disagreeably affected by my course of action, which has been quite unavoidable, and will endeavour to convince you that my proposals were and could be nothing but entirely dispassionate.

The aggravation which was apparent in the ill health of the Imperial Chancellor during the last days of my stay in Berlin, brought me for various reasons into his more domestic circle. The doctor-in-charge wished to call in Friedrich from Heidelberg, and approached me with a request that I would undertake to summon Friedrich to avoid a public sensation, and in order not to alarm the family. I agreed to find out where Friedrich then was, as he had gone for a tour in Italy with his wife on account of her health. The attempt to recall him had to be abandoned or postponed, but I had in the meantime heard all the details of the illness, and its probable long duration, so that the whole situation seemed to me to be most critical. In this way the question of a possible temporary substitute for the Imperial Chancellor arose, and I was met with the same question by those whose knowledge of the Chancellor's real condition was less precise.

I decided to refer the question to Prince Bismarck himself, and as it was impossible to speak with him personally, I went to see the Princess, his wife, hoping to interest her in the question of a proxy, from the point of view that would appeal to her most as wife, that is, in the interest of her husband's health. She gladly accepted my suggestion, though in the first interview I did not venture to propose a single name; in fact, she at once agreed to sound the Prince about it.

In the meantime, I heard from Herr von Schulte that Windthorst-Meppen had expressed his determination on the reassembling of the Reichstag to present an address to the Emperor, begging him to provide a responsible substitute for the Imperial Chancellor at the Reichstag, for so long as the Chancellor should be unable to appear. I communicated this intelligence to several well-informed persons, and found them all of my own opinion, that it was necessary to anticipate this motion by the immediate nomination of a fully responsible substitute for the Imperial Chancellor. I was entreated to manage the affair so that the motion should come from Prince Bismarck himself, making him propose the man as well as the matter to the Emperor.

I did not willingly undertake this task, but could the less refuse what was my obvious duty, because though I have little taste for meddling in these delicate matters, I have the interests of the Empire too much at heart to be afraid of failure.

I proceeded with the utmost caution, and again approached Princess Bismarck as on the first occasion. Windthorst's motion came in very opportunely, and as the Princess dreaded having Manteuffel in the background, your honoured name appeared to her to be salvation in the storm. I repeatedly assured her that the entire proposition came from me, and that you yourself knew nothing of it, and this the more distinctly since I impressed on her that the whole matter, in general as well as individually, held good only if Prince Bismarck himself agreed to it and supported it. I therefore had undertaken to do nothing more than transmit the question to the Prince by the instrumentality of the Princess. If the Prince took the matter up, it would then rest with him to name the person in whom he had confidence. I left the Princess in the conviction that she had understood me beyond possibility of mistake, and that there could be no misconception and therefore no reason for supposing that you were already in collusion with me. I took particular care of this, for I know how cautious one has to be not to arouse such misconceptions, and because it was my duty to assure you that I had scrupulously respected this side of the matter.

After receiving your kind letter I wrote again to-day to Princess Bismarck, begging her to inform the Prince that you had meantime been acquainted with my proposition, and that you had begged me to inform the authorities of your positive wish that you might not be thought of, as you were not in a position to accept such a charge. I repeated whatever was necessary, in order once more to guard against any misunderstanding.

I think I have acted according to your wishes, and hope my previous action will now have been justified to you.

During the last few days there has been a noticeable improvement in the health of the Chancellor, and if this continues the necessity for a proxy will of course disappear.

You must allow me to dispute your decision that you are not the right person for such a post. It would be indiscreet to examine in detail the reasons you give me for your opinion. I should like to dwell on one point only, since that has largely influenced my calculations. In the foreground of all the affairs that are now agitating the Empire, the struggle with Rome stands out pre-eminent. How to conduct this rightly is now the most imperative task; it is far more important than any special capacity for oratory in the Reichstag, nay, I set it above the confidence or want of confidence of the different parties, since that depends chiefly upon results.

You, my dear Prince, belong to the few prominent personalities who have studied ecclesiastical matters profoundly and are able to speak the right word in the right place, because you recognise the full significance of the dangers that threaten us. Your experience would be of the greatest service to the interests of the Empire, both in the conduct of internal affairs and of that foreign policy which must be strongly affected by our ecclesiastical policy for a long time to come. It is your moderate tactics that we more particularly need, and that will lead us into the right path and sustain us there. Under these conditions you will not be lacking in support, and what we so badly need will be secured — that is, a strong, staunch Government party, based on Conservative principles, able and willing to direct the development of Imperial affairs along Liberal but steady lines.

You direct my attention to Herr von Forckenbeck as the right man for a temporary substitute in the Chancellorship, and believe he will gradually develop into a finished statesman.

I hardly know Herr von Forckenbeck, and am therefore unable to judge whether he would be fitted for such a post. Your opinion is, of course, of great interest and of especial value to me, as you have had the opportunity of acquainting yourself extensively with this man. The more one comes across men of intellectual independence and strong character, the more hopeful one is for the future. Whether the qualities you commend in Herr von Forckenbeck will, however, be sufficient to carry out the task of which we are speaking I must be permitted to doubt. Forckenbeck can scarcely have enjoyed ready access to every branch of public and commercial life, not to speak of diplomatic circles, and this would be a defect that would tell very materially against him, and prove a great stumbling-block. The management of foreign affairs is among the most important tasks of an Imperial Chancellor, and requires experience and a routine knowledge of the subject which can hardly have been acquired by Herr von Forckenbeck in his previous career.

I trust we shall soon find opportunity to discuss this and other matters by word of mouth, for it is invaluable to me to become acquainted with your opinions and experiences in regard to persons and to things.

I have already occupied too much of your time, therefore I will now close my letter, and remain, with deep respect,

Your devoted
FRIEDRICH, GRAND DUKE OF BADEN.

Journal.

BERLIN, *April* 12, 1874.

Walked to-day with Gelzer. He had seen the Emperor recently, on the very day on which His Majesty arranged the compromise * with Bismarck, and found him still under the influence of the discussion. The Emperor told him Bismarck was as fresh as ever mentally, but still feeble in body. Gelzer then talked to him about the clerical war, of which, said Gelzer, it was to be deplored that it had come about in this way, but that it could not now be given up without involving a second Olmütz. The Kaiser quite agreed. They then discussed the difficulties of the present situation, and the advisability of nominating a deputy for the invalid Chancellor. When Gelzer mentioned my name the Emperor assented, but had already heard that I declined the post, adding, "That is like his modesty." He seemed not to want to have anything to do with Forckenbeck, whom Gelzer then named to him, and made a gesture of refusal.

We then talked of Rome, Paris, Berlin, &c. Then called on Princess Bismarck. She gave me the history of Bismarck's illness, how it originated in an indisposition in St. Petersburg, when they put such a strong plaster on his knee-cap that a blood-vessel was ruptured, and this had produced the present disturbance of the circulation. Nothing is settled about their plans for the summer. He refuses to go to Kissingen, and the doctors want to send him there.

At five, dined with Gelzer and Forckenbeck at a restaurant I wanted to make Forckenbeck known to Gelzer, in order to divert Gelzer's views of a *locum tenens* for Bismarck from myself to the younger, fresher man. I think I succeeded. The service was very slow, and the dinner only came to an end at 8.30, so that the gentlemen had time to make acquaintance. The manœuvre cost me twenty-one thalers.

In the evening with the Imperial party at Frankenberg's. Radowitz was there too. He proposed to initiate me into Oriental politics, with which I shall be involved in Paris. He does not think Arnim will so easily be removed from Paris. In any case I cannot contemplate getting there before the middle of May, as two Ambassadors at once would be too much for Paris.

From the PRINCE'S *address at the farewell banquet given by the Imperial party on April* 24.

. . . Gentlemen, — I have the opportunity to-day of expressing to you how painfully moved I am at the thought that I must now take leave of the German Reichstag, and therewith of an assembly in which consideration and respect have been shown me in a measure which is quite disproportionate to my deserts.

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* The Chancellor's final motion, which was followed by the acceptance of the compromise (maintenance in time of peace as demanded by the Government, with a time limit of seven years), was brought forward on April 10.

You give me the opportunity of saying how highly honoured I feel to have belonged to an assembly that was summoned to establish the principles of German unity.

Yes, gentlemen, our successors will envy us in that we were called to work in one of the most brilliant epochs of German history. Our successors will envy us the glory of having been the first to set our hand to the corner-stone of the structure of the new Germany. Gentlemen, you have expressed gratitude to me by the mouth of your Speaker. Unfortunately I am a modest man, and every flattering word loses its lustre for me in the caustic lye of remorseless self-criticism. Yet even my modesty does not go so far as to deprive me of the pride and self-confidence which originate in the fact that in all the Sessions of this parliament I have been raised by the confidence of the representatives of the German nation to the second highest place in the German Reichstag, that I have not lost this confidence during all these years. This fact is the best endowment for an Ambassador who is called to represent his Emperor and his country at the capital of a nation to which we, the elected representatives of the German people, must acknowledge our debt, inasmuch as they were the first of all the people of the Continent to express those great ideas of political liberty on which the modern State is founded.

I shall hold fast to the remembrance of these things in my new calling, and at the same time fulfil the instructions given me in your name by the honoured Speaker — instructions to bear my true triends in remembrance.

Journal.

Berlin, *April* 28, 1874.*

Yesterday I went to Princess Bismarck's and asked her about her conversation with the Grand Duke. She told me Bismarck knew nothing of it, and regretted that the Grand Duke had talked to so many people about this affair. She promised me to explain the matter clearly to Bismarck, so that he should not get any mistaken notion that I wanted to usurp his place.

Berlin, *May* 2, 1874.

Bismarck had summoned me to-day for a consultation at two o'clock. I arrived punctually and was received by the Princess till the Prince was ready to see me. I found him in bed with a white jacket on. He looked fairly well, and at once began to speak of Arnim; this took up a considerable time. He repeated what he had told me before, that he could not trust Arnim, and had told him frankly that he could be of no use to him. Arnim, however, was always retained by the Emperor. When at last the Kaiser consented to recall him from Paris, Bismarck advised that he should not be put on half-pay, but should be sent off to Constantinople. This Arnim accepted but, instead of going there quietly, he then opened the ball by publishing the letter in the Vienna *Presse*, which was followed by all the subsequent disclosures.

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* The Prince received his Credentials on April 29.

As to France, he said the chief point of interest for us was to see that she should not become so powerful internally, and of so much weight externally, as to secure herself allies. A republic and internal dissensions were the best guarantee of peace. A strong republic was of course always, as he admitted, a bad example for monarchical Europe. Still it seemed to him, as far as I could gather, that the republic was less dangerous than the monarchy, which would foster all kinds of trouble abroad. An Orleans monarchy would be very unfavourable for us. He does not consider Chambord as a probability, since he has no desire to take up the cares of government. From our point of view the Bonapartes are the best possible monarchs for France. If, however, the present *régime* continues it is still better.

As to general European politics, he stated emphatically that we had a special interest in maintaining the good understanding between Austria and Russia. If they were to fall out we should have to side with one or the other, which would be disastrous.

In regard to French politics he alluded to the tendency of France to entangle herself with Tunis and stick there. This would be a good thing for us, as France would then busy herself in that quarter and stick fast there. German trade was certainly languishing in Tunis. Bismarck, however, seemed to set political interests higher than commercial considerations.

Bismarck wishes me to go to Paris as soon as possible.

BERLIN, *May* 6, 1874.

This morning I went to the Foreign Office. Studied the official papers. Discussed Russell's interpellation with Bucher and Styrum, and came to the conclusion that it was inspired by Morier.* Then I called on Princess Bismarck to ask her to get me an interview with Bismarck. An invitation to dinner followed. There I met Bismarck's brother. He is Bismarck translated into the harmless country squire of the Marches. At table Bismarck talked of 1870, of his conference with Roon and Moltke, who were furious at Prince Hohenzollern's resignation and the King's acquiescence. Then came the telegram from Abeken, and Bismarck's abbreviated publication of it, after which war was inevitable. Then he spoke of Austria in 1866, and the difficulties of concluding terms of peace. Bismarck inquired of Moltke: "What would you do if the French were to cross the Rhine?" "I," replied Moltke, "would cover the line of the Elbe with 100,000 men, and march against France." This did not seem prudent to Bismarck, so he concluded peace, seeing that Austria gave what was wanted, namely, a free hand in Germany.

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* Lord Russell questioned the Government in the House of Lords on May 4 upon the relations of France and Germany, and the prospects of continuance of peace.

After dinner I told him the Crown Princess had asked me to write to her. He thought this was merely phrase-mongering and advised me not to do so, as it might annoy the Emperor. If I wanted to send information to the King of Bavaria, that was quite another matter, and I could rightly do so. I asked what my position should be in regard to the Bonapartists. He told me to do nothing for them, but at the same time nothing against them. That would always be the best monarchy in France for our interests, since it would involve internecine difficulties. I said I should uphold his policy in the clerical question, begging at the same time to be informed if any change occurred in the situation. Bismarck promised this, adding that there was no prospect of it unless the other side proposed a *modus vivendi*, seeing that it was impossible we should come to any other issue with Rome.

Finally, I took my leave, begging for his goodwill and forbearance. He said: "It is superfluous for me to entreat you not to develop *trop de zèle*. You are sufficiently familiar with great affairs. It is always well to consider things quietly before taking action. You, however, are a very cautious person."

BERLIN, *May* 7, 1874.

Bleichröder came to see me to-day. He gave me some invaluable information about Paris in a couple of hours.

One Landsberg has been despatched by him at Bismarck's instigation to Wolff's telegraphic bureau. He does not yet know if he will be able to recommend him to me, but will do so later on if the man turns out well. He will send me a letter for Alphonse Rothschild, which I can forward to him, and then Rothschild will call on me.

He says of Bismarck that he has no consideration, and squeezes people like lemons. A certain Silesian is writing to him from England. He will give him instructions to correspond with me also. Lastly, he said I should hardly be able to leave Paris this summer, as I should find too much to do. The summer is going to be very unsettled. He promises to keep me informed about things here. He thinks Peter's letter quite accurate. The Jews have been warned that I am their enemy, which he has been contradicting. Generally speaking, he claims to have smoothed the ground for me.

No doubt Bleichröder imagines that I shall be Bismarck's successor, and wants to curry favour with me.

BERLIN, *May* 7, 1874.

Farewell audience to-day with the Emperor. He received me in his study, invited me to be seated opposite to him, and was very friendly. He said Bismarck, whom he had visited to-day, had told him he had given me my instructions. He desired to keep on the best terms possible with France. Bismarck specially emphasises the point that France should not be too strong, and desirable as an ally. This was all right. Yet it was neither proper nor possible that we should ourselves work for the destruction and demoralisation of France. He then spoke of the Bonapartists. The Emperor Alexander and Gortschakow had told him the Bonaparte party were gaining, but without explaining in what manner. "It might be all right for us if they came to the helm again, only I do not see how a young man of eighteen is to govern a country like France." The Kaiser thought it would be best to let a few years go by, till the youthful Napoleon was older. I then related my conversation with Napoleon in the year 1867, which interested the Kaiser very much. That reminded him of a conversation he had at that time with Nigra. He made the following remark to Nigra, intending it to be repeated to Napoleon: "I shall not live to see the unity of Germany, perhaps my son may not. But come it will. If Napoleon seeks to hinder it, he will come to grief." This was repeated to Napoleon, and he replied: "The King is mistaken. I should never commit such an error." "All the same," concluded the Kaiser, "it came about, though it may not have been Napoleon's fault."

He then spoke of Arnim, apparently under the influence of the interview he had just had with Bismarck.

In conclusion, he thanked me for the sacrifice I was making, by going to Paris. "The Princess will feel it also." I said no sacrifice could be too great that could serve him. I was highly honoured by his confidence, and thanked him for the honour he had conferred on me. The conversation ended with the Emperor's assurance that he placed full confidence in me.

Lastly, I must note that the Emperor has charged me to greet Marshal MacMahon from him. The Crown Prince also.

AMBASSADOR AT PARIS

1874–1885

AMBASSADOR AT PARIS

1874–1885

PARIS, *May* 22, 1874.

Arrived in Paris May 18. On the 19th early to the Embassy. In the afternoon walked on the Boulevards. Dined with Prince Wittgenstein.

On the 20th inspection of the Embassy. Called on Apponyi. At 6 P.M. to Decazes.*

After the usual civilities on both sides Decazes began to discuss the present situation.† He thinks the Conservative party will rally and recover its ground. The Ministry is not yet formed, but will eventually take shape. He is as well pleased that things should not go too rapidly, he wants no *replatrage*, but something with more prospect of permanency. The Conservatives must, in the first place, realise that they are in danger. To-day's rumours show that the expedient for unsettling the public has succeeded. For his own part, he is quite willing to remain in office, being ready to serve his country in any possible way. But he would like to know in what way. He will accordingly remain, and has notified this to the Marshal,‡ provided the colleagues Goulard brings forward are agreeable to him, and that the programme corresponds with his own views. This programme should be organisation of the Marshal's functions in this or some other way. The details could easily be arranged. If he were permanently to take over the conduct of affairs, he would earnestly endeavour to bring about the best possible relations between France and Germany, so far as lay in his power. I contented myself with replying that I should esteem myself fortunate to continue in political relations with him, and that my instructions were to confirm and develop the favourable relations between the two countries.

The audience will be in full State. Saturday at one at the Elysée.

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* The Duc Decazes, Foreign Minister.

† On May 16 the Prime Minister, the Duc de Broglie, claimed precedence in the National Assembly for the Franchise Bill over the rival Municipal Constitution Bill, and had made this a question of confidence. The Government were in a minority of 317 against 381 votes. Broglie's Ministry then resigned.

‡ The Marshal entrusted Goulard with the construction of a new Cabinet, but he did not succeed in forming a Ministry.

Paris, *May* 25, 1874.

Yesterday at the Duchess of Magenta's at one o'clock. Then to Minister Fourtou, who has taken over the Ministry of the Interior.* He is still a young man, clever, and a good speaker. He regrets having had to give up the Ministry of Public Instruction, since the Fine Arts went with it. Religious education had worried him not a little. Particularly at the time of the charges.† His circular to the bishops, however, had great effect. I said that result had not at first been expected in Germany, to which he replied that he had not been content with that, but had further taken other means of recommending moderation to the bishops. Decazes told me the same thing. People are still under the influence of the Notes which Arnim communicated at that time.

Fourtou seemed very calm in regard to the future of the new Ministry. The Ministry will undoubtedly have a majority. They will first debate on Municipal Legislation, then on the Electoral Law, and lastly, on the Grand Conseil.‡ The Ministry itself he describes as "MacMahonien."

In the evening the Minister of Justice was with me, to-day General Ladmirault, Governor of Paris. Then to the Marshal's Tribune at the Auteuil races. There I met Montaignac, the new Minister of Marine, besides Prefect of Police, who is still a young man, the Turkish, English, and Russian Ambassadors, and several aides-de-camp.

Paris, *May* 28, 1874.

Visit yesterday from Fabrice, the Saxon Minister at Brussels. Then Landsberg, a clever and thoroughly reputable journalist.

In the afternoon to Decazes, for his diplomatic reception. I settled a business matter, and left soon after. Among others, I met the Swiss Envoy Kern, who impressed me favourably.

In the evening I went to the Bouffes Parisiennes, where I found Prince and Princess Metternich.

To-day at Versailles. First to Buffet's. Reception in the Palace. Few people present. Admiral La Roncière, the most distinguished French admiral, a charming old gentleman.

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* In the Cissey Ministry, formed on the 22nd.

† Certain of the French bishops issued pastoral charges in 1873, in which Italy, Switzerland and Germany were violently attacked on account of the "religious persecution." The Bishop of Nancy instituted prayers for the restoration of Metz and Strassburg to France. Germany demanded that the bishops should be reprimanded. On October 10, 1873, Count Arnim was instructed to declare uncompromisingly that Germany "regarded the attitude of the French Press and the corresponding demonstrations of leading civil and ecclesiastical officials as a provocation." On October 30, Arnim had an interview with the Duc de Broglie, "who was much impressed." The negotiations on this subject were protracted till February 1874.

‡ The projected Upper House.

While we were talking, a slight young man came up with a companion whom he presented to Buffet. He was wearing a blue ribbon. The admiral took him for a diplomat. He turned out, however, to be the Comte d'Eu, son of the Duc de Nemours and son-in-law to the Emperor of Brazil. He reminds one of the Cohary family.

Then to the Marshal's, where it was pretty full. The Comte d'Eu was again there. I spoke to Broglie, Cissey,* the English Military Attaché, the Minister Cumont,† who asserted that Socialism was a product of German philosophy. He was silenced, however, when I cited the list of French Socialists and Communists from Babeuf to Louis Blanc. The rooms at the Préfecture are very fine. Every one was charming to us. The long drive to Versailles and back was most fatiguing.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

PARIS, *May* 30, 1874.

Your Highness may perhaps have read an article in the Vienna *Presse*, which credits me with the statement that "my stay in Paris will last only so long as I can retain a certain measure of independence." Your Highness knows me well enough to be certain that I should not signalise my *début* in the Imperial Service by the publication of a more or less opposition programme. I should therefore have kept silence about this, as about many other inventions of the newspapers on my account, save for the fact that the leading article of this particular journal seems to be written with the intention of shaking your Highness's confidence in me. With this object he turns against me with malicious intent an utterance which I must now justify. I remember during the discussion of certain diplomatic proceedings of the German Empire, which took place, if I am not mistaken, in the ante-chamber of the Reichstag, to have said I could not understand how a representative of the Empire could remain in office if he found his principles in opposition to those of his leader in foreign politics. It is only when the two are in sympathy that the efforts of the former can be efficacious. I am also of opinion that only the consciousness of being in harmony with the principles on which the policy of the country one is serving is being conducted, will give the diplomatic representative that self-confidence which is indispensable for the execution of his task.

As for myself, I have followed the events which have come to pass during the administration of your Highness with sufficient attention to know that I am in full agreement with your Highness, and have no doubt this will continue to be the case in the future.

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* Prime Minister and Minister of War.

† Minister of Instruction.

In conclusion, I would permit myself to remark, in connection with the entirely confidential despatch of May 17, that I conversed with Count Arnim during his stay here. I contented myself with listening in silence to his assertion that he did not know how he could have incurred your Highness's displeasure, and advised him in his own interests to avoid further communications to the Press. I have not hitherto experienced any prejudicial consequences from the verdict Count Arnim here delivered upon me.

Your Highness will think I am sending a somewhat meagre report. For the moment, as is inevitable, Herr Lindau * seems to be better informed than I, and I think it as well to confine myself to this communication, which I make solely because of my official position.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

Telegram.

VARZIN, *June* 2, 1874.

Letter of 30th received with thanks. The paper referred to is of no importance, because personally biassed.

Journal.

PARIS, *June* 3, 1874.

To Versailles to-day for the National Assembly.† Curious impression of the hall. The three Bourbon lilies on the canopy above the President's chair. Lindau, who was with me, pointed out the principal people. Gambetta, a fat, undersized person, with long black hair. Grévy, a sort of Simson, is no longer President. Jules Favre, Ricard, Crémieux, Léon Say, Casimir-Périer, and many other celebrities were to be seen. Thiers was not present, nor Dufaure.

First, young M. de Castellane made a speech of an hour and a half. He spoke with extraordinary assurance, and opposed universal suffrage amid contradiction and laughter from the Left. Then Ledru-Rollin got up. He defended universal suffrage, and disputed the right of the Assembly to refuse the general vote. He was only able to get out one sentence at a time, followed each time by interruptions that lasted quite a minute. Old Viel-Castel, and then Dahiret, broke in from the Right, not with single words, but with quite long sentences. In between general uproar. It really was as good as a play. A Vice-President (unknown to me), who was in the chair was of no account, took no part. I only heard his voice, when he named Ledru-Rollin, whom no one knew. Ledru-Rollin spoke very quietly and well. At five I had to leave, in order to get home in time. Dinner in the evening at Durand's with the staff of the Embassy. Rudhart* proposed the toast, and I replied to it.

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* Then Attaché at the Embassy.

† The debate on the draft of the Electoral Law began on June 2.

At four the next day to Peter's. He holds the only Government which has the slightest prospect of surviving in France to be the Bonapartist. The Frenchman is *democrate et autoritaire.* That can only be realised in the Empire.

At 5.30 I drove to the station of Montparnasse to attend the dinner at Versailles. Baude and Desprez, the Political Director at the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, went in the same carriage with me. It was a very large party; the bulk of the Diplomatic Corps was there: Lyons, Orlow, Washburne, Nigra. The last is a man with clever observant eyes. Washburne is an American original. After dinner went into the Marshal's study with several other gentlemen to smoke our cigars. Kern talked to me for a long time very cordially — a regular Swiss. At dinner I sat near the Marshal, who talked to me about Königsberg.†

PARIS, *June* 9, 1874.

Busy the whole morning yesterday till five with reports. Bülow‡ was starting in the evening and would take them. Dined at midday with Peter at the Moulin. In the evening went to the Duchesse de Galliera. There met Prince de Joinville, Duke August von Cohary, who presented me to his wife, Princess Clémentine. Then our host presented me to the Duc de Nemours. The entertainment was given partly in the *salon* on the ground floor, partly in the garden. Bengal lights, coloured lamps, and so on. A choir from the Conservatoire sang various pieces. The Duc de La Rochefoucauld Bisaccia asked to be presented to me.

Prince Joinville came to me at noon to-day. He spoke of the situation in France, praised the Marshal, pointed out that only a soldier was competent to govern France, seeing how they had procrastinated over the re-establishment of the Monarchy. He believes Thiers might have accomplished this directly after the downfall of the Commune. He thinks the National Assembly will not consent to a dissolution before the Second Chamber has been formed. He lays special stress on this, and less on the Electoral Law for the Second Chamber. This is natural enough, since it is by means of this Second or Senatorial Chamber that the Orleans hope to restore their Monarchy. For precisely the same reason the Republicans will not, and the Legitimists can hardly, agree to it. The Prince appears to be extremely well informed. Conversation is difficult on account of his deafness.

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* Bavarian Minister.

† Where MacMahon had been the representative of France at the Coronation of King William.

‡ Military Attaché to the Embassy.

PARIS, *July* 3, 1874.

Reumont* has just left me. He has come from Florence and is staying here a few days. After general conversation we got upon the clerical war and the German struggle. He deplores the situation, questions the necessity for it, and is himself more or less, if not entirely, on the Ultramontane side. He denies that the Church began it, or that the Government was justified by the Syllabus and Declaration of Infallibility in placing itself on the defensive, and takes up the sentimental standpoint of his old patron, King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. I attempted to justify the standpoint I hold in common with the Government and to vindicate the clerical laws; in vain, however. When he still refused to be convinced, and went on groaning over the persecution of the Church, the iron heel planted upon the neck of the Church, and so on, I lost patience. I told him I had seen enough of the Ultramontanes in Bavaria to know them well, and could only assure him it was I who had advised Prince Bismarck to be on his guard against the Church, and that if the Chancellor really found himself forced to set an iron heel upon the neck of the clerics, I for one would help him with all my might. That shocked him, and he went off quite disconcerted.

PARIS, *July* 8, 1874.

Yesterday was fixed for Lucien Brun's interpellation on the suppression of the *Union*.† When I got to Versailles I saw every one who had been able to procure a ticket streaming thither. The delegates, too, were well represented. Thiers also made his appearance. I walked from the railway with Chaudord. Klindworth,‡ whom I met, intercepted me and gave me all manner of gossip, declaring that the Ministers had suppressed the *Union* in order at the same time to quash a manifesto that was expected from Chislehurst. He then got on to his favourite subject, of how the Powers must reinstate the Orleans family and avoid the Empire as much as the Republic, keeping me so long that when I reached the hall the seats were all taken and I could only have occupied my allotted place in the first row by allowing one of the numerous ladies who were present to stand. I would not do that, so I went into the park, listened to the band for an hour, and walked about. When I came back at five o'clock the interpellation had not yet been made, so I lost nothing. In fact the debate was postponed till to-day, when I went back. On the return journey I travelled with Chabaud-Latour and Changarnier. When we got out I met

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* Alfred von Reumont, the friend of Friedrich Wilhelm IV., who was then living in Bonn and paid a long visit to Florence every spring.

† In which a manifesto by the Comte de Chambord had been published on July 2.

‡ A political agent.

Thiers, and went with him. The cordiality with which the public greets him is very noticeable. The Turkish Ambassador, with whom I was talking of it, thinks it all got up. To me it appears tolerably spontaneous. For the rest, Thiers declined to discuss the results of to-day's debate. He does not appear particularly satisfied with the Ministerial outlook.

Dined with Lindau and Holstein * at the Café d'Orsay, and ended the day at Musard's, where Beethoven's *Adelaide* was very beautifully given.

July 9.

Yesterday spent the whole afternoon with Orlow, Apponyi, and Lyons in the National Assembly, where Lucien Brun justified his interpellation, and Fourtou defended the Government.†

Came back this evening with Chaubordy and Kern.

PARIS, *July* 16, 1874.

This morning went to see Thiers. He began by saying he had intended calling on me to-day to express his sympathy about the attempt.‡ He had long been on friendly terms with Prince Bismarck, and the peace negotiations had accentuated this sentiment. The Prince had made things considerably easier for him, and moderated the terms as much as possible. "*Je ne dis pas cela à mes compatriotes, qui trouvent qu'on a été beaucoup trop dur;*" but it was his own opinion, and he was grateful to Bismarck. He then talked of the attempts of Fieschi and Louvel. He says the latter had no confederates. In outbursts of general passionate hatred, these political assassins always act alone. Fieschi had fellow-conspirators. The account of Fieschi's attempt was most interesting. He was at that time Minister of the Interior, and was riding close to Louis Philippe. Suddenly at one point of the Boulevard they heard the explosion, and were utterly bewildered; forty-two people were killed or wounded. Thiers's own horse was wounded. One of the Marshals was killed. Thiers then went with a detachment of the Gardes de Paris to the house where Fieschi was living. The fellow had executed the deed at the orders of the Radical party of the day, without having any strong personal interest in it. "*Je l'ai fait,*" he said, "*comme on brûle des pétards.*"

Then Thiers came to the present situation. He thinks Magne will hardly be able to hold out.§ Thiers laments this, since

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* *See* p. 32; at that time Councillor to the Embassy.

† The motion of Lucien Brun was lost notwithstanding the vote of the Extreme Right, the motion desired by the Government and the simple order of the day were carried. The Ministry offered their resignation, but the Marshal declined to accept it.

‡ Kullmann's attempt on Bismarck at Kissingen, July 13.

§ Magne, Minister of Finance, offered his resignation on July 15, after the National Assembly had refused to pass the new taxes proposed to cover the deficit.

Magne is a good Finance Minister of the school of Baron Louis, a financial genius, whose pupil he himself had been. It was true that Magnus was a Bonapartist, but *un homme sense.* He pronounced the report of M. de Ventavon at yesterday's sitting* *une chose ridicule.* The report was very ill received, and would be rejected. What next? That Thiers cannot tell. He thinks that nothing will happen. The dissolution looms nearer and nearer. Either the Assembly will have to dissolve soon, in which case the election will take place in September, or it will be prorogued, and perhaps meet again in the autumn, when the dissolution will be decided on. "*Je ne peux pas croire que l'assemblée passera l'année.*" Thiers does not mean to stay till the end, but is going to the country before, as he cannot stand the heat. The sittings this next week are likely to be very stormy.

PARIS, *July* 20, 1874.

Thiers came to see me yesterday afternoon, to take leave before starting for Switzerland. He says it is getting too hot for him here. I have an idea he is leaving his friends to work by themselves, feeling sure he will be recalled if anything overthrows the Marshal. He told me all sorts of things, for instance, about the Jardin des Plantes. "*J'ai dépensé trente millions pour le Jardin des Plantes*," *i.e.*, when he was Minister to Louis Philippe. He spoke enthusiastically of the collections, especially the minerals.

Then he began to speak of Napoleon III., who often used to consult him, personally before the *coup d'état*, and through Walewski during the Empire. In the year 1849, after the Battle of Novara, Napoleon wanted to declare war against Austria, and asked Thiers's opinion. He strongly dissuaded him. He only succeeded inasmuch as it was he who had drawn up the necessary decrees which had staggered the Emperor. He then called in Hübner, at that time Chargé d'Affaires here, and induced him to suggest less stringent peace conditions to the Austrian Government, which were then accepted and war with France was averted.

Thiers next spoke of the war of 1866, of the prejudicial effect which Napoleon's passive attitude, into which Goltz had persuaded him, had had upon the Empire. The decline of the Empire dated from this. The Empress, with the entire Bonapartist party, was of the opinion that war was necessary to restore Napoleon's prestige. She said: "*Mon fils ne régnera jamais, si le prestige n'est pas rétabli par une guerre victorieuse.*" The Deputies were really against the war and begged him to vote against it, but for fear of injuring the Empire eventually voted for it and left him alone. This had also been the case with the Mexican Expedition. He had nothing particular to say about the present crisis, remarking only: "*Si on pouvait faire quelque chose du maréchal!*" — then it might be possible to see some way out. It still seems to him a great misfortune that he is no longer President.

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* On the article of the Constitutional Law referring to the powers of the Marshal.

We then spoke of my Bavarian policy and endeavours to found a South German Confederation, which he, of course, quite approved of.

July 21.

Yesterday's sitting of the National Assembly was uninteresting since the debate on Casimir-Périer's motion * was adjourned till Thursday. Cissey announced the appointment of Chabaud-Latour as Minister of the Interior,† and of Mathieu Bodet as Minister of Finance.

PARIS, *July* 28, 1874.

The day before yesterday I received orders from Berlin to make an unpleasant confidential communication to Decazes about the slack watch kept on the frontiers, and the encouragement of the Carlists — and threatening that we should take official diplomatic action against France and institute further measures on the coast if the nuisance was not checked.

I went in the afternoon to Versailles, and drove to the Petit Trianon, where Decazes is living. I first paid my respects to the Duchess, as I owed her a visit. Then the Minister himself came in and suggested a stroll in the gardens. This lasted so long that I took an opportunity, when Baron Hirsch was walking with the Duchess, to make my communication. Then we had a long talk about it. Heaven knows what result it will have. The French are hard to shake in their *penchant* for the Carlists and we are getting impatient. It was seven before I could get away, and two of the Duke's cousins were coming to dinner — old Comte St. Aulaire and Herr von Langsdorff. Decazes invited me to stay and dine *à la fortune du pot* with them. So I remained. Two children also appeared at dinner and a tall abbé, who inquired with interest after "Dœllinguère." After dinner Decazes told us all kinds of strange things, such as the Marshal's idea of making the Prince de Joinville Minister of the Interior. Yesterday I despatched the messenger, which gave me a great deal to do, and only got out to walk at 6.30. Dined at D'Orsay's and went to the Palais Royal with Holstein, where we saw *Le lit à trois*. Atrocious rubbish!

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* Which aimed at the definitive recognition of the Republic.

† Fourtou had in the meantime resigned in consequence of the disclosures about the Bonapartist agitations.

PARIS, *August* 22, 1874.

Yesterday evening, about nine, I went, escorted by two Landauers to the Strassburg station to receive the King of Bavaria. I waited with Beckmann and a Commissary of Police till ten minutes past nine. The King arrived with Holnstein and Lindau, whom I had despatched to meet him. I escorted him to the carriage and drove him to the Embassy. There everything was illuminated and decked with flowers. The King was amazed at the splendour of the apartments allotted to him. He then supped alone, and I with Holnstein and the Director-General Schomberger. Early this morning he ordered a bath, and amused himself by breakfasting in the small Turkish room next to the bathroom. At midday, reception of the staff of the Embassy. The order of the reception was that they all assembled in the big *salon* in frock-coats and white ties, and I presented them to the King, one after the other. Afterwards the King went alone with Holnstein to Versailles. Yesterday his Majesty had a very long interview with Lindau. Among other things he said he was on the best of terms with Bismarck and the Kaiser. He spoke less favourably of the Crown Prince, saying he would introduce a different policy and seek to deprive the several States of their independence. I inquired of Holnstein the cause of this dislike of the Crown Prince. He said Prince Karl of Bavaria had told the King that the Crown Prince had assured some officers in Augsburg that in ten years' time everything was going to be altered, which he, of course, said in relation to the Army, but which those who repeated it to Prince Karl turned so that it appeared as if the Crown Prince meant that the whole political standpoint would be different after the next ten years. That has been rankling in the King's mind, and may be one of the causes of his dislike.

PARIS, *August* 24, 1874.

Yesterday, Sunday, I intended going to Mass at eleven. But as the King, what with toilet and breakfast, was not ready till 12.30, church had to be given up. At last, at two, we broke up. We drove to the Conciergerie, the Sorbonne, the Panthéon, La Sainte Chapelle, and various other sights, also to the Grand Opera. By that time it was half-past five. On reaching the Chapelle des Invalides, we were on the point of alighting when the King discovered that the Commandant and not the Governor was awaiting him. As he has a horror of these formal receptions he ordered the carriage to turn round and galloped home. He then dined alone in his room, and went with Holnstein and myself to the Théâtre Français, where he stayed to the end. They were playing Molière's *Avare*, and a modern comedy, *Le Gendre de M. Poirier*, in which the King seemed to be much interested. On Monday the King went to Versailles with Holnstein. On the way the latter proposed that he should give a dinner at the Embassy the following day, to which the members of the Embassy should be invited. The King did not see it, and said that, rather than that, he would stay altogether in Versailles instead of returning to Paris, so Holnstein did not pursue the subject.

Tuesday, the 25th, I went in the morning to the Trianon to tell Decazes the King would receive him at two. The King in the meantime was in the park at Versailles watching the play of the fountains. He had commanded this for eleven. The public behaved with decorum, but a few Versailles *gamins* were arrested for amusing themselves by imitating the King's gait behind his back. I drove home in the afternoon. In the evening the King came to the Théâtre du Gymnase, where *Le Père de la débutante* was given. In the evening a row with Holnstein.

On the 26th the King went to Fontainebleau with Lindau, as Holnstein stayed in bed all day. In the evening the King went to the Théâtre Français.

PARIS, *August* 31, 1874.

Yesterday the Emperor summoned me by telegram to Babelsberg. I took the twelve o'clock train. The Emperor received me in his study, a fine large room, which, however, as is always the case in Gothic houses, is excessively uncomfortable owing to all sorts of inconvenient steps and corners. We talked of Paris, of the King of Bavaria, and of the recognition of Serrano.*

The Kaiser seems not yet to be reconciled to Bismarck's having constrained him to do this. He complained that Bismarck threatened to send in his resignation if his wishes were not carried out, and that things could not go on like this. Bismarck was in a great state of excitement, and no one knew what he would be dragging the Emperor into. It is necessary at present to be conservative; Bismarck himself sees this, but how is it possible when he has already gone so far? The Emperor, who thought I was going on to Varzin, begged me to tell him how I found Bismarck. I replied that I had no intention of going to Varzin unless Bismarck asked me, and the Kaiser assented. I then lunched with the Emperor and Empress after a private interview with the latter. The Empress expressed great displeasure at the newspaper reports that the Kaiser was going to Italy. It was all nonsense; the Emperor could not leave everything in the lurch. I had my own ideas of how good it might be for the old man to spend a winter in a mild climate. But I should have done no good by contradicting, and should only have irritated her. I then went to the Neue Palais, but failed to find the Crown Prince and Princess.

One more thing to note. The Kaiser said to me: "One cannot make pretty speeches to such a big man as yourself, but

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* Serrano had seized the Government in January by a *coup d'état*. At the end of July the German Government was negotiating with the other Powers about his recognition, and whether moral support should be given him against the Carlists.

I must tell you that I am highly pleased with your work, and think your method of reporting excellent. Your reports interest me very much." At the end, when I was taking leave, he said again, "I have nothing to say but go on as you have begun!"

VARZIN, *October* 24, 1874.

After leaving Thurnau and Kulmbach,* I went the day before yesterday to Berlin, arrived at night, and left next morning at 8.30 from the Stettin station. I met Herr von Winter, and talked to him till we reached Schlawe. The weather was gloomy and unsettled, and it presently began to rain. The first part of Pomerania is hideous. After Köslin there are fields and woods and hills. These reach as far as Schlawe. Here I met Bismarck's second son, who had travelled in the same train, and drove one and a half hours in a post-chaise with him to Varzin in pouring rain. We arrived in twilight, but I could see the magnificent trees in the park. Prince and Princess Bismarck received me very cordially and took me straight into the dining-room, where dinner had already begun. In the evening I sat with Bismarck by the stove, to which he attended himself, by way of exercise, piling fir-cones on to a shovel from time to time and throwing them in. Since they burn up very quickly he had plenty of exercise. He was smoking his big pipe all the time. He appears to be perfectly well, and not the least overwrought, but in a very mild and benevolent mood. Then we went in to tea. The papers were read, and the *Wespen* which I had brought was much approved of.

This morning bright sunshine. My window looks on to the splendid beeches of the park. Both place and surroundings are charming. The house is comfortable but old-fashioned. At nine the servant announced to me that the Princess was at breakfast. I went down. The Prince came later, and suggested taking me for a walk in the park. Our political talk was interrupted the whole time by remarks about trees and views, or the woods and forests he had bought. This park of Varzin is really something quite out of the common, and I can imagine that Bismarck finds it hard to leave it. This morning we rode to more distant parts of the neighbourhood. Bismarck talks very quietly about the Arnim affair. Arnim came into Pomerania for an election, and was astonished to find himself so little known here. Then he wanted to get talked about, and began the scandal about the papers. His arrest is a mere matter of justice. To-morrow I return to Berlin.

VARZIN, *October* 24, 1874.

During yesterday's conversation with Prince Bismarck I touched on my interview with the Emperor at Babelsberg. The

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* Where the Prince had addressed his constituents on October 22.

Chancellor remarked that he understood the Emperor's distrust. The thing was as follows. When I brought up the question of recognition after the shooting of Captain Schmidt,* Bismarck charged Herr von Bülow † to interrogate the Powers, *i.e.*, sound them as to their views as to the recognition of the Spanish Government. Bülow, instead of carrying out these instructions, immediately placed a circular despatch before the Emperor with a proposal for immediate recognition. This was not accepted, and then a second was proposed and agreed to. Bismarck knew nothing of all this, and was astonished when suddenly the recognition was sanctioned, "like plums, shaken off a tree." In the meantime Schweinitz had been with the Emperor, and had upset him again. Other influences were also at work, and when His Majesty came to Berlin, he refused to hear any more about it. Bismarck then brought pressure to bear, without exposing Bülow, and persuaded the Emperor, by saying the matter had now gone too far for it to be possible to stand still. This was what the Kaiser had referred to.

He told me a great deal about the Empress. In April 1848, for instance, G. Vincke ‡ came to Bismarck and told him the united Diet must, and should, propose the abdication of the King, as also the Prince of Prussia, and the appointment of the Princess of Prussia as Regent for her son.

Bismarck opposed this, saying the people would not understand these manœuvres. When Vincke insisted, Bismarck said: "If you propose this motion to-morrow, I give you my word of honour that I shall have you arrested for high treason." Vincke replied: "Then, of course, the thing must be given up." Bismarck said, "Yes, tell your Princess that," and Vincke went away laughing. Some time before this, the Princess had spoken to Bismarck in a tone that made it clear to him that she was intriguing against her husband.

To my question of what terms Bismarck was on now with the Kaiser, he replied: "Quite good. Everything is going smoothly now between us."

Of Arnim he spoke quite calmly. It would do him no harm if the documents were published. Only it would give the Emperor away, and on this ground he had demurred to it.

I asked Bismarck if it would be agreeable to him to make Giech and Reuss attachés in Paris. He promised to adopt all my proposals in such matters.

To-day, during our walk, we spoke of the Ecclesiastical Question. The Emperor, said Bismarck, could take no retrograde step. It would be easy for the Crown Prince to make peace. The Catholic and also the Liberal Press had embittered the dispute. If the clergy were instructed from Rome to make peace, it would make everything easier. But of this there was no prospect. The newspaper organs of the gabbling parsons must especially be silenced. It was necessary now to work for this.

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* The Prussian half-pay Captain Schmidt, who had accompanied the loyalist troops as war correspondent to various journals, fell into the hands of the Carlists, was brought before a court-martial, tried, and shot.

† The Secretary of State.

* See *Biography of the Empress Augusta*, by Petersdorff, in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 46, pp. 105 and 106.

VARZIN, *October* 24, 1874.

To-day I rode out with Bismarck and his son and daughter. We then went to see the new buildings. In the evening, after I had already taken leave, Bismarck came to my room and said he had prepared a speech from the Throne, that is the concluding paragraph of it, in regard to Foreign Affairs, in which he dealt with the insinuations made against the German Government by Foreign Powers.

It had been telegraphed to him that the Emperor regarded this concluding passage as a threat, but this was not the case, only one must not clothe the assurance that we do not mean to go to war in such a language as to convey the idea that we are afraid. If the Kaiser wanted to water it down, he, Bismarck, would not by his presence authorise a version that did not correspond with his own views. In this event, I was to tell Herr von Bülow he should not take the matter seriously, but pretend to be indisposed, and only reach Berlin a few days later. Bülow must tell the Emperor that, in view of Bismarck's vanity as an author, he cannot take the responsibility of making this correction.

BERLIN, *October* 25, 1874.

Audience with the Emperor to-day. At the outset we talked of the Queen of Bavaria and her conversion.* The Kaiser was angry about it, the more so as he had learned from the letters of Princess Karl of Hesse that the Queen had not been prepared nor instructed, but had taken the step without rightly knowing what she was about. As to the Arnim Affair,† the Emperor deplored the whole occurrence on account of the scandal caused by such conduct on the part of so high an official. He had lost all sympathy with Arnim, after discovering that the latter had calumniated him without the slightest necessity in the Vienna *Presse* and elsewhere.

I then said I had come from Varzin, gave the Chancellor's greetings, and replied to questions about his health. To the question when Bismarck was arriving, I imparted my information about the Speech from the Throne as guardedly as possible, saying the Prince was far from bearing any resentment to the Kaiser about it, but that in the event of the passage in question being altered so that it did not correspond with his views, he hoped it would not be taken amiss if he did not personally support an alteration which did not represent his convictions. The Emperor then quoted the passage from memory and said he feared it was open to the construction that we were prepared to make war again upon France. And this was out of the question. He was too old to begin another war, and feared that Prince Bismarck was trying to drag him little by little into fresh hostilities. This was why he was so suspicious. I said that if the Prince had any such intention, I must have been the first to know of it, but that I had not the faintest inkling of anything of the kind. On the other hand, the French were like naughty children, who were not to be won by kindness and must always be ruled by threats. That passage of the Speech referred not to coalitions against us, but to the insinuations that had been got up against us. The Emperor stroked his beard, and said, without replying to my argument: "I shall fall out with Prince Bismarck again over this matter, and it would gratify me if you would put it before him once more from my point of view."

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* The Queen Dowager of Bavaria, *née* Princess of Prussia, joined the Roman Communion on October 12.

† Count Arnim had been imprisoned on October 4.

BERLIN, *November* 9, 1874.

Bismarck's absence prevented my getting away. Talked to Forckenbeck to-day and told him my fear that Bismarck might suddenly resign and that the Kaiser would let him go. Forckenbeck agreed with me that it would be great folly to think we can get on now without Bismarck, and will on his part, act and keep guard so as to prevent strife between Bismarck and the majority. As to Ecclesiastical Affairs, Forckenbeck says things are fairly peaceful just now in Silesia, and has faith in a *modus vivendi.* He thinks, however, that it is necessary to be much on one's guard against the Ultramontane party. If they are really desirous of peace, the proper and least compromising way for them would be for Windthorst to negotiate with Miquel, since they know each other, and Miquel has the matter greatly at heart. Direct negotiations with the Bishops would have the drawback that the lower clergy would feel themselves confirmed in their fear of being eventually thrown overboard, and surrendered to the Bishops *a discrétion.*

Forckenbeck is of my opinion that any change in the person of the Chancellor of the Empire would endanger the peace of Europe, because it would indicate weakness in Germany. He promised to make careful use of my hints.

November 10.

Miquel declares that the Ultramontanes in Germany want to come to terms with the Government because they see they are losing too much ground in Germany. Windthorst and Reichensperger are very dissatisfied with the Papal policy, that is, with the predominance of Jesuit influence, and are writing to this effect to Rome. Windthorst wanted to approach

Bismarck last year, but he would not receive him, thinking the time had not come. The Ultramontanes now think they will never arrive at an understanding with Bismarck. Miquel says the Bishops of Osnabrück and Hildesheim were hoping for a settlement, and therefore avoided disputes as much as possible. Then we discussed the necessity for the abolition of patronage, and agreed that the State must disestablish, and take over the charges and also the presentation rights. No elections by the parishes.

BERLIN, *November* 12, 1874.

Lasker, with whom I had a long conversation yesterday, talked of Bismarck's projects of retiring. He regards them as mere pretence and says that Bismarck is too much of a demon to let the reins out of his hands. To my remark that the situation was ominous on account of the feeling at Court, Lasker replied there was nothing to fear there. At the decisive moment no one would be willing to let Bismarck go, because they had no substitute for him. There were plenty of men of straw who imagined they could replace Bismarck, but the Kaiser would think twice before he put one of them in Bismarck's office.

He observed that it would be a good thing if Bismarck would take a little more interest in the affairs of the Reichstag; but one must accept him as he is. When he complained that he had no homogeneous Prussian ministry the reason was that he declines any contradiction and only wants departmental chiefs. "He would be best pleased if he could make Wagner Minister of Commerce." I can imagine how Bismarck hates the cunning little Jew. Again I see clearly that the political centre of gravity lies in the National Liberal party. Bismarck, whether he likes it or not, is obliged to address himself to these gentry, and do much through them that he cannot effect by himself.

To-day was the last sitting of the Reichstag. I asked Bismarck when I could see him again, and he invited me to dinner at five o'clock.

As I was taking leave he insisted on the great interest we have in maintaining the present *status quo* in Germany. The Republic, even of the reddest dye, was favourable to us. A monarchical constitution in France would make her a desirable ally and would spell danger to us.

As to the Eastern question, he says I must always bear in mind that we have no direct interest. We could look on sympathetically, and see that Russia and Austria maintain good relations and support their mutual interests. This good understanding did not exist as yet. Austria had gone rather too far. Bismarck said he could not understand how Andrassy could encourage the independence of Roumania since Hungary contained so many Roumanian elements. He could not, however, as Russia wished, impose his influence upon Austria to constrain her to Russia's point of view. He hoped, however, that Austria and Russia would come to a mutual understanding. If this were the case, we could side with them. England agreed with us on this point, but one could not trust to England, since her foreign policy changes with every change of ministry.

In conclusion, Bismarck expressed his hope that he would see me here again during the course of the session. If I wanted to discuss anything I must make a pretext of the Reichstag session and come here.

PARIS, *October* 27, 1874.

While talking to Gelzer in Strassburg he told me that Bismarck had addressed a despatch to Keudell last spring, in which he betrayed a certain impatience at the prolongation of ecclesiastical campaign. He charged Keudell to propound the view in the camp of the Curia that Rome could make peace best alone, and with Bismarck himself. Keudell did not know how to set to work, and asked Gelzer to help him. The latter managed by circuitous methods to get an audience of Antonelli, and had a long talk with him, but with no results. Gelzer took pains to show Antonelli that the ecclesiastical struggle was damaging the Church, and he, on his side, pointed out to Gelzer how much the State was suffering from it. Gelzer went away with no results, leaving Antonelli rather astonished, as he expected something more from Gelzer. I thought Gelzer had been right in his reserve and advised him to go to Berlin during the winter, to see if he could not persuade the Ultramontanes there to meet the Government half way.

Gelzer also spoke of the apprehension that Bismarck wanted war. He had talked to the Grand Duke and received the impression that he shared the alarm. Also he quoted Odo Russell. I dissuaded him from this view, and made him see that the English diplomats were all blowing this trumpet systematically out of hatred to Bismarck.

PARIS, *December* 19, 1874.

To the great astonishment of every one M. Thiers came with his wife to the official reception yesterday at the Embassy. We talked for a long time, and Thiers eventually began to discuss the Arnim affair. He did not disguise his displeasure at Arnim's proceedings, and said: "I did all I could to improve Arnim's position in Paris. But I know quite well why he turned against me. There were some bankers behind him, who would have liked to exploit the loan for their own benefit. I could not agree to this, as I wanted to keep the investment open to the public. That annoyed these bankers, and they egged on Arnim." Then we spoke of the publication of the documents, and I gave him the reasons already set forth in my report, that the papers were known, that they had been found in the hands of suspicious individuals, and that Prince Bismarck would have been exposed at any moment to a series of revelations extending over a number of years, which would have made a very different impression from the public statement of the whole case in a court of law. That seemed to enlighten Thiers.

Decazes informed me that two Germans were compromised in the Rochefort affair,* and had helped him to escape: One of these has been expelled. The reception was a great success. About four hundred people were present.

PARIS, *December* 20, 1874.

Landsberg was with me to-day talking about the Arnim trial. He was surprised at the verdict, and declared he had done his best to save the honour of his profession and avoid all appearance of accusing Arnim. He gave me the impression of being sorry that he had not worked harder against Arnim. He had also been received by Bismarck, and spoke of his audience with great pride. The Prince indeed reproached him severely at first for his reservations in the Arnim affair, but was afterwards very affable, and told him a great deal about Arnim. He said that if Arnim were content with the verdict in the first instance, he would petition the King to pardon him. But if Arnim appealed, they would produce new evidence, notably on financial matters, war indemnities, signing of peace, and so on. Manteuffel had some weighty contributions. Landsberg thinks the verdict will hardly satisfy Bismarck, and that the reasons on which it is based are childish.

PARIS, *January* 2, 1875.

On December 31, reception in the Elysée to bring New Year's congratulations to the Marshal. The whole ceremony was badly arranged. When one is President of a Republic it does not do to play the King.

On the 1st, visit of the Spanish King's confidant,† el Doyen, who talked about Alfonso's proclamation. In consequence telegram to Berlin and much to write. Also prepared for messenger to start next day. Writing till 12.30.

On the 2nd a little more peace. In the evening to Princess Troubetzkoy's, where I spoke to Emile Girardin, and paid him some compliments upon his article in the *France*. Then to el Doyen, with whom the Princess wants to confer, and whom

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* Rochefort had escaped on March 29 from his prison in New Caledonia.

† Alfonso, son of Queen Isabella, who came of age on November 28, had on that day received a congratulatory address in England from the majority of the Spanish grandees. On December 28 he arrived in Paris with his mother. On December 31 he was everywhere proclaimed King by the loyalist troops.

I was to persuade to go to Orloff. The prudent Spaniard, however, did not agree, for he said he did not know what the Emperor Alexander might be thinking. I could but say he was right. General Fleury greeted me, on which I talked to him. We spoke of his journey with the Kaiser to Salzburg, and about Konstantin, whom he greatly praised. It was a curious jumble of all kinds of notable people.

PARIS, *January* 13, 1875.

At the reception in the Elysée this evening I took the opportunity of talking to Marshal MacMahon for a long time about the present situation. He referred to the Ministerial crisis,* saying it would be impossible for Broglie to come in now and immediately suffer a defeat in the debate on the Constitutional Laws. For the rest, he said there would be time to make decisions when the legal measures had been debated. I said to him: "*Vous serez content quand vous serez débarrassé des lois constitutionelles.*" He admitted that. Till now he had been obliged to hold to them, but if the assembly relieved him of this necessity, he would not be sorry. It was quite possible to dispense with the Constitutional Laws. Then the first thing would be to find a better Electoral Law, and then to dissolve the assembly. I said: "You will make the assembly itself decide for dissolution, which would not be difficult if the Government wants it?" He assented, adding: "*Mais ce ne sera pas avant six mois.*" The debate on the budget and on various laws would take up time first. He repeated emphatically: "*Pas avant six mois.*" This whole conversation gave me the impression that the Marshal would be uncommonly glad to gain more time, and to have some months more of peaceful existence before the crisis. Coming back to the Constitutional Laws, he said it would be very bad if nothing was settled for the future in the event of his sudden death. But he then comforted himself again: "*Alors l'assemblée trouvera moyen de me remplacer.*" I concluded the conversation with the wish: "*J'espère que le bon Dieu vous conservera à la France,*" on which we parted.

That same evening I was presented to Queen Isabella, who spoke much of the amiability of Prince Charles. I then asked her if she had good news of the King, to which she replied in the affirmative. Everything is going on well. I expressed my satisfaction at this, and assured her of the interest we felt in the success of her son's undertaking.

PARIS, *January* 14, 1875.

Count Apponyi does not believe in the possibility of an Orleanist Monarchy. Apart from the fact that the Comte de Paris is formally dependent on the decisions of the Comte de Chambord, and could not, therefore, entertain the notion of the French throne during the lifetime of the latter without acting dishonourably, it is much against him that his party is only a General Staff without an Army. The people are either Democratic-Republicans or Imperialists. The Empire would be the one solution of all the present complications.

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* Ciffey's Cabinet had resigned on January 6, in consequence of a defeat in the Chamber over the division for the order of the debates.

PARIS, *January* 23, 1875.

I went to the Elysée to carry out the orders telegraphed me from Berlin. I represented to myself that it would be difficult to repeat my visit inconspicuously if I were formally announced, and for some reason not admitted. I therefore made use of an invitation, and in the first instance went to see the Vicomte d'Harcourt.* We then began a political conversation. D'Harcourt was quite ready to impart his views. He seems depressed by yesterday's sitting.† The absolute incapacity of the assembly to effect anything, the impossibility of recovering the old majority, and no doubt also the destruction of the Orleanist hopes, made him melancholy. He comforted himself, indeed, with the reflection that Jules Favre's speech had disgusted many members of the Moderate Right and Right Centre, who had till now been ready to come to an understanding with the Left Centre, thus rendering the proclamation of the Republic an impossibility. He conceded, however, that the proclamation of the Monarchy would have been worse. The Extreme Right would hinder everything by pursuing impossible hopes. He did not speak of the Orleanists, but as he said: "*Il n'y a que les Bonapartistes qui ont le pays pour eux,*" he appears to have given up hope as regards Orléans. When I asked him what he expected next, he thought there was nothing for it but dissolution, and it would be for the Government not to hinder this if, as appeared likely, the parties themselves agreed on dissolution. In the meantime they would endeavour to introduce the vote *par arrondissement*, and to do away with voting *par scrutin de liste*. In this way he hoped they would arrive at a Conservative Assembly, from which many prominent persons would be absent, as, *e.g.*, the Duc de Broglie. When I looked at him in astonishment he said: "*C'est au moins l'avis de tous les préfets.*" He discussed the question of the vote *par arrondissement* in greater detail. Finally I asked him what the Marshal was doing, and whether he was at home, as I would call upon him if so, whereupon he took me to the Marshal. I found him in good spirits. I introduced my subject by saying the rumours of the decisive resolutions which he was about to pass had seriously disquieted me. He replied that they had been much exaggerated. There was no reason for resigning now; "*Je reste.*" From that we passed to the situation in general. I found almost the same arguments as those of the Vicomte d'Harcourt. The Constitutional Laws, said the Marshal, would undoubtedly be rejected. This could not be helped. But he hoped the assembly would be disposed to pass other laws, such as the alteration of the Electoral Law, of the Presidential Rights of Dissolution, and of the suspensory veto. "*Et la question du ministère?*" I asked. This, the Marshal replied, would be attacked after the Constitutional Laws had been rejected. Challemel-Lacour will resign. He is grateful to him for having held office so long, but could not ask him to stay longer as his health was poor. Fourtou was a good Minister of the Interior; he was not a Bonapartist, with which people reproach him, but an energetic man. Then I brought in my remarks about Decazes. The Marshal declared with great decision that he would check him.

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* Vicomte d'Harcourt, Presidential Secretary.

† From January 21–24 took place the first discussion of the draft drawn up by the commission of the National Assembly for a law respecting "the transfer of powers" (institution of a Second Chamber and union of the two Chambers into a Congress in the event of a reduction of the power of the President). It was resolved to begin the special debate, but that the first reading of the Senatorial Law should precede this.

Thereupon I knew what I wanted to know, and withdrew after some commonplace observations.

PARIS, *January* 23, 1875.

This evening, reception at Princess Trubetzkoy's. Another assembly of celebrities and notorieties. The Princess presented Lachaud, Bazaine's advocate, to me, and also Mazade. I had long conversations with both. Lachaud said that Favre was an excellent man, but weak, especially towards unworthy friends. We came then to the subject of the election — the *scrutin de liste* and the *scrutin par arrondissement.* The latter has many opponents, because the election of an individual Deputy costs too much. A manipulation of the votes requires 30,000 to 40,000 francs. While we spoke, Princess Trubetzkoy came and introduced la Gueronnière,* a tall man with white hair and a moustache. We spoke of the Italian question. He said that the Emperor had had the idea of constructing an Italian Confederation, with the Pope as the head. If Rome and the Clerical party in France had not worked against it the thing would have been accomplished. Cavour would have had to acquiesce. A Clerical party does not now exist in France. On my exclaiming, "*Veuillot!*" he retorted: "*Veuillot n'est qu'une individualité.*"

I spoke with Raoul Duval, the well-known Imperialist Deputy, about the situation. He asserted that the Orleanists had no following. The French would have no aristocrats. "*Nous ne nous soucions pas de la liberté mais seulement de l'égalité.*"

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* French Minister at Brussels before the war.

The Empire was Democratic, and upheld the authority which corresponded to the French character. In Duval I made the acquaintance of a decisive energetic Imperialist. Later, Emile Girardin also came.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

PARIS, *February* 10, 1875.*

Your Highness will permit me to express myself in confidence on a question — which, officially, is none of my business, but in which, as you may suppose, I have a deep personal interest — the question of the situation in Bavaria. The Minister Fäustle writes to say that he is convinced that before long he will see a Franckenstein Ministry at the head of affairs at Munich. The *personnel* of the prospective Ministry has been indicated to the Ultramontane Bavarians by Windthorst, who would naturally stand behind Franckenstein as prompter. The party is developing the greatest activity in order to bring this scheme to completion as quickly as possible, especially by prearrangement of the clerical votes. Whether such an eventuality can in the end be averted I doubt, and proceeding from this view it appears to me that it would be comparatively fortunate if it worked itself off while France has not yet regained her full strength, and especially while your Highness is still at the head of the Imperial Government This is one of the grounds which impress upon me the opinion that the active leadership of your Highness is an absolute necessity for the maintenance of the German Empire.

This necessity is, of course, by no means lessened, if on the other hand I realise the possibility that your Highness, partly with regard to the uncertain duration of European peace itself, should hold even a transitory Ultramontane *régime* in Bavaria to be a very critical matter. In any case, we must not lose sight of the fact that a Government unfriendly to the Empire would lay itself out to bring all the scattered elements unfriendly to the Empire, inside and outside Bavaria, into a coherent condition, in order to utilise them at a serious moment as an organised power for the support of external enemies of the Empire, or at least for the maiming of patriotic enthusiasm. That before this the diplomacy of the secondary States would again seek to make itself a political international factor lies in the nature of things. But this undoubted danger is, in my judgment, counterbalanced by the consideration that the elements friendly to the Empire, in a population of one and a half million, are still very strong, that the officers of the Bavarian Army are almost without exception on the side of the Empire, and that all the elements friendly to the Empire which are now losing ground day by day would be driven to energetic action by the fact of a Clerical Ministry, and would derive new power from being in opposition. For the well-known pugnacity of my Bavarian countrymen is such, that those who find themselves in opposition to the Government win sympathy, whereas the party friendly to the Empire and its leaders are soon looked upon with indifference by the masses, to whom political struggles are always more or less of a free fight. Finally, it must be taken into consideration that the present Ministry has a very precarious hold on life, and as your Highness sufficiently well knows, avoids decisive questions for fear of the Ultramontane party. This embarrassed position lowers the prestige of the Government alike with friend and foe, and makes its power of usefulness to the Empire very small. If your Highness were inclined to take advantage of one of the periods of quiet anticipated by you to give the Bavarian reaction full scope for a *demonstratio ad absurdum* there would be this advantage — that you would yourself have chosen the moment for the catastrophe, whereas it might otherwise occur at a time when serious evils would result to the Empire. Whether the present time is suitable I do not venture to decide. I consider it to be my duty, however, to lay before your Highness an expression of opinion based upon my personal experience.

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* This letter was occasioned by the letter of the Minister Dr. Faustle, of February 6, in which the impending danger of an Ultramontane Ministry in Bavaria was referred to.

I have just read in the French papers that the Archbishop of Munich has attacked the King of Bavaria in his pastoral letter.* I shall inform myself as to the truth of this, and what effect it has made upon his Majesty.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *February* 18, 1875.

I can only reply to your Highness's interesting letter of the 10th in few words on this occasion, and hold over a proper answer till the next despatch.

In principle, I share your opinion that the sooner the swelling breaks the better, and the less dangerous, not only on account of the foreigners, but also on account of the two eyes in question. God preserve them. But they are isolated, and the case would become deeper and more serious if they closed. However, I should only be prepared to interfere with the wheels of Fate if I were sure that the King were deliberately aiming at the same goal with us, and that he appreciated the contributory episodes as such. Have you any idea as to this? Is it possible to come to an understanding on the matter? Without this there is great danger that all Bavarian feeling with the King at its head would be brought into conflict with the Empire. The interference of the Empire would necessarily follow, so soon as its authority was called in question. This result would be at the control of the dexterity of our opponents. Would the episode be closed as soon as the final constitutional consequences were manifest? Or would the Royal self-respect impel the King to feel that it was his duty to allow them to develop, and then to fight against them with all the powers at his command? The latter alternative is so momentous and would have such lasting after-effects that I do not dare to invite it, though I would enter into it undismayed if it were thrust upon us. The great personage in question has always been very gracious to me, and I would not myself put my hand to anything against him, of which I had not previously spoken to him, nor to anything that I did not consider to be for his service. For me, therefore, it all depends upon whether he approves of the undertaking at least in his heart, and realises the goal towards which it tends. If he does, then it is comparatively without danger, and at least judicious; if he does not, then the stakes are so high, that we cannot willingly accept them. As you are yourself attached to him, I take it that our opinions are identical. In this case I would be very thankful if we could discuss the matter verbally, for which we might easily find an opportunity.

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* In his pastoral letter of February 4 the Archbishop said that "the last Jubilee year, 1826, was passed in a dignified and edifying manner with the active participation of the King, Ludwig I., as a faithful son of the Church, but that unfortunately the present Jubilee celebrations could not be carried out on the same lines." The King consequently did not attend at the close of the forty hours' prayer at St. Michael's Church.

Excuse the haste of these lines.

Devotedly yours,
Von Bismarck.

To the Imperial Chancellor.*

Permit me to express to your Highness my most obedient and sincere thanks for the favourable reception of my letter, as well as for your exhaustive reply.

In my communication, I assumed that a change of Ministers would take place in Bavaria before the election, and I believed that it would be judicious not to put obstacles in the way of this. Since then I have heard through the Minister Fäustle that the Ultramontane party will now abstain from irritating the King by attacks in order not to strengthen the royal opposition to a "Catholic Ministry," and that they reserve their strength for the elections. Under these circumstances, the question as to the position of the Imperial Government with respect to the Bavarian relations recedes more into the background, and I hope to have the opportunity of talking with your Highness by word of mouth before the Bavarian elections. The opportunity for this will perhaps arise when I accompany my son to Berlin, to ask his Majesty to give him a commission in the Guards.

Besides this, I must now remark that the question which your Highness has put before me, making your decision dependent upon the answer, is a matter for serious reflection. I cannot, in view of my knowledge of King Ludwig's individuality, definitely affirm that the King deliberately aims at the same goal with ourselves. I can only say that his Majesty is clever enough to estimate the danger which the Clerical policy in Bavaria might prepare for him. Whether this intelligence goes sufficiently far to enable him to parry the consequences of the policy that would arise from the formation of a Catholic Ministry, I am not at the moment able to judge. The leaders of the Ultramontane party are, moreover, as I believe, more concerned with the question whether, at a given moment, Prince Luitpold or Prince Ludwig might not be substituted for the King at the helm of State. Possibly in this connection they have taken into consideration the right of the Pope, which gives to him the power to depose Princes. The reserve which the King, in spite of the fact that many parts of the Ultramontane programme appeal to him, has formerly observed to this party, suggests the idea that this plan has become known to the King. On the other hand, this reserve may be due to the mistrust natural to the King, or to the realisation of the objective difficulties. Be this as it may the resolutions of the King are not to be foreseen, and therefore I thoroughly realise the heavy responsibility which any interference with the development of the Bavarian crisis involves. Only I cannot yet convince myself that an Ultramontane Ministry could do more than maintain a chrysalis-like attitude of mistrust to the Empire. Hostile action against the Empire would require greater unity in the party itself. This consists, however, not only of Ultramontanes, but also of Particularists, that is to say, those whose hostile disposition is confined to a determination to preserve the rights of the Bavarian State intact. They include the bureaucracy, *i.e.*, the organs by which the Ministers carry out their policy. The *vis inertiæ* of these will soon reduce the boldest Ultramontane Minister to impotence. And it appears to me that such a Ministry of intrigue, projects, and enforced futility would soon lose ground and find itself without a majority in its own country, and that after its downfall healthier conditions might be expected.

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* This draft bears no date.

But, as I have said, I am far removed from insisting upon this opinion as the correct one, and I shall only definitely formulate my judgment after verbal discussion with your Highness.

Journal.

PARIS, *February* 18, 1875.

The *entente* in the National Assembly concerning the Senate, and consequently concerning the Constitutional Laws, appears to be near at hand.* This is a check to the prospects of the Empire. Fear of the Bonapartists has promoted unity.

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* By the union of the different groups of the Left, and the understanding of the Left with the Right Centre as to the composition of the Senate,

Thiers, whom I visited this evening, also believes that a *rapprochement* is at hand, and thinks that this will bring the dissolution of the assembly nearer. This he thinks necessary, and if the Left and the Left Centre work in harmony for the agreement, it will only be to promote an earlier dissolution of the assembly. I asked Thiers whether he did not think that the chances of the Duc d'Aumale were increased thereby, and suggested that Marshal MacMahon would be forced to tender his resignation in order to make room for Aumale. That MacMahon would go Thiers thought not impossible, but he was quite positive that the Duc d'Aumale had no prospect of being elected. "*Il n'aura pas 200 voix dans la Chambre.*" "But the Senate?" I rejoined. But Thiers did not think the Senate would elect Aumale either. He thought only the Empire or the Republic possible. But the former he maintained, would only come when the Republic proved incapable of continuing its existence. This, however, he said, gains strength every day and the country becomes more and more Republican. He considered an Orleans restoration quite out of the question. It appeared to me that he thought himself the only possible successor to the Marshal. In this he may deceive himself.

There were some elderly gentlemen with Thiers. Amongst them Emanuel Arago, with whom I entered into conversation. Madame Thiers slept soundly, Mademoiselle Dosne dozed from time to time. Thiers sat at the fire, and related to Princess Trubetzkoy and Arago his experiences during the revolution of February 1848, his conferences with Louis Philippe, his flight, and how he — Thiers — was seized by the throat and dragged about on the ground on the Place de la Concorde. "*Mais le peuple n'est pas méchant. Il m'ont un peu secoué, mais je n'en ai pas eu grand mal.*"

At eleven o'clock I went away. At the end he said to me: "*Faites mes compliments au Prince de Bismarck.*"

Paris, *February* 21, 1875.

Thiers called upon me to-day and expressed his belief that the Senate Law would be passed. He appeared, however, to have a doubt whether the majority would hold together to the end. He said that difficulties would not begin until the constitution had been determined, and that each party was uniting in the hope of over-reaching the other. When the republic was constituted, the republicans would insist upon changes in the *personnel* of the administration in order that difficulties might not be caused by the efforts of monarchically inclined prefects

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which led to the adoption of the Senate Law on February 24. On the 25th the Marshal accepted the resignation of the Cissey Cabinet and commissioned Buffet, the President of the National Assembly, to form a Ministry.

to influence the elections. In France, those who controlled the administration had also control of the elections. The Marshal, who would be placed at the head of the Government by the Conservatives, would be attacked by these and by the Republicans, and the ministers would be in the most difficult position. "*Ce sera l'enfer.*" All this appears very probable. It is clear that the course upon which the Government of the Marshal is entering is full of danger. The Left are quiescent for the moment, because they are anxious to shatter the Right and to bring the republic into being. If they once introduce their republic, then they will insist upon having it in its entirety, and with all its consequences. If the Marshal yields in this direction, then he will be continually led further towards the Left. If he does not yield, then dissensions and circumstances will arise with which the Marshal does not seem able to cope. The difficulty will especially affect the ministry, which is wholly, or for the most part, composed of members of the Right Centre. It will become dependent upon the Left section, which can endanger its existence.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *February* 26, 1875.

On the departure of my messenger, I learn that German horse-dealers have an order for ten thousand military horses to be bought without delay for France, with no reserve price, and with a commission of fifty francs on each horse. Though the measure may be a natural consequence of the reorganisation upon which France has resolved, there is no reason why we should send German horses to facilitate a reorganisation equivalent to preparation for war and notoriously directed against ourselves. It appears, therefore, incumbent upon us to meet this with a counter measure. Before taking action I would ask you, and Herr von Bülow, to send information as to the importance of the measure from the point of view of those on the spot. I do not believe that war is intended for the next year, but we should find ten thousand cavalry horses a very considerable loss if we had to mobilise in, say, three years; France will find it difficult to procure so large a number of serviceable horses outside of Germany, and it would be well worth our while to delay her preparations, even if we can do no more.

Yours,
VON BISMARCK.

Journal.

BERLIN, *March* 21, 1875.

Yesterday forenoon in the Foreign Office with Bülow, Bucher, and others. Everywhere a friendly reception. At five o'clock to dinner at Bismarck's with the diplomatic corps. Bismarck spoke to me only a moment, as he was quite monopolised by the foreign diplomats.

In the evening a *soirée* at the Empress's. Here I spoke for a long time with his Excellency von Bülow upon politics and many other matters, including the Arnim case and Landsberg. He said he would have nothing to do with the case.

This morning with the Emperor. He spoke much upon the existing disagreement between Russia and England, which entirely absorbs the attention of the Emperor Alexander. Emperor Wilhelm hoped that Shuwaloff would succeed in soothing the mistrust of England. We discussed France. He had read everything, and was completely *au fait.* He does not doubt that the French are preparing to proceed to war against us when the opportunity offers, and he contemplates this eventuality with composure. The detachment of the division Payot he regards as a hostile move. I informed him of the *coup d'état* which is said to have been premeditated, and which interested the Emperor greatly. As to my reports, he said that they were "wonderfully clear" — more so than any he had ever read — and many other kind things.

On Monday, the 22nd, I was at dinner with Bismarck. Afterwards he took me into his private room, where we talked over the political situation. He went through the different alliances which could be made against us. He placed little value upon the alliance of Austria, Italy, and France, as we were strong enough to oppose 400,000 men against Austria. More dangerous was a Franco-Russian alliance, but Italy was of no importance. He considers that country a negligible factor because the army is bad and Italian policy is quite unreliable. An understanding with Rome upon the basis indicated by me would be welcome to him. About the temporal sovereignty I could speak with Decazes.

Then about Bavaria. The reason why he is against an Ultramontane Ministry is that intervention against Bavaria would be necessary if the authority of the Empire were endangered, and he wishes to avoid such an eventuality.

BERLIN, *March* 25, 1875.

Yesterday a long conversation with the Grand Duke of Baden. With respect to France the Grand Duke hoped that we should still come to peaceful relations and that war would be avoided. I expressed my doubt as to this; possible, but not probable. Then, talking over the internal situation in Germany, he expressed to me at first certain unintelligible fears about the development of the Imperial idea. I understood afterwards that he considered a great union to be necessary, and was afraid of the counter-influence of racial individualism. He said that this must be checked, especially in Prussia itself The vital points were an Imperial Ministry and a German army. I said to him that it would be advisable not to startle the German Princes, and to give them actual demonstration that their positions in the Empire are more secure than they were during the time of the Federal Council. With reference to the German Army, I did not know whether the Emperor would agree. It would appear that the Grand Duke shares the idea of the National Liberal circles, that the Emperor would convert the Prussian into a German army as the price of the assimilation of the Bavarian Army. But how to alter the treaties?

In regard to the Church conflict he expressed his regret, without admitting that any other method was now possible.

It was remarkable to me how he related to me his conversation with the Marquis Pepoli, without any inducement on my part. The Marquis entirely shares in my opinion that the agreement between the Curia and Italy is the goal of a powerful party in Italy, and that a partial understanding already exists. The plans which that party construct for the union of the Italian Government with the Curia are quite extravagant. This quite coincides with what Decazes has told me, and should there be turned to full account.

March 26.

In the evening with Bismarck. He said we dare not now make peace. Legislation in Prussia must first be purified from all that had confused the relations of State and Church in the time of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. After that he would be ready for peace. Bismarck wishes me to go to Munich in order to take part there in the deliberations of the Imperial Council.

PARIS, *May* 18, 1875.

Michaud* related that most of the hostages shot during the Commune were opponents of the Jesuits; amongst them was Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, who was hated by the Jesuits on account of his attitude towards the Council; Senator Boujean, a well-known Liberal Catholic; de Guery, a Liberal priest; Chaudet, editor of the *Siècle*, then the Dominicans, of Arcueil, who belonged to Lacordaire's party, and who competed with the institute of the Jesuits in the Rue de la Poste; four Jesuits who belonged to the more Liberal section of the Order, amongst those being Pater Olivain. No one knows who nominated these hostages to the Commune. The well-known vicar-general Lagarde, who was sent to Versailles to work there for the liberation of the hostages, did not come back to Paris as he had promised. When he returned after the capture he was obliged to resign on account of the indignation of the clergy. Now Archbishop Guibert has again made him *grand vicaire*. Guibert is in the hands of the Jesuits, and protects the cloister priests to the disadvantage of the secular clergy.

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* An Old Catholic, since 1876 professor in the faculty of Christian Catholicism at Bern.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, *May* 9, 1875.

In the course of my consolations with the cardinal and with the clergy, I have heard the following about the Romish question.

Of Italian statesmen there are not a few who have brothers in the Jesuit Order. To these belong Ponza di San Martino, Ricafoli, the deceased Massimo d'Azeglio and Silvio Pellico The General of the Jesuits lives in Paris, and is supported by King Victor Emanuel, that is to say, he lives there at the expense of the King.

The Jesuits have been permitted to take their books secretly from the library at Gesù. This went on at night for several weeks. In general, the Italian clergy say that the Italian Government is especially favourable to the Jesuits.

The King of Naples said that he has proof that the Jesuit Order has sworn to overthrow the House of Bourbon, and that the disasters of their dynasty are chiefly due to them.

Amongst the cardinals and prelates with whom one can deal and who are hostile to the Jesuits, Gustav mentioned the following; Cardinal Franchi, Cardinal Guidi, Cardinal de Luca, Cardinal Mertel who is especially cautious, Cardinal de Angelis in Fermo, and the Nuncio Jacobi in Vienna. Also the Princess Karoline Wittgenstein is one of the opponents of the Order and would be of use.

MUNICH, *May* 15, 1875.

To-day with Döllinger. He spoke of the Church conflict, and compared the Prussian Government to a man who walks into a river without knowing its depth, and with each step meets with unexpected dangers. If only, thought Döllinger, the water would not carry away the inexperienced! He regrets that it was not found possible to win over the bishops partially. This would have been possible at the beginning, but now it was too late. If, however, peace was desired, negotiations should be conducted, not with Rome, because there the ignorance of German affairs is too great, but with the German bishops. They were, to be sure, under the influence and control of the Curia. But the Curia does not give orders until it has asked the bishops themselves for their ideas. He also advises great care in the conclusion of peace, in order to retain the advantage which has been obtained by the present legislation. He regards the law upon the education of the clergy as an important part of this advantage. He recommends making the concession which exists in Würtemberg, where an episcopal commissioner takes part in the state examination of the clergy.

With respect to the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, he shares my opinion that this would have prevented the Pope from taking many extreme steps, but did not believe that the point could be secured. He also naturally regretted the sovereignty of the Jesuits over the Pope as a misfortune, and hoped that a future Pope would free himself from it.

We spoke about the episcopal see in Bamberg. He had proposed Gustav, but without success. Afterwards Pfeufer told me that a priest from the Upper Palatinate has been appointed.

Pfeufer is of the idea that the elections, thanks to a proper distribution of the voting districts, will come out not so badly, and that the *status quo* may be maintained in the Chamber. In Upper Franconia, feeling is more favourable.

Of Prince Ludwig he says that he has quite gone over to the Ultramontanes, and goes further than his father. The King is now very anxious, and is made still more anxious by anonymous letters.

BERLIN, *May* 18, 1875.

To-day a conference with Bülow, who placed before me the points referred to in the following passages. At this opportunity he requested me to speak with Decazes about Gontaut and to give him Bismarck's message, "that it is not possible in the interests of peace and good understanding to maintain here with Gontaut those satisfactory relations which appear to exist in Paris between Duc Decazes and Prince Hohenlohe, so long as a legitimist Ultramontane Ambassador occupies the position, with whom Prince Bismarck cannot speak openly and freely, and who, moreover, does not possess the necessary knowledge of affairs. More than this, that his daughters discuss the internal condition of the country in a manner not consonant with the position in which the members of an ambassador's family are placed. In similar fashion, the Military Attaché, Prince Polignac, is unsuited for his post. The way in which he has expressed himself upon the aggressive tendencies of the Prussian generals has excited scandal." I am then to write to Bülow without naming the affair, that I "have had a conference with Decazes on the question, and what impression my communication has made. If it is possible, I might endeavour to arrange that Polignac comes away first."

I then spoke with Radowitz as to the eventual successor, and we considered the best would be St. Vallier.

The Emperor spoke for a long time about the detrimental consequences of the newspaper article, and then told of the friction between himself and Prince Bismarck, then of the presence here of the Emperor of Russia,* and how he had been convinced of the untruth of the rumours.† At the end of the conference he said: "Give my compliments to Marshal MacMahon, and say to him that you are not the only messenger of peace, but that the real messenger of peace stands here."

Extracts from communicated documents.

Telegram of May 9, in which Münster is informed that the English Ambassador has been commissioned by his Government to say that the English Government notice with regret that Europe is in a state of unrest on account of French measures, in which Germany perceives a danger of war.‡ England does not share in this fear, and wishes to be able to allay apprehension, and places herself at the disposal of the Government here. Münster is to return thanks, and to say that the uneasiness is occasioned by the Press, especially by the *Times*.

In similar tone a long publication in which is specially stated "England would seek to quiet France."

In a private letter the absurdity of the English desires for peace is lashed with scorn. England should have done this in 1870. English diplomacy works in Vienna and in St. Petersburg in such a way as to represent the German Empire as willing but unable to strike. Odo Russell has certainly not reported to this effect. Lyons is continuing Norfolk's domestic policy, and cherishing French views. The French Ambassador is Ultramontane, and likewise Polignac.

Communication to the Ambassadors in Vienna and St. Petersburg, in which Gontaut and Polignac are referred to.

Münster replies on May 13. He then sends the report of a Liberal in which Beust is indicated as the chief agitator in the English Press, and also in the Paris newspapers. Granville Murray is the medium of communication.

Report of Perponcher of May 11. The Belgian Minister complains about the pressure of Germany,§ and says that a Liberal Ministry could do no more.

A communciation of May 14. Bismarck says: The Belgian affairs would be much further forward and more satisfactory if the

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* From May 10 to 13.

† The warlike intentions of Germany.

‡ A reference to the French proposal of March 12, by which the regiments would be raised from three to four battalions with an increase in the war strength of 144,000 men. Its adoption by the National Assembly followed almost unanimously.

§ The Belgian Duchesne had directed a letter to the Archbishop of Paris in which he offered to murder Prince Bismarck for a definite sum. Germany demanded an extension of the Belgian legislature, which would make possible the punishment of such dangers to internal peace and personal security in friendly neighbouring States. There followed a long exchange of despatches.

Belgian Ministers would either attack the legislature and the Duchesne trial at once, or at least express themselves unequivocally. Instead of this, an answer is given in phrases which are not polite, and the attempt is begun to make Germany suspicious by garbled statements. The assertion of the Belgian Minister, accepted from Perponcher, that the resignation of the Ministry would endanger the Belgian independence, Prince Bismarck takes to be a great under-estimate of the vitality of Belgium. It is by no means pleasant for us to see Belgium governed by Ministers of a party which is at war with us. The Ultramontane tendency gravitates towards France. The longer the clerical *régime* endures, so much more dependent the country becomes upon the Jesuits. That Perponcher communicated the overbearing manner of the Belgian Minister without remark is surprising. At the same time, he recommended him, while still in the hotel, to burn the document.

PARIS, *May* 21, 1875.

If there has been previously any doubt as to who was the author of the *Times* article,* I believe that I can completely remove this. The author of that alarming article is none other than the well-known Paris correspondent of the *Times*, Herr von Blowitz.

As early as May 2, when I met him at a *soirée* at Duc Decazes', Blowitz told me of his intention to write an article about the existing state of unrest, which he promised himself would have a great success. Blowitz discussed with me the standpoint of his article. He did not take notice of my objections because, as I have since learned, he was of the conviction that the open statement of the existing conditions of unrest would provoke counter declarations, which would conduce to the maintenance of peace. But he has gone further than he gave me to understand. His reasoning, which in our conversation had an impartial character, has become an attack on Germany, against which I had already verbally warned him. The directors of the *Times* received his article on May 5, and then telegraphed to various correspondents on the Continent for particulars of the points contained in the Blowitz article, and perhaps also discussed the matter with London politicians. Only after they had convinced themselves of the correctness of Blowitz's information — as they believed — was the article allowed to be printed. The conjecture that the article was instigated by Stock Exchange speculators may be dismissed as without foundation. It was tactlessness on the part of Blowitz in the interests of France, and, as he believed, in the interests of the peace of Europe, which induced him to handle these matters.

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* In the beginning of May the *Times* published an article dealing with the apprehensions of war.

PARIS, *May* 21, 1875.

On my visit to-day to Decazes, I introduced the question about Gontaut. I referred to the matter, as it had already been indicated in a notice given yesterday, and requested Decazes to write nothing to Gontaut, as this would be of no use. Gontaut's behaviour confirms the fact that he has legitimist Ultramontane tendencies, and stands in friendly relations with the opponents of the German Government. If Decazes valued the maintenance of satisfactory relations between the French Ambassador and the German Chancellor, and if he (Decazes) wished to retain the confidence which Prince Bismarck reposed in him, then a change must be brought about. Decazes listened to me with great attention, and declared that he was in a dilemma, as he had just allowed the best opportunity to pass. Gontaut had wished to go to London. Decazes, in the interests of the good relations with Berlin, had requested him to remain there. Now the position was difficult. Meanwhile he remarked: "*Il est évident, qu'il ne peut être question de faire des affaires entre deux hommes qui se regardent comme des chiens de fayence.*" The impressions which my arguments made were the surprise and at the same time the conviction that something must happen. Decazes will do his utmost to satisfy our wish.

PARIS, *May* 23, 1875.

Decazes, whom I visited to-day, informed me that there has appeared in a low-class Limoges paper a conversation between the Emperor, Bismarck, and Moltke of an unpleasant nature. He said that as a state of martial law did not exist there, proceedings could not be taken unless we gave instructions. But nevertheless the court had gone so far as to prohibit the sale of the paper on the streets. I replied that as the paper had been little read I thought it would be best to do nothing more.

Then we again referred to Gontaut. He hoped that Leflô would soon leave St. Petersburg, and then Gontaut could go there.

PARIS, *May* 29, 1875.

Yesterday M. Thiers came to me. As he found that it was too cold in my *salon*, he went for his *paletot*. He sat down and said: "*Eh bien, nous violà dans une crise.** *Du reste,*" he added, "*ce ne sera rien.*" I told him of the rumoured *coup d'état* which the Marshal proposed to make, upon which he laughed, and said: "*Tout cela sont des bêtises.*" I could only confirm that, but asked to be permitted to suggest that the Ultramontane party had every reason to protect themselves against the triumph of the Republic, which they held to be identical with revolution. Thiers thought that the Ultramontane party were frightened, and had no courage to undertake anything extraordinary. A projected *coup d'état* was a dangerous thing for those who undertook it. The present position was due to the clumsiness of Buffet. He is "*entêté,*" *un sot politique. Dieu me garde de dire qu'il soit un sot, mais on peut être un homme d'esprit et un sot politique, et Buffet en est un.*" Buffet was to blame for his unskilfulness on September 4. He then described the days of September 3 and 4 with great vivacity. "At that time some one came to me in the name of the Empress to request me to undertake the conduct of affairs. I reported to the Empress that I could not help her. I had no special esteem for the Court, but I would have saved her if I had had the power. However, I had it not, and it would have been in vain to make the attempt. The Empress began by making the mistake of summoning Count Palikao, who was to lead the Government with Buffet. We, the members of the *Corps législatif*, thought that was to be transferred to them. To this corporation must fall the problem of making peace. At that time conditions were more favourable. The Emperor had practically given up governing already. In the assembly one did not dare, for the last fortnight, to name him without provoking the shout: '*Ne parlez pas de cet homme!*' I was there asked to formulate a resolution placing the Government in the hands of the *Corps législatif*, which I did. While we were busied with it Trochu and Buffet were interpellated as to the meaning of the troops round the *Corps législatif.* Trochu and Buffet were browbeaten and sent the troops away. Then said I: '*Eh bien, nous aurons notre affaire. Bientôt la salle sera envahie.*' And so it happened. While we were engaged with the proposition in question, a large number of people rushed in. Respectable, well-clad men, amongst them also Decazes. One of them shouted: '*Sauvez nous, Monsieur Thiers.*' They had all lost their heads. I replied: '*Si je dois vous sauver, allez-vous en.*' Thereupon they went quietly away. Meanwhile, however, the people ran into the Hôtel de Ville. News of this came to the *Corps législatif*, and so several officials hurried there to prevent the mob from getting possession of the Government. Jules Favre and Simon were also there and thus eventually took over the Government. They then soon reappeared at the *Corps législatif* to report what they had done, and wrangled with Buffet, whereupon I declared that wrangling could lead to nothing. The Government was constituted, we must submit. I closed the assembly, and we all went home."

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* In consequence of the negotiations upon the voting law. The Government wanted the *scrutin par arrondissement*, the United Left the *scrutin de liste.*

Thiers then told about the Commune, of the disturbances in Lyons and Paris under Louis Philippe, of the Rue Transnonain, and so on. At length, coming back to the present crisis, he said: "*Nous roulerons tout doucement vers la dissolution dans la petite voiture du 25 février.*"* The position was marked by the fact that none of the conflicting dynasties was strong enough to secure the Government. Even if Count Chambord had resigned the white flag he would not have secured the Government. Orléans or the Empire appeared to be equally impotent. The Republic was therefore a necessity. He had already said this to the members of the Right before May 24.† At that time some one requested him "*de dire seulement quelques bonnes paroles.*" He declined. He had not wished to deceive them. Nor had he the right to convert into a Monarchy the Republic entrusted to him in Bordeaux, and thus to deceive the Republicans. At that time the Monarchists did not believe him. Now the truth was plain to all.

PARIS, *June* 2, 1875.

The Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier disputes the idea that the French identify themselves with the Ultramontanes, because they perceive in them allies against us. I upheld that against him as he was with me yesterday. He asserted, on the contrary, that Gallicism is now very widely spread. We do not all believe in the "infallibility of the Pope"; we are opponents of the Jesuits, who have no majority for themselves here — and so on. These are all very fine words. But my opinion is, nevertheless, correct. Blowitz, too, to whom I afterwards spoke, is of my opinion, and said that I was entirely right when I contended that the fight between the Liberals and Clericals in France would only then begin when peace between the Pope and the Government had been established in Germany. Audiffret-Pasquier said the state of things in France is serious because the Conservatives, through their own fault, have lost ground, and because the danger exists that the higher orders, the aristocracy of money and family, lose the lead in politics. Whether *scrutin de liste* or *par arrondissement*, it is all the same. It is to be feared that all kinds of mediocrities, advocates, and *parvenus* will be elected to the assembly. Blowitz thinks that it will be partly Republican and partly Bonapartist, with a *masse flottante, indecise* in the midst, upon whom will fall the actual task of decision. For this reason, the present state of things and the intrigues will continue. There will be neither a proper Republic nor a proper Monarchy.

PARIS, *June* 21, 1875.

Mendes Leal, the Portuguese Ambassador, has the keenest nose for Jesuits that I have ever seen. He asserts that international relations are under the lead of the Jesuits; the Jesuits will place Don Carlos on the French throne; the whole of the fancy-goods business in Paris is in their hands, also the guano trade, &c. When the English once see that the Jesuits compete with them in business, they will then crush them.

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* *See* p. 140.

† On May 24, 1873, Thiers was overthrown by the Right in the Assembly, and replaced by MacMahon.

The Spanish affair occasions much correspondence. To-day a long report to Berlin on the matter.

Yesterday with Lindau and Holstein to the top of Montmartre. On the way there we saw in the churchyard the graves of Heinrich Heine and Cavaignac, the former being a simple stone with the name, and the latter a very beautiful recumbent statue of Cavaignac. Unfortunately the weather was bad, and the view was restricted by rain and mist. We then saw the foundation stone of the new church of the Sacré Cœur, which was laid some days ago.

Decazes is ill. I can therefore do no business with him and much stands over.

Yesterday in the evening I was at the Vaudeville, where a piece *Le procès Vauradieux* was given. Very amusing situations.

21st. — At midday I went to Versailles. Speeches by Buffet and du Temple. Fearful uproar.*

23rd. — Great dinner and *soirée* at the Turkish Embassy.

24th. — Dinner at my house. Burgomaster Hobrecht and his brother, Rudhart, the staff of the Embassy, &c.

25th. — In the afternoon at Decazes', who is still ill.

PARIS, *June* 22, 1875.

Herr Ed. Simon, editor of the *Mêmorial Diplomatique,* was with me to ask if he might be informed as to changes in the *personnel* of the Diplomatic and Consular staffs, as was given to him by the other Governments, so that he might be able to publish them. He then communicated to me a letter from a correspondent, who reported that disturbing news had come from Russia to England. Moreover, as it was General Leflô who had reported, it was worth attention. Feeling in Russia is hostile to Germany, and the sympathy of the Emperor Alexander for Germany is not shared there. I replied to him that I knew the Russians thoroughly, and that one must take their carping political observations just as little *au sérieux* as the provoking expressions of many Russian ladies. When they meant business, they considered the consequences. He said that a *rapprochement* had taken place between the Russians and England. It appeared to me as if he had come to make my flesh creep. He was convinced that that was impossible. He was pessimistic on the question of Egyptian reform, and thought that Decazes would have a difficult position.* He said that the opposition acted from private interest. Many people had claims in Egypt, others would rob the Khedive, others had an interest in the Court of Justice at Aix, which would cease when the reform was accomplished. France would be isolated if she declined. The aversion to Bismarck, who is regarded as the protector of reform, also contributed to increase the opposition, likewise the hatred of the Extreme Right to Decazes.

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* The Bill about the public election was fiercely attacked by the Extreme Left and Extreme Right. The Legitimist du Temple turned upon the Marshal personally.

Metternich, he said, has already his nomination in his pocket. He has inquired here and has received favourable information. Still, all depends upon the development here. If the Republic strengthens, Metternich's position will become difficult, in that he will always appear to be a Bonapartist. Upon domestic politics, Simon said that fighting the *scrutin de liste* gives Broglie a great deal of trouble. The real reason is that he fears that Thiers and Gambetta would be elected in many districts, and thereby the position of the Marshal would be shaken. Simon thought that if the *scrutin de liste* goes through, then Thiers would be again President if he were not dead by then.

PARIS, *June* 26, 1875.

The Duchess of Santoña, Marquesa de Manzanedo, sent me her card yesterday to request me to fix an hour. I went to-day at two o'clock to the Hôtel du Louvre. She is a stout, middle-aged woman, rather common featured, but with much energy of expression. She said she has come here from Madrid in order to induce the Queen to return to Madrid. The Queen, however, will come to no decision until she knows my opinion and that of the German Government. She explained the necessity for the return of the Queen by a long account of the state of affairs in Spain. She said that the present Minister is interested in protracting the war, and he must, therefore, be replaced by another. The man who would be most suitable is Posada-Herrera.

Upon my question as to which party he belonged, she said he was a Spaniard and all parties would go with him. The King had not the necessary decision to dismiss the Ministry, and his mother was required to give him the necessary support and courage for the dismissal of the Ministry. I returned that I was afraid the arrival of the Queen would be the beginning of new complications. That she denied. The Queen has abdicated, and will not contest the throne any more with her son. Without the Queen the position was impossible, as the King was afraid of his Ministers. She declared she was ready to go to Ems and speak with the Emperor himself. I told her there were other means of bringing the war with the Carlists to an end. Diplomatic pressure by the great Powers would lead to that. She did not deny that, but came back again immediately to her own scheme. It seems to me that an intrigue is on foot here which has solely for its purpose the bringing of Moderados to the helm, and the overthrow of the Liberals. Of an appeal to the Cortes she would hear nothing. I said to her that the affair is too serious to answer at once. I would return again to-morrow.

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* France stood for the retention of her Consular powers, and therefore did not agree at first to the opening of a new International Court of Justice, On June 18 the installation of the Court of Justice took place. The beginning of its action was frequently postponed on account of France, finally until January 1, 1876. On December 17 the National Assembly declared its assent.

June 27.

To-day I was again with the Duchess. I told her, I had considered the affair more closely, but I thought I must decline, in my capacity as Ambassador, to make inquiries in Berlin relative to the return of the Queen. Our principle was not to mix ourselves up in Spanish affairs, and this would look very like interference. Apart from this, I was ready to speak with the Queen herself. We came to an agreement that the Duchess would present me to the Queen to-morrow. The conversation returned to the state of affairs in Spain. The Duchess repeated that Canovas was an intriguer, a haughty man, who imagined that he could copy Bismarck. But a copy was of no use; Bismarck was not to be copied. Sesto was *un bête* and an immoral man, who paid his debts with nobody knows whose money. Castro was weak, but poor, and has many children, and was, therefore, clinging to his portfolio. The King was, to a certain extent, dependent upon his Ministers; he sees that they deceive him, but is not able to come to a decision to remove them. The Queen must therefore be allowed to return as quickly as possible, so that she may bring the men to the helm who alone can end the war. These are Posada-Herrera, Moriones, Sagasta, and Cabresa. Moriones and Sagasta await the Duchess here. I asked if she had heard of the project by which Spain is to be divided, the North for Don Carlos, the rest Republic. This she denied; she certainly had heard it spoken of, but the project was impracticable. The towns of the North, Pamplona, Bilbao, San Sebastian, and others, are for Alfonso. As regards the war, she said Moriones would drive the Carlists into the mountains and destroy the harvests. Then the Carlists would no longer be able to hold out, because they would have nothing to eat.

Coming back to the Queen, she said the Queen had compromised herself with the Pope by a letter. She regretted this, as she saw clearly that the *unité catholique* is impossible. The Queen Christine also saw this, and was of the view that a waiting policy was best. The influence of the clergy is only great in the north, not in the other provinces. When the Carlists have been conquered, the whole of the priests in the eastern provinces of Spain must be replaced by priests from these provinces. Spain is easy to govern, if only the necessary energy is forthcoming.

June 28.

After I had, yesterday, requested the Duchess of Santoña to present me to the Queen Isabella, I went to her to-day. I had to wait a long time in the *salon*, because shortly before my arrival the Spanish Ambassador had come to see the Queen. I heard lively conversation between the Queen and Molins in the next room. At last the Queen came in. I told her that I presented myself to her because the Duchess of Santoña had commissioned me to do so. "*Oui, que me conseillez-vous?*" said she. I replied that it would be difficult for me to give her advice. I must, as Ambassador, avoid giving my Government the appearance of interfering in Spanish affairs, and, moreover, I was not sufficiently acquainted with the facts to give an influential opinion. "*Oh, le gouvernement allemand sait tout,*" answered the Queen; "*il sait ce qui se passe dans tous les pays du monde.*" I returned that as the Queen expected personalities from Spain it would be advisable to await their arrival, especially that of Moriones. This appeared to be a new idea to the Queen. I spoke then of the Duchess of Santoña, and if the Queen had trust in her. That she affirmed. She certainly was of low extraction, — the wife of the banker Manzanedo, whom the King had made Duke of Santoña, — but she was safe, and knew all the political personalities thoroughly. I asked then of the Queen what she would really do, and if she was not afraid that her arrival in Spain would lead to complications. Thereupon she said she would wait until the King called her. She was tired of politics, and did not wish to be mixed up in them. If she could make herself useful, and if the King required her advice, then she would go to Spain.

She now requested me to say to my Government that they need not be afraid that she would recommend a policy opposed to the intentions of the German Government. "*Je suis pour l'unité catholique,*" she said, "*je suis compromise, je ne veux pas mentir, mais je comprends que cette politique n'est plus possible. Le pays ne veut pas l'unité catholique.*" She would not, therefore, advise the King to act in opposition to the views of his people. The Ministers, however, were of no use. The King would be obliged to rely upon the Army, and the Army had confidence only in Moriones. She did not know him personally, but she believed that he was the right man in the right place. Posada Herrera was also the man whom the country required. The

Ministers did not wish to end the war, and had, indeed, special interest in its continuance. I asked her if the Ambassador knew anything. She said: "*Il ne sait rien. Il ne sait jamais rien de ce qui se passe.*"

Finally she assured me that she had perfect faith in me, and that she would inform me of any further developments. I took my leave and assured her of my willingness to serve her.

PARIS, *July* 8, 1875.

I have just called upon Thiers at his new house in the Place St. George. The house is pretty, with a green lawn in front, and on the other sides a well-kept garden with turf and trees. The flight of steps is a temporary construction of white painted wood. I found Thiers in his bedroom, which is at the same time his writing-room. It looks out upon the garden, and is very delightful. The bed was covered with a green silk damask cover and had similar curtains.

Thiers said that he had quite recovered. He looked fresh and lively. As to the National Assembly, he believed that it would soon dissolve, but it was not until yesterday that he came to this opinion. If the National Assembly continued to work thus rapidly, it would soon have finished, and then it would be necessary to dissolve. The next elections would not return Radicals, but a great aversion to the Ultramontanes would be manifested. The Legitimists had little chance. The moderate Republicans would form the majority. As to the number of the Bonapartists, he would not offer any opinion. They had nevertheless lost much ground. Orleans had but a small following, *pas de clientèle*. He then referred to the collections for the victims of the floods, which were a strong testimony to the influence of the newspapers. The *Temps*, the organ of the rich *bourgeois*, had collected 157,000 francs, the *Rappel* 50,000, this latter being a sign of wide circulation, because this total has been gathered in small sums. The *République* had only collected 20,000 francs because it represents the doctrinaire party of the Republic, whose chief has lost much popularity owing to *modération trop empressée*. Moreover, he is an *homme de beaucoup de valeur, malheureusement trop ignorant*. The Legitimist papers had announced no collections, as they foresaw that they would merely make themselves ridiculous. The *Figaro* had made no attempt, because it is in general disrepute. The *Gaulois* had collected 7000 francs as the organ of the Bonapartists.

I spoke then of the rumours of war. Thiers said these were disseminated for party motives, and would increase. Moreover, they would be turned to account for electioneering purposes. We should not allow ourselves to be misled thereby.

Thiers thought that the Education Bill* would again be thrown out next year. I do not believe this, and said so to Thiers.

PARIS, *July* 11, 1875.

When calling yesterday upon Princess Trubetzkoy, I met Emile Girardin. We spoke of the Education Bill, and he thought that this would be adversely criticised in Germany, and would exert an influence upon Prince Bismarck which might be disastrous to the good relations between Germany and France. I replied that I did not know what Prince Bismarck thought about the Bill, but as for myself I could only greet it with pleasure, inasmuch as it would lead to an *affaiblissement moral* of France, which would be welcome to us. Girardin listened to me attentively, and I conjecture that he has correspondingly modified his current article in the *France.* I found traces of our conversation in the article.

To-day I had a long conference with Molins, who is very pleased that things are going better in Spain. He is proud that Spain, like Italy, can say "*Fa de sè.*" As to Don Carlos, he said that he led a *vie de polichinelle;* his wife, Donna Margherita, was very unhappy. He was a very common sort of man. The father of Don Carlos was here — *un fou.*

July 12.

Yesterday evening at Thiers' *salon.* Orlow was there. We spoke of ages. I said that I was fifty-six years old. Thiers thought that I was much to be envied. "*C'est vingt-deux ans le difference et vous pourriez me ceder la moitie. Cinquante-six ans, c'est la jeunesse.*" I then asked him about the supposed Austro-Turkish complication. He said that it was a pure swindle of the Exchange speculators. We then spoke of Klindworth, whom Thiers designated as a *vieux coquin* who had been three times sent out of France, but had always been able to sneak in again.

PARIS, *July* 29, 1875.

My excursion to Trouville proved of some political value. Princess Trubetzkoy, in whose disconnected communications something interesting is occasionally to be found, told me that the South Slav inhabitants of Servia and Herzegovina were striving to form a South Slav Confederation, and that the president of this confederation would reside in Constantinople. Bishop Strossmayer, from whom she professes to have gained this information, is said to be working for the idea of a South Slav

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* The law respecting the emancipation of the higher instruction was debated during the time between July 8 and 12, and was adopted by a majority of fifty — a clerical success.

Republic. She also thinks the war will break out next spring with Russia and Germany on one side and Austria, France, and England on the other. About Schuwalow in London she related that he was on bad terms with Gortschakow, and made himself impossible there on account of his disagreeable behaviour. This is in agreement with the newspaper reports. It is not impossible that Gortschakow will insist upon having his opponent removed from London. She said that the interview between Thiers and Gortschakow at Bern had no significance, and was only a friendly interchange of ideas. She will herself go to Bern in order to keep an eye upon two old friends.

Simon, with whom I spoke on my return, said that so far as foreign policy was concerned everything was working for the isolation of Germany. As to domestic policy, Broglie alone was capable and directed the Marshal. Blowitz asserts that France is expecting war. Everybody in France — at least in Government circles — was convinced that Germany cannot tolerate the French preparations. France would therefore be compelled to disarm or to proceed to war. As she would not now disarm, war was inevitable. His article in to-day's *Times* gives expression to this uneasiness.

PARIS, *August* 1, 1875.

At yesterday's dinner Princess Helene Kotschubey, who sat next to me, told me that Gortschakow had told her that Bismarck called him his teacher, of which compliment Gortschakow is very proud. The Princess then asked me if I were quite in agreement with the Bismarck policy. I asked if she meant the Church policy, to which she answered in the affirmative. I told her that that was so much the case that I had been involved in the whole conflict from the outset. I had endured enough from the Ultramontanes in Bavaria to make me their enemy. I then referred to conditions here, to the weakness and the compliance of the French Government towards the Ultramontane party, which was in consequence constantly demanding fresh concessions from the Government. We spoke then of the Empress Augusta. The Princess assured me that the Empress, in spite of my *mefaits*, was still very kindly disposed towards me, and knew that great thanks were due to me for establishing the relations with France upon a good basis.

I spoke with Decazes about Gontaut. He told me that Gontaut complained of Radowitz, upon whom all the blame lay, and who wrongly reported his conferences with him.

PARIS, *August* 5, 1875.

At my visit to-day the Duke Decazes spoke of the rumours of my appointment to the position of Vice-Chancellor, and the substitution of Radowitz for me here. The Duke thought that this must be connected with the Gontaut affair, and that it was in the nature of a threat. He did not use this word, but called it *avis* or *leçon*. I questioned this view. He then related the whole Gontaut-Radowitz affair. He recalled our conference before my departure at the beginning of May. At that time I had told him that Gontaut had taken too optimistic a view of the conference with Bülow and Radowitz. That had shaken his confidence. Scarcely had I gone away than a report from Gontaut arrived, in which he related that Radowitz had now spoken with him to entirely different effect, and had used expressions implying that it would be politic and Christian to begin war so long as France was not ready. This conversation was the real cause of the great disquietude existing at that time. He himself confessed that he seriously feared that the assertion of Radowitz would be realised. After that things took a more peaceful turn. Radowitz was annoyed at his own carelessness, and threw the blame upon Gontaut. About the conference Decazes has no doubt. He quoted other expressions to me which appeared probable; in particular Radowitz had spoken of the Prussian General Staff and of its uneasy temper.

As regards the newspaper articles which discuss Gontaut's position, Decazes declared this is to be explained as follows, and will be so explained in diplomatic circles. Prince Bismarck had expressed himself about Gontaut in unfavourable terms, and, after the departure of the Prince, this had come to the ears of the journalists, who had then turned it to account.

With reference to Gontaut, he was now in some difficulty. If Gontaut were to be recalled under the pressure of these newspaper rumours, another and more bitter impression would be made than if he were to get another post in the ordinary way. Decazes had asked Gontaut to see if he could not arrange for an interview with the Chancellor in the course of this summer, in order to find out what his position was. Evidently Decazes still thinks that it was not the Imperial Chancellor, but Radowitz, who wished to have Gontaut removed.

PARIS, *August* 10, 1875.

Blowitz, who in his youth travelled about the South Slav countries, considers the movement in Herzegovina as of no great importance.* So long as Montenegro kept quiet, it might be assumed that Russia had not occasioned the outbreak, and did not desire a general uprising. This was, too, her natural policy. Russia knew that Turkey and the whole of the Turkish inheritance must fall into her hands like a ripe pear. It was only a question of time, and she was not in a hurry. England had accepted the idea, and when the fall of Turkey came, would probably take Egypt for herself. In the formation of a South Slav Republican Federation Blowitz does not believe. Russia and Austria could not permit it, and in his view it would be impossible. Those races were too uncultured for the foundation of a Republic. All these races gravitated towards Russia, and would at some time be incorporated with her. If this happened, then Russia would fall into two parts. The Mongolian division would be formed on the Asiatic side, and the Slav portion would have Constantinople as its capital. Then Austria would cease to exist, and when its Slav States should fall to Russia, the German States would automatically fall to Germany. This eventuality Blowitz foresees, but he does not think that we shall live to see it.

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* Which broke out in July.

PARIS, *August* 16, 1875.

To-day M. Thiers called upon me before his departure to Switzerland. We spoke first about Herzegovina, then he came to old memories, of his ministry in 1840 and the rumours of war at that time. He blamed Louis Philippe for having lost courage too soon.

Then, returning to the question of Herzegovina, he said that a new *gâchis* would probably be the result. We would then have a new *gâchis* in addition to the Spanish one. If the affair were not now suppressed, it might last for years. Finally, he thought one could not grudge an extension of Austria by the addition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But whether the other States would remain with Turkey was another question. The final disruption of Turkey would provoke the great question, what was to be done with Constantinople? The Pope should be sent there. *Il ne serait pas a plaindre.*

VARZIN, *September* 8, 1875.*

I travelled from Berlin to Schlawe, and thence by extra post to Varzin, arriving for dinner. I found Prince Bismarck fairly well. He complains, however, of his health, and is not so well as last year. He feels the need of the Kissengen baths. We discussed what he had better do. He shrinks from a stay at a spa on account of the crowds of visitors. After dinner we had a long conversation. He spoke of Reuss and of his projected marriage. Then we talked of the projected marriage of Queen Isabella. He appeared to think that the conversion of a Prussian princess was not impossible.

Concerning the Church conflict he said that this has really originated from small beginnings. The predominance of the Polish elements in the Eastern provinces and the formation of a Catholic political party had driven him to action. He had plainly told Ketteler as much, and he had had no answer to give.

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* Count Herbert Bismarck, by the request of his father, had written on August 27 inviting the Prince to visit Varzin.

The rumours of war in the early part of this year gave rise to a long discussion. Upon Radowitz's conversations with Gontaut and others he laid little stress. I could not pursue the subject. Possibly he himself does not consider the action of Radowitz profitable, or possibly wishes to retain him; but, notwithstanding various careful introductions of the subject on my part, he did not go more closely into the matter, so that I was not able to pursue the subject further. The Prince ascribes everything to the Empress, to the Queen of Holland. Gontaut had drawn his information from these sources, and hence the whole business. That appears to be a fixed idea with the Prince, and he will have it that no one except the Empress is to blame. With England he is still very irritated, and also with Orlow, whom he blames for having contributed to help the Russian peace work with Bengal illuminations in Paris. As to Gontaut, he said that he had never requested to speak with him. It seemed to him that Gontaut was anxious to avoid communication with him, because he had a guilty conscience. He is very anxious to have an Ambassador with whom he could speak confidentially. Pouyer-Quertier, St. Vallier, or La Roncière would satisfy him. Against Polignac and his wife he spoke with special emphasis.

On the whole, I found the Prince unchanged, the most regrettable point being that he was not well. He sleeps badly, drinks too much water, and seems exhausted. Mentally he is as fresh as ever.

September 9.

To-day I went for a long walk with the Prince in the park. The conversation turned upon Bülow.* Bülow, he thought, was too far under the influence of Radowitz. "You may be assured," said he, "that these two together would bring about the war in four weeks if I were not the safety valve." I said that Radowitz would have an opportunity to recover his calm by a long stay at an ambassadorial post. "Yes," said he, "he shall go to Athens." I am glad that the Prince has clear views upon this matter, and that further insistence is unnecessary.

BERLIN, *November* 3, 1875.

At twelve o'clock the day before yesterday Wiesentheid † arrived. Yesterday forenoon a visit to Bülow. He informed me that Reuss would not remain in St. Petersburg as Ambassador, because the Emperor of Russia, probably inspired by the Weimar family and by the Grand Dukes, declared this to be "*inadmissible.*" The Empress also was opposed to it, because she considered the marriage of her niece to Reuss to be a *mesalliance.* Schweinitz will now go to St. Petersburg by special wish of the Emperor — very much *à contre cœur*, and Reuss will probably get Vienna, though nothing is yet known as to that.

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* Bernhardt von Bülow, since 1873 the successor of Thile as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

† Princess Stephanie, the second daughter of the Prince, had been married to Count Arthur von Schönborn-Wiesentheid in Wiesentheid Governmental department of Lower Franconia.

About the Italian journey* Bülow expressed himself entirely satisfied. No great results have come from it, but much anxiety was shown by the King and the Ministers to remain on good terms with Germany.

Then I went to the Reichstag. Forckenbeck told me that endeavours will be made to finish the session by Christmas, to avoid any extensive political questions, and to devote the time of the Reichstag to business. Whether he will succeed remains to be seen, especially if Bismarck insists upon debating the new penal law.† Besides, the prevailing temper is such that even if Bismarck supports it personally it will not pass. Gneist thought, however, that the explosive frame of mind of which people talk will pass away. Windthorst is waiting to utilise the situation by coming to an understanding with Bismarck, and bringing over the Centre to him as a Conservative party. A dangerous experiment, at all events.

At midday I saw Bülow. He told me that the Russians are the moving force in reduction of the Turkish interest. The question of Herzegovina impresses him as likely to end in the disruption of Turkey. The revolt will last over the winter, and then next spring Servia and Montenegro will be drawn in and Turkey will find herself worsted. In reference to the annexation of Bosnia by Austria, Andrassy had recalled the well-known remark of Prince Ligne who, when some one said to him that his wife was unfaithful to him, replied, "*Comment, quand on n'y est pas obligé?*"

In the evening a Parliamentary *soirée* in the Kaiserhof: Schulte, Beuda Schmidt-Stettin, Bernuth, and Bamberger.

November 4.

Yesterday afternoon with the Emperor, who gave me his experiences of Milan. Then he talked about Russia and Poland, finally of Wesdehlen,‡ whom he liked very much. As to Reuss, the Emperor said that it was a pity that he had left the service. He said nothing with regard to his re-entry and I was therefore careful not to raise the point.

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* The Emperor William visited King Victor Emanuel at Milan from October 18 to 23.

† The political definitions of which excited lively opposition in Liberal circles on account of their indefinite and comprehensive character.

‡ Ambassador Count Wesdehlen.

To the Imperial Chancellor.

Paris, *November* 16, 1875.

Your Highness will permit me to express my sincere thanks for having so kindly considered my interests in the discussion of the question of the re-appointment to St. Petersburg, and for leaving me out of your calculations with respect to the approaching re-adjustment, as I have been informed by Count Herbert. I conclude from this that my conduct of office here remains satisfactory. So far as I myself am concerned, my desire does not go further than that I should remain in the Paris post for so long as I can be of use, and for so long as my strength holds out.

With regard to the affair of the Arnim brochure,* I have to report that the Paris correspondent of the *Times* has received information from Zürich, that a second volume is in preparation, containing alleged private letters from high personalities dealing with home and foreign policy. Here, the Arnim writings are regarded in all circles as an abominable fabrication.

Assuring your Highness of the renewed expression of my sincere esteem and devotion.

Journal.

Paris, *November* 20, 1875.

Queen Isabella told me yesterday that she has been very hardly dealt with. She does not at all wish to go back to Spain, and prohibition is therefore quite superfluous. But the worst point is the treatment of Marfori.† He only wished to return to Spain quietly, and to remain there permanently in the country. The way in which he had been treated was a shame. "*On voulait me marquer là,*" she said, striking her brow. Upon my observing that the King has always behaved to the Queen as a devoted son, the Queen replied, "*Oui, il est bon pour moi, mais il est mal entouré. Ils jouent à la raquette, les ministres disent que c'est le roi qui a pris des mesures et le roi dit que ce sont les ministres!*" She said the revolt might last a long time. Only a *convenir* could end it. But this required delicate handling. She repeated this often, *avec habileté*, and looked at me with her watery-blue eyes as though she would say: Do you not remember that I said in the summer that only I could treat successfully with Don Carlos? Then she came to the difference between Germans and Spaniards. She said that the Germans were a young people, but the Spaniards were old, and the Bourbon race was already exhausted. As she herself laughed over this I could do no better than laugh with her. She concluded then with the assurance that she had the greatest faith in me.

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* *Pro Nihilo*, vol. i., appeared at the beginning of November.

† The favourite of the Queen, Marfori, was arrested in Madrid in the beginning of November.

PARIS, *November* 27, 1875.

Blowitz, who was with me to-day, spoke of the Suez Canal affair,* and thought that in the course of years this would lead to a disagreement between France and England. He then discussed the Eastern question in general. He related that in 1872 Andrassy said that any one who wished to raise the Eastern question need only spend 300,000 francs in Herzegovina. It was not clear to him who had 300,000 francs. Still he remembered that since the year 1872 — since the meeting of the Emperors in Berlin, Russia always surrounded herself with assurances of peace, and this he thought suspicious.

PARIS, *November* 27, 1875.

To-day I dined with Renan at Princess Trubetzkoy's. Renan, in his whole style and manner, is a German Professor. He is a most amiable man. He told much about Italy, where he had just been. He praised the cleverness — the *sagesse* — of the Italian Government upon Church questions. On the death of Pius IX. he foresees a great catastrophe for the Catholic Church. Without doubt, a fanatical Pope would be elected, who would not be tolerated in Rome. He would have to go; "*Dieu nous préserve, qu'il n'aille pas en France!*" The Jesuit party would join him, and in Italy Italian Cardinals would be induced to elect an Italian Pope, who would come to an understanding with the Italian Government. Thereupon an opposition Pope would be created, and the Papacy would thus be destroyed. Renan does not believe in a long duration of the Papacy.

As to France, he said that Gallicism had completely died out. Napoleon I. had destroyed it by the bureaucratising of the Catholic Church. The centralisation of our time had made Gallicism impossible. The Bishops are merely papal prefects. One-third of the population of France was fanatical, one-third moderate, and one-third anti-religious. This was also the case in some country districts. In Marne especially, the population was hostile to the Church.

PARIS, *December* 13, 1875.

In a conversation with Duc Decazes about Gontaut, I desired him to observe that the relations between the Imperial Chancellor and the Embassy will not improve until Gontaut is replaced by another Ambassador. Decazes replied that he was in a difficulty. Firstly, he believed that what I contended for, the recall of Gontaut, would be regarded as a sign of deterioration in the relations between Germany and France, and secondly, he had no one whom he could send in his place. He requested me to discuss the matter again with the Imperial Chancellor. Gontaut is not a *conspirateur*. His attempts to stand well at Court were made in the belief that he would improve his position. If he reported the conversation with Radowitz as Radowitz has himself asserted, as a diplomat he could not have acted otherwise. *On n'invente pas ces choses.* The conversation, as reported, bore too strongly the character of truth. It appears to me that Decazes sees his position shaken by reproaches of failure to protect the honour of France, and that he fears the recalling of Gontaut would weaken his position, and would be regarded as a further humiliation for France. He related to me the following dialogue. Prince Gortschakow said to him: "*Où vous fait des misères pour Gontaut?*" "*Non,*" answered Decazes, "*il y a eu bien quelques conversations à ce sujet.*" "*Non, non, je le sais.*" "*Il est vrai,*" returned Decazes, "*que j'ai eu l'idée de vous l'envoyer.*" Gortschakow: "*Très bien, il sera bien reçu. Ils sont difficiles à Berlin avec le diplomates. Nous sommes plus accommodants. Nous en avons déja un qui n'allait pas à Berlin et nous en sommes très contents.*"

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* On November 25, England bought from the Khedive the shares in the Suez Canal which he had in his possession.

Decazes requested me again to speak with the Prince about Gontaut, and to ask him to make another trial.

BERLIN, *December* 17, 1875.

Arrival in Berlin on the evening of the 15th.

Wednesday forenoon in the Reichstag. In the afternoon to his Excellency Bülow, and spoke about Gontaut. Bismarck insists on having him removed. Bülow appears to be not quite in agreement. In the evening in the Union Club, and then in the Kaiserhof, where I spoke with Barnbüler, Bamberger, Viktor, and Hermann.

Yesterday at twelve o'clock at the Crown Prince's. Conversation about the Suez Canal. Satisfaction at the *rapprochement* with England.

BERLIN, *December* 18, 1875.

Dinner with Bismarck to-day. Afterwards we had a long talk about Gontaut. He said that he personally had nothing against him.

But he was unable to hold any further communication with him. I related the material points of my conversation with Decazes. Bismarck replied that this was all very well, but that Gontaut had assumed a position here at court which showed his incompetency to conduct diplomatic affairs. Such proceedings might have been practicable in the time of the Empress Catherine II., but in our days he would not endure it any more than would an English Minister endure the intimacy of foreign diplomatists with the Queen in opposition to the Ministry. I then told Bismarck that according to the latest announcements, Gontaut's appointment here was at an end, at which he expressed his satisfaction, and said that his chief desire was to be able to talk freely to the French Ambassador. There seems to be no doubt that Gontaut expressed his apprehensions of war in St. Petersburg, and alluded indirectly to the Empress at the same time. We then came to the conversation between Gontaut and Radowitz. Bismarck said Radowitz denied that he had uttered anything dangerous, and even if he had been guilty of some indiscretion, Gontaut had been wrong to report upon it, for the Counsellor of the Foreign Office was not the Minister. There is no doubt that Gontaut's career in this place is now at an end, and that the Emperor will raise no objections to his recall. As regards Radowitz, I expressed a hope that he would not return to Berlin. Bismarck said that he would come back, as the Secretary of State cannot exist without him. I advised him, reminding him of his own assertions, to transfer Radowitz to the diplomatic service, and not to retain him in the Foreign Office. In this respect, Bismarck seems to have been over-reached by Bülow. I mentioned Bojanovski. Bismarck recognises his capacity, but says that he injured the interests of the Empire in negotiating upon some convention.

As regards the Embassy, Holstein will be the first, Stumm the second, and Arco the third. Wesdehlen's destination has not yet been determined; it will be either Bucharest, Weimar, or Darmstadt. Reuss is to replace Werthern in course of time at Constantinople, while Flemming or Werthern is to go to Vienna; Andrassy wants Keudell.

BERLIN, *December* 19, 1875.

After dinner with the Chancellor, I turned the conversation to Gambetta and the possibility that he might secure the power. The Chancellor immediately interrupted me and said, "He is not dangerous to us, however strongly he organises France. We shall always be superior even to a strong France. The danger lies solely in coalition, and the French Republic will not be able to secure this against us." He then spoke of Russia and Austria. He said the former had made a mistake during the spring, by an attempt to secure the fame of a peacemaker at our expense. Gortschakow had, however, recognised his mistake and had now become more amiable. The Chancellor ascribes the blame in this affair to Prince Orloff and Gontaut. The former had been anxious to curry favour with Gortschakow, and the latter had been led astray by the court. Russia would always recognise that she had a disinterested neighbour in ourselves, and if she ever became too domineering, Austria was there to hold her in check. An alliance with Austria against Russia would be meaningless, even though Russia might be endangered thereby.

In Austria the Imperial Chancellor is opposed by two parties, led respectively by Andrassy and by Schmerling. The former is in sympathy with us, but the latter, which aims at a united and centralised Austria, is somewhat against us. Further points in their programme are Slavonic expansion, suppression of Hungary, the Archduke Albrecht, an Austro-Russian Alliance, and mutual accommodation in the partition of territory.

We then discussed the question of Arnim. The Chancellor said that there was no idea of his extradition by Switzerland, and that he would rather provide him with the means of flight if he did not already possess these. It appears from letters which have been seized that Arnim enriched himself in the negotiations concerning the war indemnity. These documents are in the possession of the Solicitor-General. The fact will be published, and Decazes, who was associated with his speculations, can be summoned to give evidence if the Chancellor wishes.

This afternoon the Secretary of State discussed the Eastern question. The proposals for reform are excellent, though an Austrian advance may eventually result. At the end of the interview the Chancellor summarised our conclusions thus: Gontaut's recall was necessary, and Gambetta's supremacy is a matter of indifference to us.

To PRINCE BISMARCK.

PARIS, *January* 1, 1876.

In Ultramontane circles a story is going about which has also found its way into some newspapers, to the effect that I have declared decisively against the so-called Arnim paragraphs of the supplementary penal law.* I attach too much value to the confidence with which your Highness is so kind as to honour me to expose that confidence to the danger of destruction by malicious gossip. I, therefore, beg to inform you that this story is a pure invention. I regard the article in question with complete indifference. Were this not the case, I should have ventured to express my misgivings to your Highness. I am aware of, and respect the motives which have induced your Highness to advance the legislative proposals in question. Any article that may provide for the punishment of officials in the Foreign Office does not affect myself, as I have always been guided by the principle that an Ambassador should only remain in office so long as he possesses the confidence of the Emperor, and of his Prime Minister.

This explanation is possibly superfluous, but it will at least demonstrate to your Highness what value I place upon the goodwill which you have always shown me. I ask for its continuance in the future, and beg your Highness to accept my best wishes for the New Year. May God give you strength and vigour to continue the conduct of your onerous office to the advantage of the Emperor and the Empire.

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* Sec. 35 of the proposal providing special penalties for officials of the Foreign Office guilty of the abstraction of documents.

From the Journal.

PARIS, *January* 6, 1876.

M. Outrey, formerly interpreter to the French Embassy in Constantinople, is proceeding to Cairo with a M. de Vogué, commissioned by the French Government to offer the Viceroy the consolidation of the Egyptian floating debt by the Crédit Foncier and the Anglo-Egyptian Bank. The object of this operation is to set aside English influence; it is based upon the hope that the Viceroy, who is hampered by the authoritative attitude of the English financiers, may prefer French help, which would be granted under a guarantee of freedom of action. To prepare for this step the French have been working for weeks to secure the overthrow of Nubar Pasha,* and have succeeded. His successor, Rhageb Pasha,† was a lunatic for two years, and is now old and weak. The Viceroy has chosen him because he wishes himself to assume the conduct of affairs. The result of this movement on the part of the French Government, if Outrey is successful, will be the retirement of the English. In this event the English capitalists who hold a great deal of Egyptian paper will throw their securities on the market and injure the finances of the Khedive. The participation of the Crédit Foncier is to be explained by the fact that this company, with a capital of a hundred millions, has invested sixty millions in Egyptian Treasury Bonds, the present value of which is somewhat problematical. Soubeyran, the Director of the Crédit Foncier, is a relation of the Duc Decazes.

PARIS, *January* 25, 1876.

Yesterday evening a *soirée* given by the Duchess of Coburg, Princess Clementine,‡ and the Duc d'Aumale. Magnificent rooms. Distinguished society. Then to à *soirée dansante* at the house of Baron Santos. The Princess Trubetzkoy asserts that Decazes will not be appointed; he does not stand sufficiently high in favour, and Gambetta could not secure his election even if he wished.

Dinner to-day with the Minister of Marine. I sat between Madame de Montaignac § and Madame Buffet, both of whom were loud in their praises of the Institute in the Rue de la Poste (Jesuits).

Then to Léon Say,‖ where I found an opportunity of speaking with Dufaure ¶ upon the Bauffremont action.** I explained to him the bad impression that would be made by the treatment of the Bauffremont affair, more especially the circumstance that the Princess had been condemned on account of her naturalisation in Germany. I said that I was convinced that the case would be entirely different if the Princess were an Italian or Russian. I quoted the authority of the French jurist Dalloz, who regarded the action of the Princes as permissible in French law, and expressed my hope that the charge of bigamy would not at any rate be raised. Dufaure contested my view, and said that so far as it concerned French chauvinism I was wrong. He admitted, however, that he had not read the *Plaidovers* of the advocates and Attorney-General, to which I had referred. He said that even if the Princess had chosen a nationality other than German, she would have been treated as she had been, and that the French magistracy had been favourably disposed towards her in her former action. As, however, she had disappointed the hope that she would now remain quiet, and had contravened French law, the reaction against her was the more decided. It was necessary to maintain the French principle of the indissolubility of marriage, and to show that French law was not a mere illusion. Dufaure had been already informed by Thiers, at my request, of the bad impression produced in Germany by the Bauffremont suit, and seemed to be impressed thereby. He assured me that no criminal proceedings for bigamy would be begun against the Princess, but that she would lose her suit for the annullation of her marriage with Prince Bibesco. In my opinion nothing can be done to avert this.

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* Resigned on January 4.

† Nubar Pasha had combined the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Commerce. The separation of these Ministries decided his retirement. Rhageb Pasha became Minister of Commerce.

‡ *Née* Princess de Bourbon-Orléans, married Prince August of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, mother of the present Prince of Bulgaria.

§ Marquis de Montaignac, Minister of Marine in the Buffet Ministry.

‖ Minister of Finance.

¶ Minister of Justice in the Buffet Ministry.

** The wife of the Roumanian Prince Bibesco had been naturalised a German in order to obtain a divorce from her husband.

PARIS, *January* 30, 1876.*

To-day I called upon Decazes. He says that up to five o'clock news had arrived of eighty senatorial elections, of which forty were Republican and forty Conservative. He fears that the majority of the Senate will be Republican. As regards his own constituency in the Thirteenth *Arrondissement*, for the Chamber of Deputies, his prospects are slender, but to-day somewhat improved; "*J'ai gagné du terrain.*" He says that the Ultramontane party is against him, and also the Bonapartists, though these latter are less violent.

There seems to be no doubt that the Republicans will gain the upper hand in the Senate, and this makes him anxious. Broglie has advised the Marshal to come to an understanding with the Left Centre if they should secure the majority.

February 1.

After I had received the telegram from Bülow yesterday, to the effect that the Imperial Chancellor would request the Emperor to remove the embargo upon the exportation of horses, I was able to inform Decazes to-day of the steps which I had taken in the matter, and of their result. This I did late in the afternoon. Decazes, when he saw me returning, thought that it must be something important and doubtless something unpleasant. His surprise was the more agreeable when he learned of my action and its results. He was quite touched "*de ce procédé aimable*," thanked me, and asked me to express his thanks to the Chancellor. With respect to the elections he said that though it was impossible to be satisfied with the result, it might be possible to get along with it. The friends of the Marshal feared that Thiers would get himself appointed President of the Senate. This he did not believe; moreover, Thiers would find an opponent in Audiffret-Pasquier, who had calculated upon becoming President of the Senate, and whose attitude towards the Right Centre had been somewhat doubtful during the senatorial elections, with the object of securing his own election by a greater majority.

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* Election day for the Senate.

As regards the manner in which Decazes proposes to make the best use of the above-mentioned telegram, he told me that he would cause a question to be put to him in an electoral assembly convened for to-day as to the embargo upon horse exportations and would declare his readiness to take steps. Then when the embargo is removed he will be able to make capital out of the fact.

PARIS, *February* 6, 1876.

Yesterday evening at the house of Princess Urussow, Cherkersky, Yukovsky junior and Turgeniev were present. The latter told stories of Victor Hugo, whom he often visits; he says Victor Hugo is extraordinarily polite and pleasant as a host; he lives here in lodgings, and is rich but economical. Turgeniev recently discussed Goethe with him, when all kinds of extraordinary statements were produced. Incidentally Victor Hugo mentioned Goethe as the author of "Wallenstein"; he hates Goethe, and went so far as to say, "*Personne n'ignore que c'est Ancillon qui a écrit les 'Wahlverwandtschaften' et pas Goethe.* Turgeniev spoke of the exclusiveness of the French upper-class literary men, such as Flaubert and Daudet, who declined to know lesser authors such as Arséne Houssaye and Alexandre Dumas. He also talked of the etchings of Goya, which appeared at the beginning of this century. He displayed his well-known talent in describing several pictures. He then read some poems aloud to us by a certain Madame Ackerman, a follower of Schopenhauer's philosophy, who curses God and the world. Turgeniev shows something of the self-complacency of a famous author, but to no great extent and not unpleasantly; he is, at the same time, agreeable and natural.

February 7.

Princess Trubetzkoy told me yesterday evening that Thiers was greatly depressed, because I had not encouraged him to accept the Presidency of the Senate; if this were to happen, the Marshal would forthwith retire, and Thiers ought to be allowed this small satisfaction. In order to secure my favour for Thiers, she said: "*Thiers se désiste de l'élection de Decazes.*" A private arrangement thus seems to be contemplated. I am to support the Presidency of Thiers in the Senate, and in return Decazes is to be elected. I reserved my opinion.

PARIS, *February* 22, 1876.

To-day Decazes told me the following story of Princess Trubetzkoy. Monsieur L. S., who was paying court to the Princess, once told her that she was unfortunately said to have Thiers as her lover. To which the Princess replied: "Ah Thiers! *Il prêtend qu'il est livrée sur moi à tous les excés, mais je ne m'en suis pas aperçue.*"

To-day Prince Frederick of the Netherlands called upon me. He was greatly interested in going over the Ambassador's Residence, which he had not seen since 1814. He showed me the place in the garden where Frederick William the Third was accustomed to sit and read.

February 27.

Thiers called upon me again yesterday afternoon. He sat down and said, "*Eh bien nous voilà en pleine révolution,*" and laughed at his joke;* he then explained that the elections gave no ground for uneasiness, as the assembly was chiefly composed of members who wished to maintain the existing situation, namely, the Republic. Though the Chamber was decidedly anti-clerical, it would not refuse the law upon higher education, but would merely modify it and restrict the *collation des grades.*

PARIS, *March* 5, 1876.

It seems that Périer's † Ministry cannot be formed. Yesterday M. Ed. Simon told me that Thiers and Gambetta were cherishing vain hopes of securing the neutralisation of France for four years. What this may mean I cannot tell. It can only refer to a Convention of all the Powers, or to a general promise on the part of all the Powers to guarantee French neutrality. As Germany would not agree, the result would be an Alliance of all the Powers against Germany. In any case, the matter is one to be kept in view.

PARIS, *March* 6, 1876.

At Thiers's house this evening. There was a large crowd, and I did not come until late in order to get a word with him alone. He spoke of the negotiations between Dufaure and Casimir-Périer. He regards them as not yet an entire failure, for the reason that Dufaure is a difficult person to defeat. He said that Dufaure and Buffet were pursuing the same objects, with the difference that Buffet was a *butor*, while Dufaure's action was *sournois*. The situation was excellent, and if they followed King Leopold's method of action, they would have a majority of 350 votes. But they did not understand how to use their advantages. The cry, "*il ne faut pas marchander*," of these bargainers roused disaffection. When the deputies came in, the prefects who had opposed them as Radicals would be removed.* If this were not done, and if the Chambers heard of these negotiations and haggling, disaffection would replace the confidence on which it would otherwise be possible to rely. The Marshal was more sensible than his followers; he could see the weak points in the advice tendered by Broglie and Buffet. His anxiety to retain his position sharpened his instinct for advice which tended to undermine that position. But he was distracted by his supporters, and had not the strength to obey his instincts. "*Cela ne deviendra pas tragique mais cela se gâtera*," said Thiers. Otherwise there was no reason for alarm. French foreign policy desired nothing but peace. I pricked up my ears and thought that I should now have a chance of hearing some news of the proposed neutralisation, but he returned to the Eastern question, which made him anxious, as he feared the possibility of Mohammedan excesses. This was a danger which every consul had reported. In Germany we might make our minds easy; but there would certainly be a "*conflagration de l'orient*."

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* The elections to the Chamber of Deputies on February 20 had ended in a decisive victory for the Republicans.

† Buffet had resigned on February 21. Dufaure had taken over the Presidency and provisionally the Ministry of the Interior. Negotiations for the formation of a Ministry were opened with the strong Conservative, Casimir-Périer, but MacMahon declined to accept his conditions.

He then began to speak of Gontaut, and said that it was unfitting that France and the French Republic should be represented by a man who had made himself so obnoxious on the occasion of the last elections. At this point he put both hands to his head and walked about the room.

PARIS, *April* 2, 1876.

I took the 1.25 train to Versailles to find some one who could give me information upon the Egyptian financial question. I happened to enter a compartment in which Thiers and Léon Say were sitting. The former knew nothing of the matter, and Léon Say would not speak. Thiers spoke of the English title "Empress," and thought the Queen *n'y était pour rien*. He considered that Disraeli's romantic tendencies had found expression on this point. When we reached Versailles, he kept me in the station to tell me that Léon Say had asked Decazes what action he proposed with regard to the Berlin Ambassador's post; but Decazes had been *inabordable* and said that the satisfactory nature of the relations between France and Germany would be impaired by the recall! Thiers retains his opinion that Gontaut must be dismissed; but the choice of his successor was a task of some difficulty. St. Vallier was *trop nerveux*, Lamoricière was unreliable, Chaudordy *un personnage ignoble.* We agreed to continue an exchange of ideas upon the question. Thiers then referred to the alliance between the three Emperors, and considered that it would not last. It was, therefore, advisable to maintain good relations between France and Germany. I said that I was no less anxious to secure this object, but did not clearly see how it could be done in view of the ill-feeling prevalent in France.

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* A complete change of *personnel* was one of the conditions proposed by Casimir-Perier.

I then entered the National Assembly, where a young Duc de Feltre was defending his election. As this necessitated a vote *par scrutin*, I soon left and returned home.

In the evening I met Blowitz at the house of Princess Trubetzkoy; he told me that England had not yet come to a decision regarding the Egyptian Commissioner. He is pessimistic upon the subject, and demonstrates that the French money-market is not sufficiently strong to guarantee the solvency of the Egyptian finances.

Then to Princess Urussoff, where I found Turgeniev, who read poems aloud and told stories in his artistic manner.

Home about one o'clock.

PARIS, *April* 16, 1876.

Thiers celebrated his seventy-ninth birthday yesterday. He gave a dinner and I looked in about half-past ten. I found some of the company still present, but they soon dispersed. Princess Trubetzkoy and her daughter, Prince and Princess Brancovan, Arco, and others were there.

Thiers discussed the Eastern Question. He said that the element of danger consisted in the fact that the continuance of outrages would unsettle public opinion in Europe, "*L'Europe a des nerfs.*" All the separate provinces, Servia, Montenegro, and Bosnai, wished to be independent, and this Turkey could not prevent. The Sultan was a *coquin*, and among other things, declined to pay off the coupons for the loans which he had borrowed.* The feeling against him personally was also on the increase.

We referred to the proposal of Decazes, to divide the interests of Prince Nicholas and the Prince of Servia by cessions of territory. Six months ago, Thiers thought the idea might have been useful, but now it was too late.

Referring to the domestic policy of France, Thiers asserted that community of interest in the overthrow of Ultramontanism was a guarantee for the continuance of good relations between France and Germany. He said that the Marshal was inclined to join the Clerical party, when it would be impossible for him permanently to maintain this attitude.

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* Though the Porte, in its financial embarrassment, had postponed payment of the coupons due on April 1 to July 1.

We then spoke of Gontaut. Thiers has discussed the matter with Dufaure, who is beginning to show some opposition to Gontaut.

PARIS, *April*, 1876.

The news that Beust proposes to come here provides me with food for thought. It must be remembered that relations between Russia and Austria threatened to become strained. While Austria is pursuing a policy of pacification in the East to the utmost of her power, Russia is supporting her only half-heartedly. It seems that Austria under these circumstances is looking about for allies, and if this be the fact it is no matter for surprise. England now offers herself. In Austrian circles it is thought that the present Eastern conflict would give England her last chance of translating her continued antagonism to Russia into energetic action. Beust appears as the natural apostle of this theory, and if he should be able to secure its acceptance here the personality of Count Andrassy and the continuance of his influence would be more than ever important to Germany.

PARIS, *May* 7, 1876.

I saw Thiers yesterday; questions of domestic policy seemed to cause him no anxiety. He thinks that the amnesty * will be unconditionally rejected and that a satisfactory solution will be found for the problem of the mayoral elections.† On the latter point, however, he would not go into details, as the question is disagreeable to him. Thiers thinks that the most regrettable matter is the want of leadership, and said that if a Chamber was not led it would wander in vague aberrations. When I asked him whether it was not possible for some one in the Chamber to assume the leadership, he said that this would not do, and that the leadership must be taken by the Government. Dufaure had no interest in the work, as he was buried in documents, was occupied by the perusal of all the reports of the Procurators-General, and troubled himself but little about Parliamentary affairs. Decazes was too strong a partisan of the Right, and his position had been undermined both by the failure to fill up the diplomatic posts, and by his relations with Soubeyran on the question of the Egyptian finances. Gambetta would not secure the leadership, as the Chamber regarded him with distrust. This want of leadership would not be productive of danger. *Il gaura seulement du gâchis dans la Chambre.*

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* The Radical Senators and Deputies had proposed a complete amnesty for the events of the Commune. The Government definitely rejected this amnesty (March 29).

† On April 2 the parties of the Left and Left Centre resolved to ask the Government to restore to the communal councils the right of electing the Mayor.

As regards foreign policy, Thiers thinks that the Conference of the Chancellors in Berlin * will end in an agreement for the occupation of Bosnia by Austria. This, says Thiers, is the most sensible thing that could be done, and only thus could peace be restored.

He then left this subject and began as usual to discuss Prince Bismarck. He said, "*Le Prince est plus libre dans sa politique.*" As I offered no objection to this indefinite phrase, he continued: "Hitherto France and Germany have been like two greyhounds coupled to one leash and pulling in opposite directions. Things have now changed. We are gradually coming to pursue the same course, and can arrive at an understanding." I replied that this was correct, provided and so long as France opposed the same enemies. At the bottom of his heart, however, Thiers seems to be pursuing his favourite project of old — a *rapprochement* with Germany, or at least to be acting as if this was his desire. I, however, cannot help remembering the words of Orloff, "*que Thiers aime à jouer à la bascule,*" and to pursue friendly relations with every one *tour à tour.*

PARIS, *May* 14, 1876.

The dinner which I had proposed to give in honour of Delbrück † became almost a rump meeting; I had invited the Ministers Decazes, Léon Say, Waddington,‡ and Teisserenc de Bort.§ On Friday morning, the day of the dinner, Ricard ‖ died! Had I been immediately informed that the Ministers were not coming, I should have been able to put off the dinner, but their excuses did not arrive until the afternoon. The Duchess ¶ wrote to say that he would come in any case. Madame Say also came. Arco was sent to fetch Madame Waddington, but her husband was not at home, and she would not venture to come without his approval. Fortunately, Fürstenberg and Mollard came, so that a tolerably distinguished company was collected. Yesterday I called upon Decazes, who told me that the English Colony in Pera had requested the despatch of a Fleet. The Princess Urussoff, to whom I mentioned the matter, hopes that some Englishmen may lose their lives.

The Ministry of the Interior has given much trouble. The Marshal desired the appointment of the Jesuit Jules Simon. Princess Lise ** says that he will not take office unless Decazes resigns. She may be right here, for his candidature has disappeared as rapidly as it was proposed. Marcere* will probably become Minister, although Baude characterised him as a *farceur* who is always changing sides. Thiers would like to take this opportunity to transfer Casimir-Périer to the Quai d'Orsay. He seems, however, as Baude relates, to admit that matters are not now going as he wishes. In the evening I went to a dreadful *soirée* given by Ladmirault, and then to Princess Trubetskoy.

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* While the Russian Tsar was passing through Berlin, Gortschakoff, Andrassy, and Bismarck held a conference in Berlin on May 13. They agreed upon a Memorandum which England, France, and Italy were invited to support.

† He had sent in his resignation of the Presidency of the Imperial Chancery Council on April 25, and had retired on June 1.

‡ The new Minister of Public Worship.

§ The new Minister of Commerce.

‖ The Minister of the Interior died on May 12.

¶ Decazes.

** Trubetzkoy.

PARIS, *May* 18, 1876.

To-day I went to Versailles, where I saw, but did not hear, old Raspail speak. The next speaker I did not know, but his speech was what we call drivel in Berlin. Afterwards came Dufaure, who condemned the Commune and opposed the amnesty with great decision. Finally, Floquet came forward to support the amnesty and excuse the Commune.

During a pause I spoke to Decazes, who expressed his satisfaction with the Berlin resolutions; † he thought that the armistice would give time to arrange a peace. The proposal to open negotiations with the insurgents would be regarded by them as a valuable concession, and would contribute to calm their minds. He also considers the appointment and employment of the delegates a useful measure. Decazes denies that Prince Gortschakow is dissatisfied with the result of the Berlin Conference as is here asserted. But he thinks that Gortschakow is obliged to give the Russians the impression that he is dissatisfied and would have wished for more. He says that the arrangement between Germany and France for their action upon the Salonika affair ‡ had been received with interest and approval in Parliamentary circles.

The Turkish Ambassador was less satisfied with the resolutions. He says that the armistice was concluded "*pour tuer la Turquie goutte à goutte;*" when the two months in which war could be waged were passed, it would be too late to deliver any decisive blow. Sadig Pasha denies that the Christians in Constantinople have been menaced and represents the Turkish population as entirely pacific.

PARIS, *May* 20, 1876.

I saw Thiers yesterday evening for a moment, and he expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the Second Chamber. He calls it *excellente*, and thinks that it will work perfectly well. He says that the dominant element in the Chamber is that part of the *bourgeoisie*, which has become rich, or will become so, and cares nothing about the form of Government, provided that it guarantees peace and security for the acquisition of wealth, while the hopes of the Monarchists arouse its disgust. "*Laissez-nous tranquilles avec votre Comte de Chambord et avec vos Princes d'Orléans! Cela nous ennuie.*" For this reason these people are Republicans.

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* De Marcere, Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior, was appointed Minister on May 16.

† The Memorandum (p. 173) demanding an armistice of two months between the Porte and the rebels.

‡ The French and German Consuls were murdered in the disturbances of Salonika on May 6. Germany and France jointly demanded satisfaction, and were represented by delegates from their Embassies at the investigation which was begun on May 11.

Upon the Eastern question he returned to his old opinion, *que Bismarck doit bien rire.*

This afternoon I called upon Decazes to fulfil my commission and express our thanks to him, at which he was greatly delighted. He said bad news had arrived from England, and that she would not co-operate; "*Eh bien, nous marcherons à cinq au lieu de marcher à six.*" Disraeli was a dreamer meditating some *coup d'éclat* for the sake of effect. He spoke of the conversation between Odo Russell and Gontaut; Odo Russell said that England no more proposed to take Egypt than France to take Tunis. Gontaut replied that Tunis was of no importance to France, as she was glad to have a neighbour who would cover her frontier. This Russell declined to recognise; he seems to have been holding out this prospect to France as a compensation. Decazes then said that England's refusal to co-operate* would produce a bad effect upon the attitude of Turkey, and he feared that Turkey would raise difficulties in the way of the armistice.

The serious nature of the situation in Bulgaria was confirmed in my hearing by Hirsch, who, like Decazes, is convinced that the revolt is instigated and favoured by the Russians, not by the Russian Government, but by the Russian nation.

May 21.

This morning the Duc Decazes told me that he had news from Berlin that Prince Gortschakow had proposed energetic action in Constantinople. Decazes fears that this step may wound the feelings of England, who should be given more time to revise her decision. Premature action would destroy the prospect of securing England's support. In his opinion it would be advisable to gain time. No doubt he will have written to Gontaut to this effect.

The English are also said to have taken umbrage at the action of Schuvalow, who requested Disraeli to come to a speedy decision. Disraeli is said to have replied: "*Est-ce que la Russie nous prend pour le Monténégro pour nous fixer un terme de vingt-quatre heures.*"

PARIS, *May* 21, 1876.

Dinner with the Princesse de Sagan. Splendid mansion. The guests included the Duchesse de Galliera, the Duke and Duchess of Sagan, Valençay, Nigra, and others.

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* France and Italy had supported the Berlin Memorandum, while England had refused.

Afterwards to Decazes. Blowitz considers that the English are right not to co-operate. It was with them a matter of principle not to participate in any intervention and that this intervention was impending and was at least intentional. The only result of the armistice would be to prevent Turkey from taking action in this year, so that the revolt would be continued to the following year. He regards intervention as impossible, as the Turks will not allow it, and a war will be caused in consequence. He thinks it will be no easy matter to make an independent State of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Turkish Ambassador said that he would long ago have advised the Sultan to adopt this course, had it not been that 45 per cent. of the population were Mohammedans. The foundation of an independent State would end in civil war.

PARIS, *May* 26, 1876.

The Duc Decazes was yesterday expecting the answer to his representations from London. To-day Kufstein tells me that the answer has come and is in the negative. However, the Duc Decazes intends to proceed in concert with the other Powers. In this he is quite right. Princess Trubetzkoy thought that Austria would now join England in action against Russia. She and her friends of the Russian Slavophile party are naturally anxious for this result. Hence this rumour.

This evening, at the house of Princess Trubetzkoy. The Prince of Orange, whom I had not seen for four years, was there, and many Bonapartists. M. Nadaud sang long *chansonettes*, accompanying himself on the piano.

To-day people are saying in the street that England has declared war upon France.

Hirsch expects much from the movement of the Softas, and believes that it may end in some salutary reform of the Turkish Empire, the more so as the party represented by the Softas is attempting to secure an understanding with the Christian population. Ignatieff will make every effort to oppose this object. He seems, in general, to be Turkey's evil genius: "*c'est son métier.*"

I previously visited the *Société de Sauvetage,* of which Lamoricière is President.

May 29.

The day before yesterday Decazes informed me of the answer from London, which I telegraphed to Berlin.

PARIS, *June* 12, 1876.

Yesterday was the Grand Prix. I went out with Wesdehlen and Lindau. On the Marshal's stand were the Grand Duke Michael and the Grand Duchess, also the Ambassadors and the

Embassy of Morocco. The old man looks very well. All were in white cloaks except the Cavaji or coffee-maker, who wore a brown and very dirty costume. I told Decazes that I had heard they were coming to protest against the Spanish proposals of conquest. He replied that they had as yet taken no steps of the kind.

The Grand Duke and Duchess were very agreeable to me, as also was the Marshal's wife. I happened to witness the riding-down of the spectators through my opera glasses. It was extraordinary to see how the people were thrown down by the race-horses.

PARIS, *June* 14, 1876.

At Thiers' house in the evening with Lyons and Molins. Thiers told us that he had happened to hear of a forthcoming proposal, to reduce the period of military service from five to three years. The proposal had been circulated and signed by numerous deputies before Thiers heard of it: he then, *usant des privilèges du vieillard*, rated the deputies soundly, with the result that a number of the signatories refrained from voting. Gambetta's speech was inspired by Thiers and gave him great satisfaction.*

June 16.

Yesterday to the review. I had not originally intended to go and had explained my reasons yesterday to Decazes: these were, that we Ambassadors had received no invitations for the Marshal's platform. None of the Ambassadors intended to be present. My explanation induced Decazes to make amends for the stupidity of M. Mollard. I and the other Ambassadors received cards about two o'clock, so that I had just time to drive out. The whole of Paris was on foot, *pour assister à ce spectacle de la grandeur militaire de la nation française.* The infantry seemed to slouch past, the cavalry made the usual confused charge, instead of defiling at a trot, and my general impression was that the Army was in no better condition than two years before. The Parisians were greatly offended by the fact that the Grand Duke Michael appeared with the Marshal in plain clothes. On this day many Parisians cursed the Republic.

Beckmann has just rushed in to announce the murder of the Turkish Minister.†

PARIS, *June* 18, 1876.

Yesterday I met Grammont and M. de Faverney in the *loge* of Princess Trubetzkoy. The former expressed his indignation at the fact that "we in France lived under the dominion of lies." The Republic nominally existed, but was really a Monarchy in which the Orleanists. . . .

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* Gambetta spoke against the reduction of the period of service, on June 12.

† The Minister of War and the Minister of Foreign Affairs were murdered, and the Minister of the Marine was wounded, during a Ministerial Council, held on June 15.

. . . The Princess told us about an evening party at Queen Isabella's, at which the Queen and her secretary had sung a ballad *en duo*. I asked what sort of a voice the Queen had, to which the Princess replied: "*De temps en temps ou entendait un son.*" The duet was very tender, and such passages occurred as *io vivo — io amo*, and so on. The Princess told the Queen how pretty the ballad was, on which the latter said: "*Et comme c'est vrai! Ne le sentez-vous pas aussi?*" The Secretary has received the grand cordon of the Order of Saint Gregory, delivered to him by the Nuncio in person, "*pour récompenser les œuvres pies auxquelles il se livre*," as Decazes put it. The Secretary's fat wife has received the Order of Theresa. The Princess maintains that there are very good reasons for this also.

It is remarkable that Thiers has depicted to Princess Trubetzkoy all sorts of horrors which may result from the present condition of European politics. He asserts that Russia will be isolated and assailed by England and Germany. His aim is probably to win over the Russians to France, and to represent France as the deliverer who will help Russia.

PARIS, *June* 23, 1876.

Yesterday's meeting of the Academy was a remarkable one. Jules Simon, who has succeeded to Rémusat's place, delivered his panegyric on his predecessor. In form and matter, as in delivery, the oration was masterly. In dealing with Rémusat's last years, he had occasion to speak of Thiers, and these passages were received with loud applause. The fact that little Thiers in his embroidered Academy uniform was sitting close by produced a disturbing effect. The passage in which he spoke of Manteuffel was considered tactful; Admiral Pothuan afterwards called my special attention to it. It had probably been inspired by Thiers. I sat between Orlow and Mlle. Dosne. I spoke to Buffet before the beginning of the sitting. Princess Trubetzkoy was not there. Orlow and I were the only members of the Diplomatic Body.

I called on the Duchess Decazes at six. She spoke of the situation with much uneasiness. She did not think the Marshal would maintain his position till 1880. Efforts would be made to get rid of her husband and Cissey, and also Dufaure, and then, when the Marshal was completely in the hands of M. Thiers' friends, he would be easily shelved.

In the evening I went to Versailles. Horrible weather. I had a long conversation with d'Harcourt. He spoke very sensibly of the attitude of the Senate to the Chamber of Deputies, and lamented the mistake which the Senate was making by putting itself too much on the Clerical side. People were heartily sick of the Clericals in the country. A conflict would only strengthen the anti-Clerical movement. With regard to Decazes' position, he said it was not endangered, as the Left had no one who could be put in his place. That was Decazes' guarantee that in the long run he would have to be left where he was.

Thiers expresses himself cautiously on the Eastern question. He is reticent. He was quite absorbed by questions of home policy. He said that the Chamber of Deputies was annoyed with the Senate. It was anxious to have a success, and if the Senate tried to rob it of this success in the question of the *Collation des grades*,* its *mauvaise humeur* would pitch upon another object. If the Senate passed the law, the Deputies would go peaceably home for four months. This clerical intrigue was regrettable. The Marshal was ill-advised. It was not true "*que nous voulons le renverser. Si nous le voulions, il n'y aurait rien de plus facile, nous n'aurions qu'à renverser le Ministère et le Maréchal tomberait avec lui. Mais il n'a qu'a rester.*" They will leave Dufaure in peace. He said nothing about Decazes, which is a good sign for Decazes. He was very pleased with yesterday's ovation. He was still beaming with the impression of the distinction he had received.

PARIS, *June* 24, 1876.

Orlow was with me to-day, and told me of his conversations with Thiers. Orlow had asked Thiers why he was opposed to Decazes. Thiers had answered without formulating definite charges. Orlow thinks that Thiers, whom the Duke reproaches with lack of vigour in Eastern policy, is still acting on the recollection of his own policy of 1840, which led to the Quadruple Alliance against France, and that he forgets that that policy was, if anything, a *four*. Thiers is, according to him, a Turkophil, and would support an intervention against the insurgents. I did not notice the trace of an idea of a Russo-French alliance. Thiers is, as Orlow says, much annoyed at Orlow's conviction that the present condition of things in France is a transitory comedy, and that the real future of the country is the Empire.

Orlow tells me it is quite true that Gambetta and Chaudordy still stick together. Gambetta wants Chaudordy to go as Ambassador to St. Petersburg in Leflô's place. This alliance, which may be traced back to their common activity at Tours, is singular. Is it Gambetta's plan to make use of the Ultramontanists, for Chaudordy is one, and of Russia, for the *revanche* against Germany when he gets into power?

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* The new Minister of Education, Waddington, had brought in a Bill to limit the powers of the Catholic Universities by restoring to the State the exclusive right of conferring academic degrees. The Bill was passed in the Chamber of Deputies by a large majority. Out of nine members of the Committee on this law chosen by the Senate on June 21, six were opponents of the measure.

PARIS, *June* 28, 1876.

Decazes told me in the course of a conversation that the Turkish Ambassador did not believe the Servians would really begin war. The Servian people did not want it. I do not share this optimistic view. If General Tschernajew * were not there, I might. Gontaut has informed Decazes that the Emperor William is uneasy about the news from Servia, and that he has said: "*Si on massacre les chrétiens, l'Europe ne peut pas assister sans rien faire.*" It seems to me that, having allowed the proper moment for intervention to slip by, we should leave the rabble there to themselves.

PARIS, *July* 1, 1876.

In the afternoon I was at the Princess Lise's, where I met Marcère. The Princess begged him to withdraw the municipal law,† which he smilingly declined to do. Mme. Daelmann, on whom I called afterwards, and who is back from St. Petersburg, says that everything is ready for war there.

July 16.

I am pursued by a thought which I cannot shake off. It is this. May not the incredulity of our age have arisen from the fact that the philosophers have been as mistaken as the theologians in their manner of setting up the idea of God? The deistic philosophers do not satisfy us with their definition of the Godhead, because, like the theologians, they attribute to the Godhead properties which are opposed to reason. Omnipresence, omnipotence, and so on lead to nonsense. The all-ruling, all-pervading unity, the divine as the substance of all things (according to Spinoza), is likewise an empty concept, the negation of the concept of God, who at any rate is one. This all-pervading unity as the divine substance need not be denied, but it is not the God of Deism, and may subsist side by side with Him. (The concept of the personal God should not be carried too far.) Why should it not be possible that just as consciousness forms itself in the human brain, so at some point of the universe, and in special relation with it, a consciousness should be formed, standing in the same relation to the said point of the universe as the human soul does to the body? Thus we should have as God a personality limited in its manifestations, subordinated to the powers of Nature, but none the less venerable. Lindau says that this brings us to the Jehovah of the Jews. Why not?

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* The Russian general Tschernajew was in command of the Servian main army. On July 3 Servia declared war against Turkey.

† The draft of a municipal law which was submitted to the Chambers on May 29 restored the power of electing a mayor to all municipalities except the chief places of *cantons*, *arrondissements*, and departments. The Bill was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on July 12. The Committee of the Senate appointed on July 25 numbered five reactionary members against four Liberals. On August 11 the Senate rejected Clause 3 of the Bill, resolved on by the Chamber of Deputies, according to which the municipal council elections throughout France were to take place within three months.

PARIS, *July* 16, 1876.

M. Thiers came yesterday to discuss with me his summons to attend the examination of the witnesses in the Arnim affair. He wanted my opinion as to what he should do. I told him I could give him no advice. Arnim had asked for him as witness for the defence. The Government was, in a certain sense, a party in the case. So I could advise neither for nor against his going to Berlin. Thiers replied that he did not mean to go to Berlin, but he would like to have my private judgment on his answer. He meant to answer that he knew nothing about the matter, but that, out of respect for the Prussian Courts and sense of duty, he would answer any question that was put to him. The best way for this would probably be that of the customary *Commissions rogatoires*. Then he went on to say that Arnim had not behaved properly to him. He had sought to make his position here as easy as possible, and Arnim had requited this by writing despatches which were not at all as they should be. Arnim had certainly tried to excuse himself through Princess Trubetzkoy and others, but that did not alter things. Arnim's irritation was probably due to the fact that Thiers had not responded to his suggestion that Henckel should be favoured in the issue of the loan.

Then we spoke of Bazaine. Thiers said he had always been against bringing Bazaine to trial. Bazaine had asked his advice as to what he should do, when the committee of investigation had expressed itself unfavourably about him. Thiers had declined to give advice, but had much regretted it when Bazaine had determined *de demander des juges*. He, Thiers, would never have brought Bazaine to trial. The whole proceeding was infamous. But he had not been able to prevent it. Thiers also related that, after Bazaine's condemnation, it had taken Broglie till midnight to prevail on MacMahon *not* to sign the death-warrant. In this matter Broglie had shown himself worthy of his father, who, as a young Peer of France, had spoken and voted alone against the condemnation of Marshal Ney.

Then I went to see Morier, who is well again. He said a good deal to me of the expediency of a common policy for Germany and England. I told him the only danger was that England might now make too inconsiderate a use of her favourable position and seek to humble Russia. The result might be that Russia would be tried beyond endurance. Morier agreed with this, and promised to speak to this effect to Lord Derby and Disraeli.

Decazes asserts that he has heard that Bismarck has come to an agreement with the Jesuits about the future Papal election.

PARIS, *July* 20, 1876.

I went on Tuesday with the Duchess Decazes to St. Germain, where I dined with Decazes and Wimpffen, at Baroness Löwenthal's. In the evening I was at Thiers' house. Jules Simon's speech in the Senate * was highly praised. Thiers was not sure whether the law concerning the *collation des grades* would get through. If it does not, he considers a Cabinet crisis not impossible. The fact is, he says, that France is Republican, and has a Government which prefers the Monarchy. He thinks the Marshal might then possibly agree to a Fourtou Cabinet. The Marshal would not attempt a *coup d'état.* Thiers was reassured with regard to foreign policy, only England must *ne pas trop tracasser la Russie.*

GASTEIN, *August* 2, 1876.

I started early on August 1 from Aussee; arrived at six o'clock. The Emperor is staying at the Badeschloss. I called on Pückler, and reported myself. Bülow II. says that the Emperor's conference with Bismarck was occasioned by the anxiety from which the Emperor suffered at Ems. Letters from Münster of a disquieting nature, with an over-strong English bias, had contributed to it, also correspondence with the Empress and Queen Victoria, &c. There is nothing fresh. I am going to him again to-morrow to read official documents. Stolberg came to see me early this morning. He says he cannot make out Andrassy's policy, which is opposed to any change in the East. Andrassy had gone away without speaking out plainly as to the annexation of Bosnia. Stolberg thinks it is possible, however, that they will in the long run commit themselves to it, in order to get at some sort of solution.

From the reports I read at Bülow's I saw that the Imperial Chancellor holds fast to the League of the three Emperors, and warns the Emperor William not to let himself be prevailed on by England to do anything that might weaken that League. The Empress Augusta and Queen Victoria have been working on the Emperor to shake his resolution. It seems that Augusta is now afraid of the English fleet, and takes the English war-whoop seriously.

The Emperor told me about Ems, the Emperor Alexander's uneasiness, and his annoyance at the attacks in the Austrian and English press. There is, he says, no doubt that the Emperor

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* In the debate on the law regarding the *collation des grades*. The Senate rejected it on July 21 by 144 votes against 139.

Alexander wants peace, and also that he has no idea of taking Constantinople. The difficulty of the situation lies in the fact that all the Powers except Austria are agreed to solve the problem by granting autonomy to Servia and Montenegro, but Austria insists on reforms. Still, the Emperor does not despair of arriving at a solution, especially if Austria can be induced to take Bosnia.

Then the Emperor spoke of the internal condition of France, listened to what I told him, and seemed especially unfavourably disposed towards the Orléans family.

On August 3 a trip to the Gamskahrkogel. Returned in the afternoon and paid calls. We received a visit from the Emperor.

PARIS, *August* 27, 1876.

A few evenings ago I called on Decazes. We smoked a cigar, and chatted about various matters till half-past twelve. As he informed me with much irritation that Arnim had had him summoned also as witness for the defence, the conversation turned upon the latter. The first time that Decazes met Arnim was at the Duc d'Aumale's. After dinner Decazes noticed that Arnim was staring at him unpleasantly. That annoyed him. But immediately afterwards Arnim came up to him, accosted him in a friendly way, and reminded him that they had already met elsewhere. Then they talked agreeably enough. A few months later Decazes became Minister. He then related the Rothschild affair and other matters. One day they had been speaking quite cheerfully about things of no importance, till at last Arnim got up and went to the door, then turned round once more and said: "*J'ai oublié de vous dire une chose. Rappelez-vous bien que je vous défends de vous emparer de la Tunisie?*" Decazes wanted to turn the matter into a joke, and made a few jesting remarks, upon which Arnim once more repeated impressively: "*Oui, je vous le défends.*"

I have looked up the records in reference to this utterance of Arnim's. According to them, Arnim was certainly in some measure authorised to express himself as he did. But the orders of December 1873 relating to the matter are in direct contradiction to Prince Bismarck's opinion expressed to me by word of mouth, according to which it would be in no way disadvantageous to us for France to become further involved in Tunis.

PARIS, *September* 1, 1876.

Yesterday I made the acquaintance of a minister of war,* a refined and cultivated officer, with whom intercourse is pleasant.

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* General Cissey had been removed on August 17 and replaced by General Berthaut.

September 18.

This morning, along with Stumm and Arco, I paid my respects at the station to the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who was starting for Biarritz. As it was too early we strolled into the Jardin des Plantes. The Grand Duke was much pleased with our attention.

Erlanger, who has just left me, says that the rumour of the King of Bavaria's money difficulties is a fabrication. If the King were in need of money, he would apply to his father, who would never refuse him five hundred thousand florins. He describes as equally senseless the assertion that a syndicate has been formed here to raise money for the King.

VARZIN, *September* 28, 1876.

On the 26th I arrived in Berlin from Paris. Left early today for Varzin. Arrived for dinner at six o'clock. The conversation turned first on a picture in the Paris Exhibition, representing Bismarck accompanying the Emperor Napoleon on horseback at Sedan. This induced the Imperial Chancellor to relate the whole incident once more. At five in the morning General Reille came to Bismarck at Donchéry, and told him the Emperor Napoleon wished for an interview, and was already on his way to him. Bismarck dressed quickly, had a horse saddled, and rode to meet the Emperor. He found him with three generals in a humble cab to hold four. He stopped, dismounted, and saluted the Emperor. The latter was at first disconcerted, but seeing that Bismarck treated him as courteously as at the Tuileries, he recovered his composure. The Emperor did not want to drive into the town of Donchéry, because there were many French prisoners there, and he had already, as Bismarck had heard, been insulted by his own men. As they drove on, the Emperor noticed a workman's house in a solitary position and begged that they might drive thither. Bismarck agreed and conducted the Emperor to this house. Both went up to the first storey, where they found a table and two chairs. Bismarck asked the Emperor what he wished to do, and whether he would discuss the terms of peace. The Emperor declined to do so, saying that as a prisoner he could not negotiate. On Bismarck asking with whom he was to treat, the Emperor replied: "*Avec le gouvernement à Paris.*" "So," said the Chancellor, "*avec S.M. l'Imperatrice. Croyez-vous que cela durera?*" The Emperor wondered at this question, as he did not believe in a revolution. Then Bismarck said that, as he was only authorised to treat of terms of peace, the stipulations concerning the armistice being a matter for the generals, he had no more to say. They then talked of other things. "It was," said Bismarck, "a most unpleasant situation, as it was so difficult for us to speak of the past without saying unpleasant things to each other." In the meantime some one announced that there was in the neighbourhood a Château Bellevue, where the Emperor could stay in comfort. The Emperor then drove thither. Bismarck rode on ahead. Then Bismarck drove to the King and prevailed on him not to summon the Emperor Napoleon to him, but to ride to him himself. The King decided, after some hesitation, to do so.

The whole story is omitted from the Staff history of the war, because the generals are envious that Napoleon sent for Bismarck instead of a general. Herbert Bismarck came later, bringing a deciphered telegram which had arrived to-day from London. According to this telegram the Russians are making proposals in Vienna for Austria to occupy Bosnia and Russia Bulgaria, should the Turks decline the conditions of peace. Derby is uneasy about it. Bismarck thinks it would be best for Austria to consent, as the Turks are sure to give way in the end, and the Russian proposal would then end in nothing. Bismarck outlined the German policy, which amounts to letting things quite alone. If Russia should attack Turkey we can look on. There is no need yet for us to make up our minds what to do if Russia and Austria go to war with each other. We deal with Russia as Russia has dealt with us. I am to tell Princess Trubetzkoy that Bismarck has no time for letter-writing, and that besides he regards her as his enemy, since she is the friend of his enemies.

VARZIN, *September* 29, 1876.

Bismarck spoke yesterday of his intention of resigning. It was impossible for him to continue to bear the responsibility for everything done if he had not the power of choosing his colleagues himself. The latter worked against him. He complained especially of Camphausen, who disregarded his, the Prince's, plans for reforms in the system of taxation. Eulenburg was too weak; he left all the old supreme Presidents undisturbed, and had Radical and Reactionary councillors in his ministry at the same time. This could not go on. He would accordingly have tendered his resignation long ago, but he foresaw that foreign affairs would then suffer, as nobody had with the Emperor the influence which he had acquired. Consequently he had thought of creating for himself a position in which he could exercise some influence over foreign policy without the burden and responsibility borne by the Imperial Chancellor. The only way was for the Emperor to make him Adjutant-General. I replied that he was perhaps mistaken. If the Emperor no longer saw in him the Imperial Chancellor with all his power, he would escape from his influence and others would have an easy task against him. Bismarck answered this objection by saying that he would get himself elected a deputy, which would give him the necessary authority and power. If not, there would always remain for him complete withdrawal from public life. I raised objections to such a course, for we cannot afford to run the risk. It appears that Camphausen especially gets on his nerves. At noon a telegram came from Berlin according to which the English Government has information that the Turks will accept no proposals nor listen to reason. The result will probably be that the Russians will march into Bulgaria, and the Austrians into Bosnia.

Bismarck came to me in the afternoon, and talked about our relations with Austria and Russia. If Russia entered on a conflict with England, it would be no disadvantage to us. They could do each other little harm, and we could calmly look on at the struggle. It would be much worse if Russia and Austria came to blows. If we remained neutral, the losing side would never forgive us. If Austria were completely crushed, it would be no advantage to us, because though we might annex the German population, we should not know what to do with the Slavs and Hungarians. Public opinion in Germany would not allow us to join Russia in making war on Austria. Russia is a danger for us if Austria is ruined. With Austria we can hold Russia in check. Bismarck hopes that Andrassy, finding no other choice left to him, will invade Bosnia and keep it. Andrassy is unwilling to do this, but would prefer it to allowing the establishment of a kingdom in Servia.

I then asked what were his views with regard to the exhibition. He is strongly opposed to Germany taking any share in it or to our making any grant for the purpose. As long as Germans are badly treated in France because they are Germans, Germany cannot take part in it. "But," said he, "I do not argue the point, as I do not know how long I shall remain minister." I pointed out that our abstention would make a bad impression now that the newspapers had expressed themselves favourably, which had raised hopes of our participation. But this made no impression. Bismarck said it did not matter. He quite admitted that many ministers and officials were in favour of our participation.

I then spoke of Gontaut and the appointment of his successor. Bismarck said he would have nothing to do with Gontaut. Gontaut had had dealings with the Empress, and was consequently no longer trustworthy. I asked whether Noailles would suit him. After some reflection he said that his wife would find insurmountable difficulties in Berlin. Fournier would suit him, and so would St. Vallier and Dutreuil. I also mentioned Lambert St. Croix, who would undoubtedly be agreeable to him.

In the evening more telegrams came in. Werther telegraphs that the Porte will declare its intentions to-morrow. The English hope once more to induce the Porte to give way. I asked if I should go back to Paris, and he said no. It was not a question of persuading or dissuading the French Government, as the French wanted now to do nothing in any case. Stolberg and Schweinitz were needed at their posts. I was not absolutely needed in Paris now.

BERLIN, *November* 8, 1876.

Opinions are divided as to Germany's participation in the Paris Exhibition. The South Germans are rather in favour of it, the North Germans are against it. In the Foreign Office the wind is in a bad quarter for the Exhibition. I said it was a matter of indifference to me, only a decision should be given soon. The Reichstag would vote the money, if Bismarck wishes it. If Bismarck does not wish it, they will rejoice at saving six millions. So I think we shall hold aloof. The consequences will not be pleasant for myself personally in Paris. But I can do nothing.

In the Conservative group I expressed myself in favour of trial by jury in the case of offences against the press-laws. It was necessary.*

To-day I was received by the Emperor. He said that in St. Petersburg they still foresaw great difficulties. They are satisfied with England there. The Emperor Alexander † said: "*Avant tout imprimez-vous trois points:* (1) *Le Testament de Pierre le Grand n'existe pas;* (2) *Je ne ferai jamais des conquêtes aux Indes;* (3) *Je n'irai jamais à Constantinople.*"

This utterance has produced an excellent impression in England.

All the same, the Emperor William is uneasy, because he says that Gortschakow still regards the armed enforcement of Russia's demands as a possible contingency. The Russian army is nothing special, but better, at any rate, than the Turkish, which has only pushed forward twenty-eight miles in four months.

The same day I was invited to dinner. There were Prince August of Würtemberg, Lichnowski, Stillfried, Dechend, and others. I was interested to make the acquaintance of General Werder, from St. Petersburg. I sat next to the Emperor, who was very cheerful. When the party broke up, the Emperor gave me his hand, and said: "A pleasant journey, and go on doing as well as you have done hitherto."

PARIS, *November* 12, 1876.

To-day I did a round of calls on the ambassadors. I made the acquaintance of Cialdini, whom I like better than the namby-pamby Nigra. At any rate, you can talk to him. Then to the Molins', where I only found the marchioness. The Nuncio was especially communicative and went into all sorts of details. He particularly inquired into the pecuniary circumstances of the Wittgenstein family.

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* The *Reichstag* had considered on November 1 the reports of its Judicial Commission on the proposals concerning the administration of justice throughout the Empire.

† At Livadia, where the Emperor Alexander stayed from October 2 to November 5. He received there the German Ambassador at Vienna, General von Schweinitz, and the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Lord Loftus.

Decazes received me with open arms. On the Eastern question he said: "*Mon cher Prince, il faut nous serrer les coudes.*" We must hold together in order to keep the peace at the conferences. He spoke highly of Chaudordy.* He will probably try to make himself agreeable to us. Bourgoing, according to Decazes, is naïve, and takes the reform question *au serieux.* Decazes told him: "*Tout cela ne m'interesse pas et si on nous propos quelque énormité, je l'accepte, pourvu qu'elle soit également acceptée par la Russie et l'Angleterre. Je veux empecher la guerre. Tout le reste n'est égal.*" This view is also shared by Chaudordy, who, as Decazes says, is a sagacious and prudent man. There is no doubt that Gambetta has something to do with Chaudordy's selection.

PARIS, *November* 19, 1876.

M. Thiers, who called on me to-day, appeared very uneasy about the situation. He expressed his astonishment at the Russian policy, saying: "If I were a Russian minister, I would throw myself at the Emperor's feet and conjure him to keep the peace." Russia did not realise England's might; this is a favourite theme of M. Thiers. Russia might be a match for Turkey, but England would be obliged to enter the lists against her. Russia's declaration that she had no designs on Constantinople was ridiculous. Who could answer how far she might be led in the course of a victorious campaign? But it was madness for Russia to begin war in uncertainty of our neutrality. I did not think fit to express my views on German policy towards Russia. M. Thiers then continued after a pause: "It seems to me that the German Government does not declare itself because it is perplexed. I cannot believe that it is to your interest to let Austria be ruined. You have also no desire to act in a manner hostile to Russia. Your Government remains silent and does wisely."

In the course of conversation he touched upon the question of the mouths of the Danube, and said: "It cannot be a matter of indifference to you, that the Danube mouths should fall to another nation, or that Russia should be the master of Turkey in Europe. I answered that at present there was no talk of that. But I had to admit to him that I could not understand the question of the Danube mouths, which, as Thiers had especially pointed out, is being discussed in South Germany. From the commercial-political point of view it seemed to me a matter of indifference whether Russia, Roumania, Austria, or Turkey had the Danube mouths. Our trade would utilise this route, whoever was master of the Danube mouths. From the political point of view I could not regard Russia's expansion in the direction of the South-Slavonic countries as a great misfortune, for the Russians themselves saw in the possession of Constantinople the germ of their destruction. M. Thiers replied that there might be some truth in that; but that I forgot that, in this age of railways and telegraphs, great empires promised to last longer than in former times. Nowadays Russia could be governed from Constantinople by means of the telegraph. Meanwhile, he added, the English would take care that Russia did not get Constantinople, unless they lost too much time. He regards the occupation of Constantinople by the English as a matter of course in case of war.

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* On November 10 Count Chaudordy had been appointed, together with the Ambassador Bourgoing, to represent France as Extraordinary Plenipotentiary at the conference of ambassadors at Constantinople.

It was a matter of course that France wanted peace in any case. Likewise he had no doubt that Germany wanted peace. "But," he added once more, "your Government could contribute greatly to the maintenance of peace. You cannot go against Russia, but you can leave Russia in doubt as to what you will do."

Then he turned to the internal situation, confirmed the tendency of the Duke of Broglie mentioned in my report, but added that the Marshal would risk his position, if he gave way to him.

"*Cette politique de M. Buffet est odieuse au pays. On n'en veut pas. Le peuple est democrate. C'est un fait qu'il faut accepter. Il faut en prendre son parti.*"

PARIS, *December* 5, 1876.

There was a *soirée* this evening at the Champs Elysées in honour of the Queen of Holland. As the dramatic performance had already begun when I arrived, I stayed in the first room with d'Harcourt, who told me that Audiffret-Pasquier has declined.* Duclerc was there, and we spoke of him. It seems they want to have him. The only drawback is his lack of eloquence. We then got on to the question of the Berlin Embassy. I recommended to him people like Duclerc or Léon Say. He thought an experienced diplomatist should be sent. I replied that it did not seem to me so necessary. What was wanted there was a politician of standing, with whom Prince Bismarck could talk unreservedly. That would do more than diplomatic arts. He saw this; only he thought Gontaut must be provided for, and that was difficult now, as Gontaut has refused to go to Rome, because he says he is already so decried as a Clerical, that he has no wish to add to his notoriety, which would happen if he went to the Pope.

Lastly, I had a talk with the Marshal, from which I saw that he has been urged to choose a ministry from the Right. But he considers that the time is not suitable now. He knows that he would gain nothing by dissolving the Chamber, as the country would not be on his side. He thinks the election would have no better result now. They must wait till the country was dissatisfied with the Radicals.

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* The Dufaure Ministry had resigned on December 2 in consequence of a difference between the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of War. The crisis lasted till December 12, when a Cabinet was formed with Jules Simon at the head of it.

D'Harcourt also told me the Marshal wished Dufaure would form the new Ministry, and it was still possible that this project might come off.

December 7.

I was at the Champs Elysées in the evening. There was great excitement there. The plan of maintaining the Ministry is wrecked by the demands addressed to it by the Left. This evening there was a meeting of the delegates of the Left at Grévy's house. Thiers is opposed to the formation of the Duclerc Ministry. According to Decazes, he is working to overthrow the Marshal, and is thwarting the formation of the Ministry. He tried to-day to frustrate the deliberation on the Budget, but was beaten, as the Chamber decided for the deliberation. Decazes is still determined and calm, d'Harcourt nervous. The matter will be decided to-morrow.

Then we talked about Gontaut. Decazes asserts he had not been able to transfer Gontaut to Rome, because just at that time the Emperor had insisted on Gontaut remaining in Berlin! But he admitted that did not alter the fact that Gontaut must be removed from Berlin. The matter is complicated by the fact that the Emperor and the Chancellor work against each other. I then communicated to Decazes what I was charged to say about the Exhibition. He maintains that foreign exhibitors could not be refused. When I told him that they would have to have a Commissioner there, he said: "No, only an agent." There was a section, "Varia," where all those could exhibit whose Governments did not officially take part in the Exhibition. He would not recede from this position, although I told him that we should have to regard exhibition by inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine as an infraction of the treaty of peace. I shall have to recur to the subject in still plainer terms. Perhaps a strongly-worded verbal note will be necessary.

PARIS, *January* 6, 1877.

Mme. Waddington has told Arco that according to the Marshal's wife, Paris will have few social gatherings this winter. She herself is only giving two balls, and there will not be much going on at the Embassies. At the German Embassy there will, I suppose, be nothing, on account of the "*relations un peu tendues*" between Germany and France.

Having by our refusal to take part in the Exhibition proclaimed that in Germany no value is attached to cordial relations, we may as well refrain from spending our money *en pure perte.* Since that affair feeling has become decidedly worse here.

PARIS, *January* 9, 1876.

Thiers came to see me yesterday afternoon. He evidently wanted to find out what truth there is in the reports which are current as to ill-feeling between Germany and France. I told him that I saw no cloud. I knew of course that there was ill-feeling here at our abstention from the Exhibition, but we could not make that an occasion for resentment against France.

To-day I told Decazes that Thiers had been with me. He knew it already, and also that I had calmed Thiers. When I told him I was going to Thiers again this evening, he replied: "*On dit que vous n'en sortez pas.*"

PARIS, *January* 23, 1877.

Calling on Thiers this evening, I happened to speak of the quarrels between the German and the French Press. We agreed on the fact that there are parties which are interested in stirring up strife between Germany and France. However, Thiers regards peace as assured. The Turks, who have already shown much cleverness up to the present, would also be sensible enough to make the concessions now of their own accord, and grant favourable terms of peace to the Servians, Montenegrins, &c.* Monsieur de Bismarck could not be bent on plunging Europe into a general war. The talk to that effect was absurd. Bismarck knew very well that a war between England and Russia might spread further. But Germany needed peace to consolidate herself. Prussia had been hurled down again from her eminence after Frederick the Great; so it was to her interest to maintain the position she had won, and this could only be done by peaceful development. That Germany wanted to make war on France, as was feared here, he did not believe. We had nothing to gain by it. What were we to take? More milliards? But to get these much money would have also to be spent. Conquer French territory? We had already got enough. As far as France was concerned, she was not thinking of a war with Germany. Of course, France was obliged to have a strong army in order to maintain her position in Europe, but war was out of the question. "Where do you see any one who wants war? Is there a war party in France? The Marshal only wants to remain in his place. He has no ulterior views. Gambetta wants to hold himself in readiness for the Presidency. I do not think of war." According to M. Thiers, France is concentrated in these three persons. Moreover, France was not ready. The imitation of the German military system was folly. It did not suit France, which, unlike Prussia, had no military nobility.

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* After the Conference of Constantinople had ended, on January 21, without coming to an understanding, the Porte commenced negotiations for peace with Servia and Montenegro.

March 8, 1877.

The presence of General Ignatiew* excites universal interest. Everybody is pricking up his ears. Wimpffen has heard that Ignatiew brings with him the draft of a protocol, which the Powers are to sign, and which then will make it possible for Russia to refrain from war.

Princess Urussow came to-day and proposed that I should call on her at five to meet her cousin Ignatiew. I went at the appointed time. Ignatiew was already there. His appearance is striking; a broad face, a strong chin, and an ever smiling mouth. He brought the conversation to Berlin and talked of Bismarck. With a certain self-satisfaction he emphasised the similarities of his own character and habits to those of Bismarck, and proclaimed himself, though with protestations of modesty, "*son élève*." Modest he is not, but he is a really remarkable fellow, who does not need to be modest. He is the sort of man of whom Imperial Chancellors are made. He speaks his mind recklessly, and at the same time is shrewd and insincere. He chanced to speak of Chaudordy. He says he defended him to Bismarck. "*C'est un homme superficiel mais amusant.*" He says that he has noticed great nervousness here with regard to Germany. Ignatiew's indiscretions as to Bismarck's suspicion that France is arming against Germany have greatly frightened the Duke Decazes. He protests that France is not thinking of war. The massing of cavalry on the German frontier also came under discussion. I told Ignatiew that Gontaut was the real cause of the Imperial Chancellor's ill-humour, and he understood this. He blames Decazes for not recalling Gontaut.

He spoke very unreservedly on the Eastern question. Turkey would collapse at the first shock. This would lead to perplexities. "If we could put Turkey in cotton-wool and vinegar to preserve her, we would do so." But this interim could not last. England would be taking upon herself a great responsibility if she did not assent to the innocent Russian proposal. He had told Lady Salisbury so in Paris, and had charged her to tell her husband so when she got home.

Blowitz, whom I met this evening at Decazes' *soirée*, says the English Government will not assent to the protocol. An article which he had sent in in favour of the protocol had not been accepted. He thought people in England would somewhat demur at continuing the conference as long as Russia remained armed. When I replied that Russia was putting forward the protocol in order to be able to disarm, he expressed the opinion that Russia should announce that she was disarming. That would dispose public opinion more favourably. I communicated this utterance to Ignatiew; it made him thoughtful. Decazes still hopes for England's assent.

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* He was travelling as an Envoy of the Russian Government to Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London.

As to the terms of the protocol, I asked Decazes if he had any fault to find with it. He said no, but that it was too long and could be made shorter without its purpose suffering thereby. Most of the politicians to whom I have spoken are doubtful of England's assent.

BERLIN, *March* 19, 1877.

Yesterday at eleven I drove to the Imperial Chancellor's. There were various people there: Reuss among others, a fact which is supposed to have contributed to his taciturnity. However, he spoke about the Russo-Turkish question, expressing the opinion that England's demand that Russia should make a declaration of disarmament would make it hard for Russia to extricate herself.

To-day I heard in the Reichstag the debate on the Reichsgericht. Moltke came and I spoke to him. He expressed his wonder at the prevalent opinion in Paris that we were urging Russia to war in order to have a free hand against France. We should have much more of a free hand if Russia, instead of getting entangled in a war, stood behind us and protected us. He bewails the Eastern complication and blames Gortschakow's policy which has brought the Emperor into this position. He regrets that Russia is not making war, because this would lead to much embitterment and dissatisfaction. It was always a serious matter to have a discontented neighbour next to one. Altogether Germany was in a dangerous position between Russia, France, and Austria, and had to arm beyond her resources. France was arming to an unnecessary degree. She was increasing her army in a way which was dangerous to us, and which, at the least, compelled us to proceed in that direction. The hundred and five captains required were only necessitated by the French armaments.

Then I went to Bismarck's. There I heard all sorts of unexpected things. The reason that I am not to depict things in too peaceful a light is simply because the Emperor, under the influence of the Empress and Gontaut, shrinks from strengthening the army on the French frontier to such an extent as to make us equal to the French. There is so much cavalry and artillery on the frontier that Metz is threatened. The French might strike at any moment, and place us in the most awkward position. In spite of this the Emperor cannot be induced to send more cavalry regiments into the frontier provinces, merely from fear of alarming the French. The influence of the Empress is constantly increasing, and Gontaut is at the bottom of it.

BERLIN, *March* 23, 1877.

The eightieth birthday yesterday was kept with ceremony. We were all on our legs early in the morning. At ten the carriages began to drive to the palace. The Serene Highnesses had their audience at twelve. We found a crowd of ladies and gentlemen in the Emperor's drawing-room. All the mediatised Princes and Princesses, and others. The gentlemen were in uniform, the ladies in morning dress. Princess Bismarck, in light blue silk, occupied the chief place. The other ladies mostly wore light dresses. Princess Marie Pless and Marie Radziwill alone were in darker dresses. The Empress came in first with the Grand Duchess of Baden, and greeted the ladies. Then the Emperor came and made the round. At the end stood Elizabeth, Mary Ratibor, and Marie Ujest. They presented to the Emperor a chair decorated with cornflowers. I had touched up the poem which they wished to present first, and was looked on as its composer. The Emperor beckoned me to him and thanked me charmingly. He was surprised at having a poetic ambassador.

At six there was a diplomatic dinner at Bismarck's. I sat between the daughter of the house and a foreign diplomatist. We talked of many things. Marie Bismarck said, among other things, that I was the only man on whom the Imperial Chancellor could rely. She also mentioned the fact that her father had often thought of me when he was tired of vexations and wanted to resign. Afterwards I spoke with Gontaut. I think the Imperial Chancellor attaches much too much importance to him. He is after all an insignificant chatterbox. In the same way Bismarck makes too much of the claptrap of the Empress.

The *soirée* was very brilliant. The rooms and galleries of the palace are after all very beautiful in their rococo fashion. At half-past one we drove home dead tired. This morning I had a conversation with Bennigsen and Dernburg. Both bewail the present state of things. Bismarck overrates his powers. He has no one to support him and everything is getting out of joint. I was talking with Dernburg when he received a letter from the Ministry summoning him to Bismarck this evening. I advised him to seize the opportunity to speak openly with the Imperial Chancellor, and to recommend Jolly to him. Hoffmann cannot go on much longer. There is a Court *soirée* again this evening.

BERLIN, *March* 25, 1877.

Early yesterday I met Dernburg in the Reichstag; he had been at Bismarck's the evening before. He had not yet recovered from the impression of the interview, and was somewhat disconcerted by the reproaches which the Chancellor had addressed to the National Liberal party. He also feared that

Bismarck would appear at the sitting and announce his retirement. However, the sitting passed by without the Chancellor's appearance, and I breathed freely again when Forckenbeck announced that it was at an end. In the afternoon I happened to see Princess Bismarck, and gave her the poem she had asked for. Holstein said that the Emperor's approbation had drawn much envy upon me.

This morning I was with the Crown Prince, whom I found, as usual, calm and reasonable. We talked of the Exhibition and of France. Then I went to Bismarck. He is quite sincere in his love of peace, but he does not trust the French. Since the sixteenth century there had not been in Germany any family, but some member of it in each generation had fought against France. Such a neighbour was an eternal menace. He spoke very bitterly of the Empress. He asserts that Nesselrode had been connected with the *Reichsglocke;* he spoke against Schleinitz and his influence. He told me a great deal about the doings of the Empress, and became all the more communicative as I had at first denied that her intrigues were to be taken seriously. She and the National Liberal Left embittered his existence. Consequently, he intends to take a year's leave. I asked who was to replace him; he thought it would be Camphausen and Bülow.

PARIS, *April* 3, 1877.

The alleged resignation of Prince Bismarck * was the subject of conversation at the Spanish Ambassador's yesterday evening. At the Bourse the rumour had gone abroad that I was nominated to replace Bismarck, and Baroness Gustav Rothschild brought it to Molins' drawing-room. To-day it was mentioned in the *Figaro*, so I went to the Foreign Office to get it contradicted in the newspapers. This has been done.

In the evening I went to see Thiers. He cross-examined me, and I gave him what I considered suitable answers. When I told him that Field-Marshal Manteuffel wanted to see M. Thiers, Minister of War, he laughed very much, but was flattered. He was not much impressed by Bismarck's retirement. He does not believe in it. He was easier in his mind about the Eastern Question. He thinks that now it will end peacefully. Bapst, the proprietor of the *Journal des Debats*, is not of the same view. He thinks the Russians are only waiting for the fine weather to strike the first blow.

PARIS, *April* 11, 1877.

When I called this afternoon on Decazes, who is back from Cannes, I met Prince Orlow. He was very depressed, and said he saw no way out for Russia but war. Decazes was of the same view. When Orlow was gone, he again discussed the situation at some length. Decazes sees no advantage to Russia in the war. It is to Russia's interest to keep open the outlet from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. War would only lead to England occupying the Dardanelles. M. Thiers has repeatedly expressed the same view. Decazes said in conclusion that if war really broke out, it was the duty of Germany and France, by common action and the united power of their influence, to preserve peace in Europe, and to localise the war. "*Tous les conseils que vous me donnerez à ce sujet, je les accepterai avec la plus grande confiance et je m'empresserai à m'y conformer.*"

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* Prince Bismarck had handed in his resignation on April 1. On April 10 the Emperor refused to accept it and the Prince was granted leave for an indefinite period.

Afterwards he told me about his conversation with an Italian ecclesiastic at Cannes. The Pope was very weak, and his state of health made it likely that he would not outlive the summer.

Decazes also told me that Alphonse Rothschild, who lately returned from Vienna, had been negotiating with Andrassy about a loan, on which occasion Andrassy had told him that whether the Russians made war or not, whether they crossed the frontier or did not cross it, Austria would not move: "*Nous ne bougerons pas.*" Decazes does not regard as likely the idea that the Austrians will march into Bosnia, as in that case Austria would either have to fight on Turkey's side or against her. He also observed that Italy would regard this movement with very unfriendly eyes. So if Austria occupied Bosnia or Herzegovina, other complications might arise.

PARIS, *August* 25, 1877.

There was a reception at the Turkish Ambassador's to-day at three. When I came in, he took me by the arm, and told me he had just received good news. Lyons was just reading the despatch. I sat down by the latter and found in his hands the circular despatch * in which Turkey, on the strength of Article 8 of the Treaty of Paris, asks for mediation. I told Khadil Pacha that this was somewhat late, but that it could do no harm. Lyons thinks it will only injure Turkey, as the Russians might quietly march into Roumania during the negotiations.

Then I went to Decazes, who told me he had received the circular, but had not yet spoken with Khadil Pacha. He intended to ask him whether the Porte would accept the protocol and withdraw its circular despatch. Then the way would be open for further discussion. He takes the view that the protocol itself was an attempt at mediation that has failed.

Gontaut has reported that Bülow had asked him whether Decazes intended to increase the number of ships in Turkish waters. He had not yet replied, because he found it difficult to persuade his Admiralty colleague to this measure. But he was convinced of the necessity of despatching three more ships, which would then, with the German and Italian ships, represent the neutrals, and they could be divided for the purpose of watching the Turkish harbours. He was not in favour of sending armoured frigates — they had too aggressive an appearance.

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* Of April 23; on the 24th followed the Russian declaration of war.

As regards Roumania, Callimaki has told him, that if the Powers did not protect Roumania from Turkish invasion, Roumania would listen only to the promptings of her despair. Decazes asked whether he was right in presuming that Roumania's despair would cause her to come to an understanding with Russia.

As Callimaki answered in the affirmative, Decazes said that in this case, as the Minister of a neutral State, he could neither express an opinion nor give advice.

A Mr. Plognio, formerly President of the Roumanian Senate, came to see me and told me he was appointed Commissioner with the Russian troops, and wanted information from me. I refused to give any information, and, as he then asked me for advice, I answered that, in his place, I would accept a good post.

PARIS, *April* 30, 1877.

Decazes, on whom I called yesterday evening, read out to me the declaration which he intends to read to-morrow in the Chamber of Deputies, and asked me what I thought of it. I considered it was couched in pacific and tactful terms, and told him so. Then he showed me a passage in the Yellow Book, which will also be distributed to-morrow, in which mention is made of an utterance of the Emperor to Gontaut.

What makes him uneasy is the excitement in England, where they are *affolé*, and expect all sorts of horrors, and Italy's desire *de pecher dans l'eau troublé.*

Molins was with me, and told me about the affair of the Count of Paris and Don Carlos. The members of the *Comité des concours hippiques* first introduced the Duke of Nemours and Don Carlos to each other, and then Don Carlos begged the Duke of Nemours to present him to the Count and Countess of Paris, who were just going away. This was done. The Count of Paris was at Molins' house, and has explained the matter to him. Molins asserts that he told the Count of Paris he was doing himself harm in France by this business.

Khadil Pacha was with me. I told him my opinion of the rejection of our protectorate over the Russian subjects in Turkey, and caused him some apprehension.

PARIS, *May* 16.

The Ministerial crisis had been long impending.* The constitution of the Ministry gave no promise of permanency. It already bore within it the germ of decay. It had a majority in the Chamber only at Gambetta's pleasure. In Jules Simon and Martel the Ministry had elements of the Left who acceded to all wishes of the Left though the Ministry was unable on the other hand to maintain the necessary dignity in the eyes of the Chamber. Moreover, it was being incessantly dinned into the Marshal's ears that the Ministry was going too far and had no majority in its favour. In the Municipal Government law, Simon had promised the Marshal to render nugatory the provisions concerning permanency and admission of the public to the sittings; instead of which, he offered no opposition to them. In the matter of the draft of the Press Law he and Martel had pledged themselves at the Ministerial Council to speak against the whole law, and especially against the clause which requires Press offences against foreign sovereigns to be dealt with by trial by jury. On this occasion also they remained silent. The Marshal was annoyed at it, and wrote Jules Simon the letter, printed by the "Agence Havos," which ended in Simon's resignation. The Marshal at once accepted it. The other Ministers followed.

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* On May 16 MacMahon addressed to Jules Simon a letter which led the whole Cabinet to resign. On May 18 the reactionary Broglie-Fourtou Ministry was formed. At the Marshal's urgent request, the Duke Decazes remained in the new Ministry.

Decazes had long disliked Jules Simon. He, at any rate, helped to bring about Jules Simon's fall.

Decazes considers a dissolution inevitable, but a *Ministère de dissolution* dangerous. He has talked with Léon Renault, and wants a Liberal Ministry, but one with enough vigour not to let itself be quite taken in tow by the Left, and to carry out the dissolution without exciting an outcry about reaction, which would have a bad effect on the elections. The only thing that troubles Decazes is that the Clerical debate * is still too recent, and that Simon's resignation will be connected with this debate. Evidently the Marshal has acted prematurely. Decazes would have liked to wait some time yet. He asked me how we should regard the dissolution. I said that public opinion would look on it unfavourably, if it were carried out by Buffet and Fourtou.

PARIS, *June* 24, 1877.

To-day I dined with Decazes. I sat next to the Duchess, who invited me to visit her at Arcachon, to which she is going at the beginning of August. Little Miss Rothschild from Vienna sat by me. After dinner, over our cigars, we talked a good deal about claret. M. de Tracy, Prefect of Bordeaux, told us about it.

Later on I had a rather long conversation with Decazes. He gave me the outline of a tranquillising despatch to Berlin, spoke highly of Bülow's obliging behaviour, defended himself against the reproach that the French Government was ultramontane, and quoted as a proof the instructions which he had given to Baude. He says he has threatened to recall him from Rome if he does not exercise a pacifying influence on the Pope, especially with regard to Germany. I expressed my regret at Gontaut's journey to Ems,* recalled the case of Benedetti, and did not conceal from him the impression which Gontaut's stay at Ems made on Bismarck. Decazes defended Gontaut, and tried to prove that he merely went to Ems for the sake of his health. I did not press the Duke further, as it would now be useless to force a change before the result of the election, because Decazes would find no other ambassador who would be agreeable to us.

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* This had taken place on May 4. The Chamber's Order of the Day (361 votes against 121) had characterised the Ultramontanist propaganda as "a danger to peace at home and abroad."

June 28.

I was with Thiers in the evening. He flatters himself with the hope that the elections † will result favourably for the Republicans, and that they will return four hundred strong, in which case the Marshal would resign. I told M. Thiers I had been informed by a Royalist that they had had five hundred votes on their side at Bordeaux, and could have established the Monarchy if Thiers had not opposed it so strongly. M. Thiers entered keenly into the question and showed me in a lengthy explanation that this assertion was not true. At Bordeaux he had found himself confronted by a *necessité absolue.* The Assembly had numbered only two hundred Royalist votes, and not five hundred. Three hundred votes were Republican. It was, therefore, impossible to think of a restoration of the Monarchy. He had had neither a mandate to do so nor the necessary power. A Monarchy could only be founded by a victor at Rivoli or the Pyramids. Besides, he had had no troops. They had been guarded there by six thousand Bordeaux National Guards, who were Republicans. When the Princes of Orleans arrived, both Legitimists and Republicans had scented treachery. He had been obliged to support the Republic for fear of rousing great dissensions. He then spoke about the peace negotiations at Versailles, &c. The whole vindication bore upon it the full stamp of truth.

PARIS, *July* 3, 1877.

Thiers came to me yesterday and asked me if I would come to him to-day to speak to Gambetta. He would come at half-past eleven. I naturally accepted and went there. Gambetta was already there, when I entered M. Thiers' beautiful study. We exchanged greetings and sat down, Thiers on one side, I on the other; Gambetta in the middle opposite us. We talked of various matters, of the Turkish War, of England, &c. Then Thiers told his old stories about Metternich, Talleyrand, and

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* Where the Emperor William had been staying since June 15.

† The Chamber had been dissolved on June 25.

Louis-Philippe. Gambetta and I listened respectfully. I have never seen the present and the past so incarnated as in these men. Gambetta, who was probably little interested in the old stories, listened with the attentiveness of a son, and showed the greatest interest. I took advantage of a pause to ask about the election prospects. He asserted that there would be such an election as had not been seen since 1789. France was determined to smite the enemies of the Republic, and she would do so. The earlier elections had crushed the Legitimists, and then the Orleanists; this election would annihilate the Bonapartists. On my asking what justification he had for this hope, he said that the Bonapartists had made themselves impossible by their alliance with the Clericals. He reckons upon the election of only forty Bonapartists instead of eighty. He says of the Clericals that they have no firm footing in France, though the upper middle-class is to blame for their increase of power. He thinks the congregations will have to be rooted out. So there will be an expulsion of the Jesuits. Gambetta makes a good impression. He is courteous and friendly, and, at the same time, you can see in him the confident, vigorous statesman.

PARIS, *July* 16, 1877.

M. Thiers called on me yesterday afternoon. He had no special reason except to return my recent call. He began by discussing the subject of the education of the young under Napoleon I., and described to me in detail the instruction which he had received at Marseilles in the school (*Lycée*) founded by the Emperor, where he acquired his inclination for military matters. He still seemed to find delight in the fact that he wore at that time the uniform of the Imperial Guard with high gaiters. He then spoke of the period of service, of the need for a five years' service, &c. Then he turned to French affairs, repeated that it was quite impossible to restore the Monarchy in France, and that this was no fault of his, for at Bordeaux it had only been a question of forming some sort of Government, and of avoiding dissension. He himself had been a faithful servant to Louis-Philippe and the Monarchy, but he had not been able to do other than accept the Republic. Also it had been possible only under the Republic to accomplish what had to be done at that time.

Thiers has no doubt about the result of the election. He is convinced that the majority will be Republican and will number between 360 and 400. Spuller, who together with Gambetta is conducting the Republican election campaign, counts even on 418 Republicans. M. Thiers says he should be reluctant to take over the Presidency again, but he could not avoid his duty to his country, though it should cost him his life. He asked how his return to power would be received in Germany, and was very pleased when I told him that it would be greeted with joy in Berlin. He agreed with me when I added that the consolidation of the Republic would bring about a *détente* in the relations between Germany and France.

Thiers is uneasy about the Eastern question. He maintains that the Russians are proceeding with an *étourderie* which will finally compel Austria and England to interfere. Thus a great complication would arise. "*Et qu'est-ce que vous ferez alors?*" I did not reply.

PARIS, *August* 9, 1877.

Thiers called on me this afternoon. Speaking of the state of things here, he said, "*de la consternation*" prevailed in the Government. It could be seen that the nation was exasperated at the unrest into which it had been plunged by the fault of the Marshal. People were saying: "*Mais que veut donc cette vieille bête?*" MacMahon was everywhere *déconsidéré*. On the journey * there had been everywhere loud cries of "*Vive la République!*" It was possible that the Marshal would therefore abstain from further tours.

I asked him if it would suit him for me to visit him in Dieppe. He said certainly, for the country would see in my visit the proof that the Republican party maintained with Germany and with foreign countries in general, better relations than the present Government. But as he will probably go to St. Germain, I shall, I expect, visit him there and not at Dieppe.

GASTEIN, *September* 5, 1877.

I left Munich early on Monday. Dined with Princess Urussow at Salzburg. Then on to Bishopshofen, and thence to Lend. Reached Gastein in darkness and rain. I have a small room in the Schweizerhaus. Herbert Bismarck came to me to confirm the news of Thiers' death.†

To-day I bathed early, then took a stroll and had coffee in the covered walk. Then I called on Princess Bismarck. At one I was with the Imperial Chancellor, whom I found very well and brisk. He regrets old Thiers' death, thinks he is a great loss to France, and he added that Thiers had been the only man in France who could have successfully attempted to bring about any alliance of the Western Powers with Austria. Now France would become more disunited than ever. As for the alliance, Bismarck does not fear it as long as Andrassy remains.

But even a hostile Austria was not to be feared in that alliance, so long as we had Russia on our side. Last summer Gortschakow had done his best to embroil us with Austria, and to checkmate Germany if only diplomatically. But he had not succeeded.

The Imperial Chancellor is of opinion that Russia cannot conclude peace until she has regained her military prestige.

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* MacMahon's journey into Normandy on August 16.

† On September 3.

If she were compelled to conclude peace after a second unsuccessful campaign, internal troubles might arise, and Russia would, after a few years, have to go to war again, probably with Austria. He thinks it possible that Russia may yet be victorious if she only sets to work somewhat more skilfully. Her present discomfiture is due to bad leadership.

At table we talked of French affairs. Bismarck regrets Thiers' death. He called on us to drink in silence to his memory. The Prince said it was incomprehensible how they could leave Gontaut in Berlin; he intrigued and plotted against the Imperial Government with Poles, Ultramontanists, and other enemies of the Empire. He (Bismarck) would have declared himself in favour of the presence of the Duke of Chartres at the manœuvres, if Gontaut had not been in Berlin. But, as it was, he could not help fearing that the Empress would make use of the Prince's presence to continue her intrigues.

I stayed with the Prince until late in the evening. He told me about the visit of the Comte de Paris to the Crown Prince, and said that the latter was much won over in the Count's favour. The Imperial Chancellor seemed to me more gently disposed towards the Orleans family. At any rate, he prefers them to the Bonapartists, whom he considers dangerous, because they would have to go to war. The Chancellor attaches great weight to the maintenance of good relations with Austria. He regards the intervention of Austria and England in the war as a very serious contingency. He says that Austria was prepared to march into Bosnia, if the Russians had been victorious. Bismarck's present plan is to reconcile England and Russia, and to aim at bringing about an understanding between them in the East at Turkey's expense. He means to leave France out in all big political manipulations, and to avoid any *rapprochement*.

September 6.

To-day, before my departure, while I was with the Princess, the Imperial Chancellor came and asked me to go for a walk with him. I had only half-an-hour left, so I ordered the carriage to wait. We went on to the Kaiserpromenade. At first we talked of the French elections, and Bismarck said it would be necessary to assume a somewhat menacing attitude while they were in progress. But that need not be done in Paris, it would be stage-managed from Berlin. The Emperor made the prosecution of our French policy difficult, because he always let himself be persuaded by Gontaut to lay weight on the "solidarity of conservative interests," the old Arnim policy, instead of aiming at keeping France disunited and incapable of alliances. He then asserted that Gontaut's journey to Metz* had been brought about by the Empress, and that the Emperor was in a measure responsible for May 16, because he had spoken to Gontaut to the abovementioned effect. The Imperial Chancellor told me Bleichröder received news from Paris through the Rothschilds, which was communicated to him, and which duly foretold May 16. The Imperial Chancellor said it was expecting too much to want to make him believe that the Empress had no political aims, and did not agitate against him. For the last fifteen years he had encountered the opposition of the Empress at every point. She had letters written to her, which she read to the Emperor, even at breakfast, and he always received disagreeable notes from the Emperor after breakfast. In principle the Emperor approved of the ecclesiastical policy, but he raised difficulties in matters of detail, and these were due to the interference of the Empress. Schleinitz, Goltz, Nesselrode, and others worked against him with the Empress. He could not be expected to approve when his enemies were selected for distinction. For instance, Nesselrode had received an order, although he had had a share in the *Reichsglocke*. If this did not cease, he would retire, and then he would speak out plainly. Everybody who was hostile to the Imperial Government was backed up by the Empress. As long as Gontaut was in Berlin, there had been a kind of opposition Ministry against which he had to fight. Bismarck says the Crown Princess does not interfere in politics, although she takes pleasure in inviting members of the opposition. We did not part till I got into my carriage.

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* On May 7, MacMahon had sent Gontaut, who happened to be in Paris, to Metz, to convey to the Emperor William the Marshal's greetings. The Emperor William stayed in Alsace-Lorraine from May 1 to May 9.

I travelled *via* Lend to Bishopshofen, Steinach, supped at Friedstein,* and reached Aussee about twelve.

BERLIN, *October* 22, 1877.

To-day I had an audience of the Emperor. He at once turned to French affairs, and I could see that he was under a foreign influence, that he was swayed in his judgment by foreign influences. He extolled the Marshal's consistency and vigour, praised his efforts to check Radicalism, and laid special stress on his own abhorrence of Gambetta, who, if he should become President, would certainly start a war with Germany. In fact, he launched forth views which one is rather accustomed to read in the organs of the Champs Elysées and the Duc de Broglie. He lamented the excesses of the German press, even of the official section, against the French Government, and expressed his apprehension that such continual pin-pricks might in time wear out the patience of the French, and give them grounds for a war with Germany, in which we should be in the wrong. I ventured to put forward arguments against this apprehension. I further observed, among other things, that I could not believe Gambetta's Republic would embark on a war with Germany. War required internal strength and union, and alliances. Gambetta would be obliged to take up the fight with the Clerical party, and would thereby provoke a conflict which would have much more far-reaching effects than our *Kulturkampf* [Bismarck's conflict with the Catholic Church]. He would find too much to do at home to be able even to think of war with us. It was hardly likely that a foreign power would enter into an alliance with Gambetta against us, &c. The Emperor listened attentively to my arguments, but did not seem to be convinced by them.

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* Castle of Princess Konstantin Hohenlohe.

Then he turned to home politics. The Emperor thought it was now time to call a halt with Liberal legislation. He had made many concessions. But now things had gone far enough. The Imperial Chancellor agreed with him in this respect. In connection with this he made some remarks on town government and Eulenberg's retirement. I was struck by his pointing to the brilliant reception he had met with everywhere, as a proof that the devotion of the nation to his person was so great that further concessions to Liberalism were unnecessary. I thought it would not do to say to him: "Yes, how would your Majesty have been received if you had gone in for a reactionary policy?" It was all the more desirable that I should refrain from such an expression of opinion since I was insufficiently, or not at all, acquainted with the laws and bills in question. It looks to me as though the Jesuits were trying to drive the Emperor into a reactionary course. In that way they would soon attain their end. The ill-feeling already existing would here reach a very serious pitch, and especially in South Germany, and it would then only need a foreign complication that might easily be brought about to imperil the work so laboriously accomplished. The Liberal community in Germany are not so unreasonable in their views as to make it impossible for a monarchical government to come to terms with them. But if, following MacMahon's example in France, we treat them as all one with Democrats and Social Democrats, they will amalgamate with the other elements, which are really foreign to them, into a revolutionary mass which will be difficult to control. I hope that the Emperor, if he is removed for a time from the influence which now dominates him, will regain his composure of mind. He is much concerned by the Russian defeats. He sees in them the humiliation of all Christian Powers.

October 24.

I was at Bleichröder's to-day. In a two hours' conversation he told me much that was of interest. He does not think the Russians are financially in a position to prolong the war beyond Christmas. They have already spent five hundred million roubles, and would have to spend another five hundred if they wanted to continue the war in the spring. Bismarck will not hear of mediation, because he rightly says the Russians would then lay the blame of a hollow peace on us.

In home politics Bleichröder is working at a reform in commercial legislation, protective tariffs, &c.

He says Marshal MacMahon is in the hands of the Rothschilds. They are working with him. He fears that things will come to a crisis in that quarter.

PARIS, *October* 27, 1877.*

I arrived here yesterday evening. Anton Radziwill and Nubar Pacha came to see me early to-day.

The latter told me about his interview with Midhat Pacha, whom he blames, if not for actually inciting to war, at any rate for not having seized the means to avoid it. He asserts that Midhat Pacha † regarded the war as a means to get the Sultan entirely into his hands. With the constitution and a victory he had hoped to be master of the situation. His fall had been the work of the young Turks. The latter were by no means friends of European civilisation, as was erroneously supposed, but they wished to bring back Turkey to the position in which she was at the time of Soliman the Great, *i.e.*, they wished to re-construct Turkey on the foundation of Mohammedan fanaticism and with the material resources of civilisation, but in the spirit of the past. A modern constitution was incompatible with their plans.

Nahar says the distress is very great in Constantinople, and the population is starving. The Turks want peace. But he saw quite plainly that there was little hope of it. Afterwards I drove to the Marshal's, but did not find him in. Lyons, who was at home, asserts that a certain *détente* has already taken place in the mutual embitterment. A week ago there had been talk at the Champs Elysées of a *coup d'état*, and in the Republican camp of the arraignment of the Marshal. He and also Wimpffen, whom I looked up later, considered a *coup d'état* impossible, and a mutual arrangement or the Marshal's retirement inevitable. On the other hand, Prince Orlow considers it not impossible that the Marshal will let himself be driven to extreme measures. With a man like the Marshal you could never know how he would let himself be carried away. I did not find Decazes at home. The Nuncio only lamented without saying anything special.

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* The election of Deputies had taken place on October 14. Result, 201 Conservatives, 314 Republicans.

† President of the State Council, the leader of the Turkish Reform party.

Wimpffen maintains, but I think it an exaggeration, that most of those Conservatives who at the time favoured May 16, are now for conciliation. I am told that Decazes, Broglie, and Berthaut will retire. If that is so, it proves that the Champs Elysées is hatching some gigantic piece of stupidity. H.,* whom I met this evening, told me the future looked very black to him. At the Champs Elysées also, and in the Ministry, there was much perplexity. I answered that it was strange that people should now be wondering at the consequences of May 16, as they were easy to foresee from the first day. He thought that the Government had reckoned with confidence on a Conservative majority. Fourtou had, even on the last day, spoken of it as a certainty. I further said it was quite simple to get out of the fix, as the Marshal need only take up the position that he was a constitutional monarch, repudiate responsibility for what had happened, and shuffle it on to the resigning Ministers. "Yes," said H., "if it were not for that confounded manifesto!"† The Marshal considers himself bound towards the Prefects and other functionaries, whom he had incessantly assured that he will not forsake them. Now he is bound in honour not to forsake them. To that I replied that it would be of no use to the Marshal and his Prefects if he now carried out a *coup d'état* for their sake. The only result would be that he and the Prefects would come to grief together, and France along with them . . . . . . if the Marshal did not publish a manifesto, but a simple newspaper article in a Conservative paper to the effect that the Marshal had promised the Prefects this and that. He would be pledged to carry it out, if the Senate afforded him the opportunity; but various senators declared to him that they did not side with him; consequently the majority of the Senate will fail him, and nothing thus remains for the Marshal but to accept a Ministry of the majority, even if this presupposes a considerable *revirement* among the officials. H. was pleased with *this*, and begged me to say so to Decazes and the Marshal. If this simple logic is incomprehensible to the people, things must really have come to a sad pass. Finally I hear to-day that Vogüé is here, and that he will take Decazes' place.

Decazes told me to-day that the difficulties did not lie in the engagements of the Marshal, but in the want of time. The parties were too irritated with each other to be able to effect any reconciliation between now and the opening of the Chamber.

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* The President's secretary, the Viscount d'Harcourt, is presumably meant.

† MacMahon's election manifesto of September 19, in which the Marshal gave prominence to his services, called on the nation to fight against Radicalism, announced the putting forward of official candidatures, and promised his protection to the functionaries who were devoted to him.

PARIS, *November* 23, 1877.

Blowitz, who stayed some time with me to-day, said that he was becoming more and more convinced that the Marshal, without being aware of it, was subject to clerical influence. The 16th of May had been brought about by this influence. I had entertained no doubt on this point, and encouraged Blowitz to continue his investigations. Blowitz thought, since this was so, that no confidence could be reposed in the Marshal, and that, therefore, steps must be taken to bring about his resignation. He considered the situation as *effrayant.*

In the afternoon I went to Versailles. On the way back I found St. Vallier and de Normandie. Both mentioned to me the new Ministers,* but doubted whether the Marshal would use them for a *coup d'état*, but believed in the resignation of the Marshal, which every one wishes.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

VARZIN, *January* 1, 1878.

In connection with my good wishes to you for the New Year, which I have already expressed *en clair*, I wish to thank you heartily for the prudent and bold support which you have given me in the most continuous and ready fashion during these last difficult months — as, indeed, on every other occasion. I do not, unfortunately, always find combined the ability and honest wish to represent our interests, and I am the more grateful for the exceptions to this general rule. I shall always gratefully recognise that during the whole period of our colleagueship I might count on the unfailing co-operation of your Excellency, without which it would be impossible, in the presence of all the intrigues and hostility of which I am the object, to attain the necessary result and to obviate the danger.

I have been unwell for several days, and may not leave my room. With my shattered nerves and the little consideration shown me in business matters, I cannot shake off the results of a cold which was insignificant in itself. I beg your Excellency to convey my respectful compliments to the Princess, and remain,

Yours faithfully,
VON BISMARCK.

To PRINCE BISMARCK.

MUNICH, *January* 5, 1878.

I have had the honour to receive here the kindly greeting which your Excellency was good enough to send me at the beginning of the New Year. I beg to thank you sincerely for it. Your Excellency gave me much pleasure thereby. The less satisfied I myself usually feel with the results of my political and diplomatic efforts, the more acceptable to me is the exceedingly gracious recognition which your Excellency is pleased to make of them. I shall preserve the letter as a most valuable family document for my children and grandchildren.

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* Broglie's Ministry had resigned on November 16. A working Ministry was nominated on the 23rd. On the 24th the Chamber resolved that it could not enter into relations with this Ministry. On December 3 MacMahon summoned Dufaure, and entrusted him with the task of forming a Ministry.

I need hardly add that your Excellency may count in the future on my complete and unqualified co-operation. I am aware of the hostility to which you more than any one are exposed, since your enemies were always, and will always be, my own. I will continue the struggle, so far as my strength allows, and shall be proud to be allowed to work under your guidance. May God give you the health and strength to be, for many years to come, the leader of affairs for the welfare of the Fatherland!

With renewed wishes that the coming year may bring happiness to you and yours, I have the honour to be, &c.

Journal.

PARIS, *February* 7, 1878.

Callimaki was with me to-day, and told me that there was great depression in Roumania, and that men were looking anxiously into the future. The cession of Roumanian Bessarabia * as far as the Kilia arm of the Danube was demanded by Russia. The Prince had refused to contemplate the exchange, since the Dobrudscha was not acceptable, and that acquisition had been awarded to Roumania in the Treaty of Paris, and for this reason only the signatory Powers could decide the question. Another anxiety for Roumania was the increase of Russian troops in the country. Finally, he mentioned, with the request that his name should not appear, the project which had been communicated to him, according to which Russia was engaged in buying up the Roumanian railways.

I hear from Berlin that once more mistrust of France prevails there, and that elements of danger lie in the plans for compensating France by the restoration to her of Lorraine and the acquisition of Belgium, in return for which we should retain Alsace and obtain Holland. If pacific ways do not lead to the goal, force remains. So it was in 1870. A Franco-German policy of alliance is not considered possible there. I consider it also as a fraud.

February 7.

Blowitz came to me to-day, and told me that rumours of a Franco-German alliance, together with the above-mentioned scheme of compensation, were rife. Blowitz says neither Waddington* nor Gambetta contemplated such a step. The rumours came, however, from serious-minded people who must have some object in the circulation of them. This object might be, so far as the rumours proceeded from Decazes, either to stultify Waddington, since St. Vallier † and Gambetta are represented to be the advocates of a vigorous policy — if nothing comes of it, there is the advantage of being able to say that St. Vallier, as well as Gambetta, proved a *fiasco* — or people wish by these rumours, according to which Germany is to be compensated by Holland and France by Belgium, to sow distrust between France and England.

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* Russia had demanded from Roumania the restoration of Bessarabia on February 1.

PARIS, *February* 18, 1878.

On the 14th dinner at Roger's (*du Nord*) with various Republican deputies, Gambetta among others. He greeted me on entering with marked cordiality, and spoke of the day when we had last met at Thiers' house. I had a long talk with him after dinner about England, naval wars and their altered character. He held the opinion that England was no longer a formidable Power, since every man-of-war could be destroyed by torpedoes. Then we spoke of May 16, and of what he would have wished to do if the Marshal had not given way. Gambetta was of my view as to Ultramontane influence in England.

A talk to-day with the abbé at Decazes'. He explained in a highly interesting manner that the Catholic University would secure the advantage, that an independent faculty of French theology would be formed in time. Such a faculty was now forced to submit to Rome. But when the necessary power had been created, it would be possible to oppose Rome and to found a French, he would not say a Gallican, church.

February 28.

The last days were agitated — *soirées* in the evening, work by day. There is fear of war between England, Austria, and Russia. General indignation against Russian shamelessness prevails, and the wish that we should do something to force the Russians to peace. Bismarck was quite right to refuse this desire. If we acceded and held Russia, in common with England and Austria, in check, Russia would thank us little. If it came to war, and England and Austria won, we should earn no gratitude from them, and should be for ever at enmity with Russia, and thus isolated in Europe. This evening, *soirée* at the Elysée in honour of the Austrian Crown Prince. The actors of the Comédie Française (Croizette, Favart, Semary, Delaunay, and Coquelin) played splendidly. The Crown Prince seemed to understand very little of it, and to be bored. Prince Leopold was delighted, and followed with the closest interest.

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* Waddington had accepted the Foreign Office in the Ministry formed by Dusaure on December 13, 1877.

† Waddington had recalled Gontaut-Biron on December 18 and appointed St. Vallier ambassador in Berlin.

PARIS, *March* 27, 1878.

Gambetta, whom I met to-day at dinner with Freycinet,* says his news about the Pope † was as favourable as mine; but he saw dangers in this Pope, since he was capable of lulling apprehensions of the dangers of clericalism. After dinner I made the acquaintance of Spuller, a man of much refinement, in spite of his somewhat coarse exterior.

PARIS, *May* 2, 1878.

These are days of fatigue and work from festivities. Opening of the Exhibition. Drive to the Exhibition building in thunder and lightning. It is still greatly unfinished. Nevertheless it had been found possible to organise a most imposing festival. *Soirée* in the evening in the Elysée. The Prince of Wales spoke against the avowal of the Crown Prince. Prince Heinrich of the Netherlands was in a sentimental mood about his marriage. The Crown Prince of Denmark, a courteous young man. The Duke of Leuchtenberg, an uncourteous noble, who did not allow himself to be introduced to the ambassadors. In the gallery were Queen Isabella, Don Carlos, King Francis of Spain, and the ex-King, Prince Amadeus of Italy. The Annamites were hideous. A fat Chinese ambassador, who looks like Frau von Binzer. Edmond Zichy was admired as an Annamite, since he wore a bright Hungarian costume. The walk round the Exhibition building was unattractive — wading in mud. This evening a ball at Teisserenc de Bort's. Again the princes. Much standing about. Spoke with Gambetta, who tells me that the Chamber will adjourn to May 31. Paris in the hurry of a festival is unattractive.

May 4.

Letters to-day from Berlin and London. The former foresee war, and believe there is no hope of peace; the latter (Münster) see the possibility of a compromise. Waddington told me to-day at dinner at the Elysée that St. Vallier telegraphed from Berlin that Germany was resuming her attempts at mediation, and that they promised to end favourably. I sat between Waddington and the Marshal; opposite us King Francisco and Prince Henry of the Netherlands.

May 11.

Various *soirées* during the last few days. Ball yesterday at A. Rothschild's. I only stayed a short time. The Prince and Princess of Wales did not arrive until past twelve o'clock. I then hastened to leave the suffocating atmosphere of the *salons*. In the afternoon I received a visit from the Chinese Ambassador. He is a continually smiling mandarin. His secretary speaks good French, The Ambassador inquired after the health of Prince Bismarck, and it was interesting to me to hear the name "Bismarck" pronounced by a Chinaman who does not know a word of French.

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* Minister of Public Works in the new Ministry.

† Pius IX. died on February 7, Leo XIII. was elected on February 20.

PARIS, *May* 11, 1878.

To-day was a tiring day. At two o'clock was the opening ceremony in the German Art Exhibition. Werner first made a speech to me, whereupon I thanked him and then addressed the Minister and Herr Berger. A French speech *coram publico* is still rather difficult for me, and causes me much palpitation. The *Soir* has already reported the speech. We then looked at the pictures, and I paid some visits. In the evening the dinner of the German artists took place. I had previously heard of the attempted assassination,* and proposed the health of the Emperor at dinner.

In the evening at Hirsch's many questions were put to me on the subject, and every one showed great sympathy.

BERLIN, *June* 12, 1878.†

I left Paris early yesterday. I had a long talk on the way with Gontaut-Biron, who was also travelling to Berlin. He then went into his compartment, and we did not meet again until Cologne, where we dined in the Royal apartments. In the evening in the sleeping-car we spoke of his recall from Berlin, about which he was inconsolable. He could not understand what the Imperial Chancellor had against him.

On arrival in Berlin I found Viktor on the platform. We breakfasted together, discussed various topics, and then went into the palace to report ourselves to the Emperor. Viktor then went off at twelve o'clock. I went into the Foreign Office, and found Bülow, Holstein, Bucher, and Radowitz. From the various conversations I extract the following. There is an understanding between Russia and England, though not a complete one. But there is hope of clearing the matter up. Beaconsfield expressed himself with moderation. The Imperial Chancellor wishes to-morrow at once to discuss the Bulgarian question. Austria, on the other hand, is in no way contented. Andrássy, who oscillates between the tendencies of the Court and the military party and the Hungarian antipathies and wishes, has missed the opportunity of taking a decisive step in the Oriental question, and wishes now that the Congress should compel him to advance into Bosnia. With our best will and all good wishes for Austria, we have no desire to quarrel with England and Russia in order to extricate Andrássy from his scrape. Andrássy, whom I met at Beaconsfield's, now goes about and conjures the members of the Congress to give a few days' more time and not to plunge directly *in medias res*. Otherwise men may fall into inextricable confusion. Odo Russell, whom I saw afterwards, thought that Bismarck had agreed only to discuss formal matters to-morrow. I knew nothing about that. Karolyi also knew nothing of it, but would like it.

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* Of the Emperor William, on May 11.

† Journey to the Berlin Congress, at which Prince Hohenlohe represented Germany, together with Prince Bismarck and the Secretary for State, von Bülow. It opened on the 13th.

There are all kinds of petty intrigues in the Foreign Office about he participation of individual councillors in the Congress, &c. Bismarck chose me, in order to be able to say to the King of Bavaria that, out of consideration for his Majesty, they had taken his Majesty's Kronoberstkämmerer [Lord High Chamberlain].

I was only a moment with Lord Beaconsfield. Andrássy first went in, and seemed, so far as I could gather, much excited. Lord Beaconsfield's secretary led me to him, and we greeted each other. He said he was "*enchanté de faire ma connaissance*." I soon took my leave, saying that I knew he was invited to the Crown Prince, and that I had therefore only "*voulu serrer la main*"; whereupon he said: "*Oh oui, serrer la main, oh oui!*" We then parted.

This evening to tea with the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden. There was much talk about the attempted assassination,* about Social Democrats, and finally about Rome. At eleven o'clock I drove to the Imperial Chancellor. I was hardly in the *salon* when he entered. I find him aged, but cheerful. His beard makes him old. He was much annoyed that the foreign plenipotentiaries, especially Waddington, St. Vallier, and even Salisbury, had received him when he was making his round of visits. That, he said, was provincial manners, and had unnecessarily tired him.

To-morrow at two o'clock is the first sitting of the Congress, and uniform will be worn, at Lord Beaconsfield's wish.

June 13.

The forenoon was spent in visits. At half-past one I drove to Bismarck's palace, formerly that of Radziwill. In the large room I only found Radowitz, who was busied with the arrangement of the necessary papers. In what was formerly the great ball-room a green table, shaped like a horseshoe, had been placed. In the middle the president's seat; on either side France, left, Austria, right; then England next to Austria, Italy to France; further down, Russia on the right, Turkey on the left. Opposite Bismarck sits Radowitz as recorder; I on the left, Bülow on the right.

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* On June 2, when the Emperor William was wounded.

The Secretary of State soon came, and then the Imperial Chancellor. We went to the buffet, which was spread in an adjoining room, and drank port and ate biscuits. The plenipotentiaries gradually arrived. Count Corti, a small, ugly man, who looked like a Japanese, with Launay; then the Turk, an insignificant young man; Count Schuwalow; then old Gortschakow, very shaky; and, lastly, the Englishmen and the Frenchmen, Waddington in laced uniform. The first meeting between Lord Beaconsfield and Gortschakow was interesting as an historic event. A move was then made into the room where the sittings were held. Bismarck made an introductory speech, and proposed to elect the officials. Andrássy, after previous consultation with the other plenipotentiaries, rose and proposed the election of Bismarck as president. He then made proposals as regards the secretary and recorder, which were accepted. I then introduced the *personnel.*

The Imperial Chancellor then proposed to proceed first to the most important questions, and to begin with Bulgaria. But he at the same time advised that a few days' grace should be given, as Andrássy had wished, and that the first sitting should be held on the next Monday.

Lord Beaconsfield then spoke, and made a long speech in English, very clear and emphatic. He thought it was necessary that during the Congress the hostile armies should not be kept in immediate proximity. He considered that dangerous and derogatory to the dignity of the Congress. The Imperial Chancellor asked whether the Russian plenipotentiaries wished to speak on the subject. Gortschakow said a few words, which did not bear on the matter, and spoke of the necessity of protecting the fate of the Christians in the Turkish realm. Schuwalow went into the question, and opposed Lord Beaconsfield. Bismarck hastened to propose that the question should not be further discussed that day. That was agreed to. The Turk came afterward, and protested against some assertions of Schuwalow, but the Imperial Chancellor called his attention to the fact that the discussion was now closed.

Salisbury brought up the subject of the Greeks, and announced that he would like to see their admittance to the Congress advised. Gortschakow retorted that the consequence of this would be that other nations would advance the same claim. But since the question was not to be discussed that day, the matter then dropped, and the Imperial Chancellor, after some remarks affecting the order of the day, closed the sitting.

The whole affair looked threatening. Beaconsfield gave the impression of wishing to enforce unscrupulously the English position. The Russians seemed anxious. The Chancellor intervened as much as he could, and directed the matter with great skill.

A state dinner in the castle at 6.45 P.M. I sat next to Oubril.

The Crown Prince proposed a toast in French, expressed his thanks for the good wishes of the Congress for the recovery of the Emperor, wished the Congress godspeed, and drank to the health of the sovereigns and Governments which were represented in the Congress. A reception after dinner. I was presented to the princess * who is betrothed to Prince Henry of the Netherlands. He himself was as amiable and as dull as ever. Prince Friedrich Karl very red and fat. The Crown Prince as friendly as ever.

In the evening, with Karl Fürstenberg and Karl Egon at the Union Club, where I listened to the disquisition of a well-meaning Silesian landowner, who saw the main cause of the bad times in the country in the fact that Bucher was working mischief in the Foreign Office. I declined the task of confuting his foolish notion.

BERLIN, *June* 14, 1878.

Blowitz came to me to-day. He began at once by saying that he had been received with the news that strict secrecy would be observed. There was therefore nothing for him to do, and he could go away. I then asked him what he had heard, and noticed that he had not yet received from any one information as to yesterday's sitting. He then entered into observations on the duties of the Congress, to which I merely listened. The character of Lord Beaconsfield filled him with concern. He was self-centred and suspicious. If people tried to win him over by affability, or if they only tried to be courteous with him, he became suspicious, and thought "*qu'on veut le mettre dedans.*" If people were not courteous he was offended. This might lead to ill-feeling in the Congress. Lord Beaconsfield had public opinion in England on his side, but only because he had obtained the previously secured successes by pacific means. The moment that English public opinion learnt that Lord Beaconsfield wanted to go too far he would lose ground. Blowitz thinks that the Russians would not yield beyond a certain point, and would rather fight. But the English people don't want war. The point will be to call public attention in England to the fact at the right time. I answered that this could be done by the correspondent of the *Times* if the situation really occurred.

BERLIN, *June* 15, 1878.

After various visits and a dinner with Holstein, Radowitz, Bucher, and others in the Tiergarten Hotel, I drove yesterday evening at nine o'clock to the Crown Prince. We talked about the opening of the Congress and its views. I suggested that one of the dangers seemed to be in the fact that England demanded too much and that Russia finally would choose war. Generally speaking, I found the Crown Prince refreshed by his work and his share in the conduct of affairs.

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* Princess Elizabeth of Prussia, daughter of Prince Friedrich Karl.

Then to Bismarck. The Imperial Chancellor expressed his dissatisfaction with the Turkish plenipotentiaries, and told me he had frankly said to them that Turkey was making a mistake if she thought any advantage would accrue to her by the Congress arriving at no result. A war would only lead to the Powers coming to terms with each other after its conclusion at the expense of Turkey. When afterwards it was mentioned that Bismarck's big dog had growled at a Minister, the Chancellor said: "The dog is not perfectly trained. He does not know whom he ought to bite. If he knew he would have bitten the Turks." The Chancellor considered it tactless to have sent Mehemet Ali. On discussing the question whether Karatheodory was a Christian, he thought, "After all, the Magdeburger (Mehemet Ali) is the only Mussulman among the three."

The Imperial Chancellor, who was generally suspicious of the English, and declared them shameless and clumsy, was annoyed that the English Ministers had interfered in the question which arose on the occasion of the King of Hanover's death* as to the title the Crown Prince should bear. He then uttered the significant words, "I should like to know if Beaconsfield wants war!" In any case, he thought, the somewhat bellicose attitude of the English would give the Austrians the advantage of coming to an understanding with the Russians. The party broke up at twelve o'clock. The Imperial Chancellor accompanied me into another room, and spoke again of the difficulty which was caused him by presiding in French. He had, however, done extremely well, and no one had noticed the embarrassment which he professed to have felt.

Afternoon.

I sat for an hour and a half with Bleichröder and listened to his Talmudic wisdom. He is not contented with the foreign policy. He thinks the Imperial Chancellor was right when he said to him that the chances of peace stood at 66 to 34, perhaps at 70 to 30. The Roumanians cause him anxiety, which I do not understand. He had received from London a letter of Lionel Rothschild, the intimate friend of Beaconsfield, which assured him that Beaconsfield had started for Berlin with the most peaceful intentions. If that is the case, Lord Beaconsfield acted stupidly when he made us that speech in the Congress. He only succeeded in making Austria and Russia quickly come to terms with each other. Bleichröder's views as to Bismarck's personality are correct. The unpleasant part to me of the whole talk was that Bleichröder seemed to have influence with Bismarck in questions of commercial policy. He acted as if he shared in the Government, notwithstanding his assurances of humility. He told me, *à propos* of the elections, that he had received instructions from Bismarck, just as if he, Bleichröder, could hold the elections. Thus he asserts that Bismarck did not wish to have Lasker and Bamberger any more in the Reichstag and that at Mayence even an Ultramontane was preferable to Bamberger — in Westphalia and the same was true of Richter. These are illusions. Neither Lasker nor Bamberger nor Richter will be driven out of the Reichstag. It seems to me as if the selfish Jewish commercial policy of Bleichröder is responsible for the fall of Delbrück and many immature financial projects of recent times. He said of Bennigsen* that he regretted not to have entered the Ministry then. But before his departure to Varzin he had pledged himself to Lasker, and could not have hen entered without violating those obligations. Lasker does not consider Bleichröder so crafty as Bismarck does. He is only vain enough to wish to be consulted.

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* King George of Hanover had died on June 12.

This evening to tea with the Grand Duchess. The Empress was there, and, later, the Crown Prince. There was general gloom at first; afterwards the Royalties laughed heartily at stories which I told them of Paris. Then, at eleven o'clock, to Bismarck. We waited for him until 11.30 P.M. He came at last, having been with the Turkish representatives and Schuwalow. He seemed satisfied, and was in a very good humour. About the Englishmen he said that Beaconsfield and Salisbury were of opposite views. He was always afraid that "Dizzy" would stifle them with some unexpected *coup*.

He wishes to see Blowitz at my house, and will let me know when he is coming that I may arrange with Blowitz. Herr Sceps, of the *Tageblatt*, asserts that the Austrians have come without any programme, which will "crystallise" itself here. "You know that is a scientific expression which means anything."

BERLIN, *June* 17, 1878.

Yesterday passed without visits. In the evening dinner with Karolyi, and then to the Imperial Chancellor's, who gave me a copy of a proposal which was to be made in certain eventualities, and asked me to speak to the Crown Prince on the point the next morning, since the Secretary of State would not be back soon enough from Potsdam. I took the proposal home with me, but found that it was written in intolerable French, and I therefore took the trouble to produce a somewhat altered document. In the morning I went, therefore, to the Crown Prince, and told him we should only make the proposal, the object of which was an agreement between Russia and Turkey as to the fortifications and troops before Constantinople, if Beaconsfield once more brought forward the question of withdrawal. Then to Bucher and Holstein to settle definitely the new text.

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* The negotiations as to Bennigsen's joining the Ministry had taken place in February.

The sitting of the Congress was at two o'clock. Besides the proposal for the admittance of the Greeks and a somewhat pointless debate on Section 6 of the Treaty of San Stefano, nothing important happened. I walked with Andrássy home, followed by a crowd which feasted on our looks, especially on Andrássy's. Dinner with the Chancellor at six o'clock. The two Turks, Karatheodory and Mehemet Ali, have not yet been presented to me. The former looks young and crafty. Mehemet Ali gives the impression of a clever man, but inspires little confidence. Salisbury, who sat opposite at dinner, has a remarkable head, a high forehead, regular features, long hair, a full beard, and withal a depressed expression. Beaconsfield fills me with a growing dislike. A detestable Jewish face. Schuwalow was always the smiling, careless courtier. At 10.30 I drove to the Crown Prince, to report to him about to-day's sitting. I then finished the day with a brilliant *soirée* at Lord Odo Russell's.

June 18.

Nothing remarkable to-day. Schuwalow discussed the Bulgarian question with Beaconsfield and Andrássy. I learnt in the evening that they had not quite finished, and that Schuwalow had first to telegraph to St. Petersburg. Consequently to-morrow's sitting will only be occupied with the question of the admittance of a Greek representative. In the evening to Bismarck, who was unwell, and perhaps will not be able to take part in to-morrow's sitting.

June 19.

Blowitz came to me this morning. He said he was beginning to be uneasy about the result of the Congress. Austria was showing more determination and resolution than he had hitherto credited her with. She did not at all wish that Montenegro should be allowed to receive Antivari, and that the Serbs, with Bosnia and Montenegro, should proclaim an empire under Nikita. But the latter would be the case if Austria did not take measures. Austria wishes, however, to be forced to invade those countries. It might therefore happen that Austria became dissatisfied and might contemplate the possibility of leaving the Congress. But she did not wish to act thus alone, and had therefore sounded England to see if she also was prepared to retire from the Congress in case the necessary concessions in Bulgaria were not made her. The Englishmen had not answered that. Blowitz thought it would be a very good thing if the Englishmen's demands were satisfied, for then there would be a certainty that Austria would not by herself abandon the Congress. England, however, whether she was left alone or was dissatisfied, would not be in the least perturbed at the idea of abandoning the Congress alone.

I took note of all that, and reported it to Bismarck. When then I told him before the sitting, he thought there was probably some truth in it. Schuwalow is also of the same opinion, and hopes, therefore, that he will receive the necessary permission from St. Petersburg to satisfy the English demands.

The sitting was uninteresting. The question of the admission of Greece was debated, and afterwards accepted. All the members of the Congress are filled with amazement that Princess Lise Trubetzkoy is here. Even old Gortschakow thought she could not stay more than two days. Waddington and St. Vallier drove to the house of the Princess after the sitting. I went for a walk. Dinner in the evening at Launay's, where I sat between Lord Odo Russell and Mehemet Ali. I afterwards went on foot to the palace to tea with the Grand Duchess of Baden. The Empress, the Crown Prince, and Grand Duke were there. I informed the company of the feeling in Paris. Afterwards to Karolyi's, where there was a large company. Princess Lise and Nini, Countess Oriola, Frau von Schleinitz, and others. The Montenegrins were there in costume. Home at 12.30.

June 20.

Waddington tells me that Russia has definitely conceded the Balkan frontier. There is still discussion about Sofia. The English wish Varna to be given to the Turks in exchange. If the Roumanians want the whole of the Dobrutscha, the new Bulgaria would be thus cut off from the sea. Russia will hardly concede that. Waddington considers that the partition of Bulgaria with two differently organised countries carries with it the germ of further complications. He thought it better to make Northern Bulgaria absolutely independent, and to leave Southern Bulgaria entirely to the Turks. It is uncertain what Greece will get. The English representatives would not object to the aggrandisement of Greece, but do not wish to force the Turks to cede Crete, etc., and the Turks, who know that, will refuse to do so. Andrássy told Waddington that he must occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina at any price. For the moment it is only a question of occupation.

June 21.

Negotiations all day long between Schuwalow, Bismarck, and Beaconsfield. Hope is entertained of some agreement, since the wording of the answer from St. Petersburg was favourable. The English are concerned to preserve the vitality of the Turks, since the southern part of Bulgaria is left to them. They allow the Russians a free hand in Asia. Odo Russell, with whom I dined to-day, spoke in this strain. After dinner I sat a long time smoking with Mehemet Ali. He told me about his campaigns, and explained how war against the Montenegrins must be made. The only way to reach the required goal was to treat the whole country as a fortress and proceed as if besieging a town. He said that, if it was again a question of war, the Russian army, which was stationed before Constantinople, was lost. I quite believe that.

In the evening once more with the Imperial Chancellor, who has cut off his beard, and looks once more as in old days.

June 22.

Visit from Friedberg, who told me that the Crown Prince was much put out. He believes that an attempt on his life is being planned. In other respects also he is dissatisfied. I had neither time nor wish to ask further questions. Friedberg is dissatisfied with Bismarck's home policy, although he expresses himself very cautiously. He considers the projects respecting the economic policy of the Chancellor the work of a dilettante. He regrets the removal of Delbrück, and considers it a blunder that the Reichstag * was dissolved. The National Liberals were now the enemies of Bismarck, and would return in greater strength. I foresee that the next Reichstag will try to overthrow the Imperial Chancellor, if he does not succeed in coming to a previous agreement with the Centre, and thus obtaining a strong Conservative party.

June 23.

A sitting yesterday at two o'clock. Salisbury reported on the preliminary conferences, and brought the draft of the agreement, to which Schuwalow then assented, although he made reservations as to the rights of Turkey in Southern Bulgaria. Waddington was commissioned to bring these reservations before the next sitting in an acceptable form. It seems there is a general wish to make peace.

Evening in the Zoological Garden, where there was a concert in honour of the Congress. There were said to be 30,000 persons there, who stared at us. The band played all the National Anthems; for the French they could find nothing else than the air "Louis XIII." Afterwards I drove to the *soirée* at St. Vallier's, where I saw all sorts of exotic persons. The Armenians greeted me. There was the Patriarch, whom I had seen in Paris. They wore black cowls, and were striking figures. The Montenegrin Petrowitsch was in national costume. He looks a regular brigand. I could not find Ristic. A Chinese ambassador with spectacles looked like the headmistress of some school. His two fat secretaries, also with straw hats and plumes, looked like fatted sucking-pigs.

At eleven o'clock I went to Bismarck's, where Münster also appeared. Nothing new was discussed.

June 24.

Dinner with Bismarck at six o'clock. Besides Andrássy, Waddington, and Desprez and the French secretaries, there was only Münster there. I talked with the latter after dinner, and he told me of a conversation with Bennigsen which he had lately had. Bennigsen thinks that Bismarck must come to an understanding either with him or with Windthorst. Münster regards an agreement between Bismarck and the National Liberals as not impossible. Would to heaven it might succeed! Otherwise I see no satisfactory solution. We sat down to table, when Bismarck spoke with the other guests. He gave a brief account of Prussian history, and showed how every sovereign since the Great Elector had been acclaimed at first and had been hated at the end of his career. This was also his fate. He then related his political career, and declared he was now happy to become once more unpopular. He seems therefore to know very correctly how the feeling runs. But we are not helped by this.

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* On June 11, after the rejection of the Socialist Bill on May 24.

In the evening I visited the Grand Duchess of Baden with Münster.

June 25.

Schuwalow told me before yesterday's sitting he had on the day before prevented a telegram from Gortschakow being sent, in which the latter wished to state to the Emperor of Russia, that he was ill, and could not therefore accept the responsibility for the last resolutions. Schuwalow declared that, if this telegram went, he would telegraph to the Emperor asking him to send another first plenipotentiary. The telegram was therefore stopped.

Lord Beaconsfield came to me in a friendly manner, and informed me that the Queen had commissioned him to say to me that she was glad I was taking part in the Congress, that I was an old friend of her "beloved Prince" and enjoyed her complete confidence. This had visibly made a great impression on Beaconsfield, for he became very amiable, took my arm, and walked up and down the hall with me. At the sitting Sections 7 and 8 were discussed, in which connection I need only mention the attack made by the Imperial Chancellor on the peoples of the Balkan peninsula. He thought that we ought not to plunge deeply into the details of the treaty, but only emphasise the points which were calculated to disturb the union of the Powers. In other points he was quite indifferent to the fate of those peoples.

I drove quickly home at four o'clock to change my clothes, and to the station for Potsdam. Waddington, St. Vallier, the Italians, and a number of Turks went also to a dinner in the New Palace. The cool rooms of the palace and the stay on the terrace in front of the *salon* were refreshing. The Crown Princess had a headache, and we therefore broke up at once.

In the evening at Lord Odo Russell's. A great *rout*. I asked Friedenthal for the plans of the Government. He first hesitated to answer, and then he blurted out that he regarded the home policy of the Imperial Chancellor as disastrous, and that nothing would stand if a Minister could leave his post at this moment. Bismarck had been advised to use the favourable opportunity after the attempted assassination to effect a reconciliation with the National Liberals. But, in consequence of bad advice, he would not hear of it. I answered that Bismarck was essential to us, and that one must do everything to keep him. Friedenthal admitted that, and finally declared that the Chancellor was such a peculiar character that he would perhaps suddenly veer round and reconcile himself with the National Liberals.

Evening.

A walk early to-day. Visit from Paul Lindau. Then a rather tedious sitting. Dinner at seven o'clock with Radowitz and Busch at Borchardt's. Then to the Zoological Garden. At 10.30 to Bismarck. Herbert came to ask me in his father's name to work out for the day after to-morrow a prospectus, which might be read out to the Congress, in which the points still to be discussed by the Congress were brought out — namely, the territorial changes, all that referred to the navigation in the Straits and on the Danube, and the question how the instrument to be signed by the members of the Congress was to be drawn up. A conference of the accredited Ministers at Berlin could then settle the question of the details. The Treaty of Paris, and especially the guarantees contained in it, were to be repeated. I was to discuss the matter to-morrow at 10.30 with Bülow, and then win over the plenipotentiaries to the matter.

June 26.

The affair of the prospectus, which we were to place before the Imperial Chancellor, has come to nothing. This is what happened. This morning I went to Bülow, who talked once more with me on the subject and said he had commissioned Jasmund to make the *résumé*. I then proceeded to see Jasmund, who was ready to work out a complete memorandum. We compared the Treaty of San Stefano with the Treaty of Paris of '56, and racked our brains over the way of drawing up a new treaty.

I then went to Waddington, told him of the affair, and met with his complete approval. At 1.30 to the Congress hall. Schuwalow laid hold of me, and said he already knew of the matter and agreed with it. All could be finished in five sittings. Then Andrássy came up, who also knew of it. He had already drawn up a plan, and wrote it down for me.

He thought the following points might be noted as still to be discussed:

1. Bosnia, Servia, Montenegro.
    (*a*) Declaration of independence.
    (*b*) Bosnian-Servian proposals.
    (*c*) Boundaries of Servia and Montenegro.

This would be discussed by a sub-commission and brought forward in the full meeting.

2. Roumania.
    - (*a*) Declaration of independence.
    - (*b*) Bessarabia.
3. Greece.
4. The Danube and the question of the Dardanelles — the Danube by sub-commission.
5. Asia.
6. The indemnity, since England wished to speak on it.

The Imperial Chancellor soon came up, and I showed him this sketch. He looked it through, and approved it. We then went on to the sitting. Before the conclusion the Chancellor asked for my note, which I handed him. He then proposed that the discussions should follow in order, on the basis of this note. Everyone agreed, and Jasmund's work is superfluous.

I dined with Waddington and St. Vallier at Pourtalès's. Waddington asked me to speak with Bismarck about Greece in order to learn what his views were.

June 27.

A visit to-day from two Englishmen, who brought me a memorandum on the abolition of the slave trade. Spoke with Dernburg and Gneist. Then to Bülow, Bucher, and Holstein. To dinner with Rudhart at 5.30. In the evening looked in at the theatre for a moment. Then to Bismarck. He came about eleven o'clock, was very cheerful, and told me of his negotiations with the National Liberals. He said he had first treated with Bennigsen, who at the beginning was quite ready to enter, but subsequently refused. He had offered Bennigsen the Ministry of the Interior, but Bennigsen had wished to bring in Forckenbeck and Stauffenberg. The Chancellor will have nothing to do with Forckenbeck. He was, he said, a good President, but no Minister. Stauffenberg was a Radical, and courted popularity. He would have been taken as Finance Minister had he not spoilt everything by his speech.* I have read his speech through, and find that the Chancellor is right when he says Stauffenberg would have wished to introduce himself by this speech to the Reichstag as Finance Minister, but that he had forgotten that his discussion of Section 109 † would make him wholly unacceptable to the Emperor.

It had come about thus. The National Liberals then had overthrown Camphausen without his (the Chancellor's) co-operation, in the hope that this Ministry would be held by a National Liberal. "As that did not happen, they became spiteful, and tried to prevent every one from joining the Ministry." The Chancellor seems definitively to have given up the thought of a National Liberal Ministry. He knows that he will have the party against him, but he wishes to try and govern without them and against them. He said: "They can force me to retire, but they will not make me construct a party Ministry of National Liberals and entrust them with the conduct of affairs, while they place me like a worm-eaten apple as an ornament on the table."

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* At the debates in the Reichstag on the increase of the tobacco tax and the introduction of stamp taxes on February 22, 1878.

† Of the Prussian Constitution, which provides for the "continued levying of the existing taxes." Freiherr von Stauffenberg had adduced the want of constitutional guarantees — *i.e.*, of the annual right of the Chambers in Prussia (as compared with Bavaria) to grant the revenue — as a reason against new taxes.

June 29.

I was awaked yesterday at 8.30 to hear that the Crown Prince wanted to speak to me at 9.30 (I had gone to bed very late). I found the Crown Prince in the garden near the palace, where he had breakfasted. We walked up and down under the trees, and I told him what had happened in the Congress. At one o'clock I had to preside at the commission for drawing up the report. I made a short speech, in which I explained the duties of the commission. It is a pleasant combination — Odo Russell, Oubril, Launay, Haymerle, Desprez, and Karatheodory. We chose Desprez as chairman. He had obviously expected that, for he had already drawn up some paragraphs, which he read out to us.

At two o'clock was the sitting. The important question of the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria was discussed. Andrássy first read out a long declaration, in which he said that Austria could only consent to a solution of that question which guaranteed permanent peace. Salisbury then read out a declaration that peace could best be secured if Austria advanced into the country, whereupon all the representatives gradually gave their approval. Only the Turks protested. On the occasion of the debate over the rights which Servia should acquire, the subject of the Jews was touched upon. Gortschakow spoke against them, and said he distinguished "*entre juifs et israelites*." The former were a plague; the latter might be excellent people, as could be seen in Berlin and London. On the whole, his speech was feeble.

After the sitting a walk and dinner with Borchardt. In the evening to tea with the Empress. Then again to Bismarck. He was already asleep. The sons and the Princess discussed election politics. They said every one wished for an electoral manifesto from the Prince. I was decidedly against it. If the Prince wanted to do anything, he might write a letter to an acquaintance and put it in the papers. He could say everything in that, and not incur the risk of having himself to blame if the elections turned out against him.

To-day from eleven to one o'clock Servian commission on delimitation of frontier. At one o'clock commission for drawing up report. Afterwards full meeting, when the Greeks were introduced. They made their speeches and then retired. During these speeches Salisbury, Beaconsfield, and Waddington slept the sleep of the just. The question was afterwards discussed when the Roumanians should also be heard. The Chancellor was against that, and tried to induce the Russian Chancellor to say no. But he did not wish that; and so the question was finally assented to, and Messrs. Bratiano, &c., will appear on Monday. In the evening to the *soirée* at St. Vallier's, where I spoke to Beaconsfield, Andrássy, and many others.

June 30.

Blowitz was with me to-day. He is much pleased with the campaign which he has conducted from here in the *Times*. He maintains that he has thus strengthened Beaconsfield's position by it, and made Beaconsfield himself amiable and conciliatory; he has thus worked in the interests of peace. He wishes in return some recognition from Austria, Italy, Germany, and Turkey. He has prospects of obtaining the various orders. I am to procure him the German order. I told him that I would try to do so. He thinks it impossible that Batum should come to Russia, and proposes to make Batum a free port.

At one o'clock the Report Commission. Then a talk on the Servian frontiers with Schuwalow; afterwards with Oberstleutnant Bluhme, of the Prussian General Staff.

At seven o'clock dinner at St. Vallier's, where I sat by Beaconsfield. I went in the evening to Frau von Schleinitz. The garden was not available, and the *soirée* took place in the *salon.*

July 1.

Sitting of the committee on the Servian frontier question, where we came to no conclusion, since Mehemet Ali made difficulties. The Roumanian business was settled in the sitting of the Congress. Messrs. Bratiano and Cogolniceano were summoned to state their wishes. They seemed rather alarmed at the meeting of the European representatives. They were, on the whole, very tactful and moderate.

Montenegro was afterwards discussed. All sorts of work was once more put on my two commissions. At seven o'clock dinner at the Turkish Embassy. At 8.30 report to the Crown Prince. 9.30 tea with the Empress and Grand Duchess of Baden; Roggenbach and Viktor there too. At eleven o'clock to a rather dull *soirée* at Odo Russell's.

July 2.

Roggenbach came to me in the morning to speak with me about the Roumanian frontiers. There is not much more to be done in the matter. Roggenbach thinks that Bismarck is passionately aroused against Roumania. At 12.30 the Delimitation

Commission met. At two o'clock sitting, at which for the first time I had something to say. The sitting was interesting from a fine speech of Schuwalow against the Turks. He represented the Russian point of view with much tact and talent.

Home at five o'clock. Then at six o'clock I fetched Blowitz, to drive with him to dinner with the Imperial Chancellor. Blowitz was delighted. The Chancellor worked on him in the interests of the Russian claim to Batum.

Blowitz represented the public opinion in England, which he said was against Batum, and would be against Beaconsfield if he left Batum to the Russians. But his opposition visibly lessened, owing to the affability of the Chancellor. After dinner there was much talk about Thiers. The discussion came round to Gambetta, and the Chancellor said he would be glad if he could speak with him.

July 4.

The commission for the adjustment of the frontiers began its sittings at twelve o'clock yesterday. The Bulgarian frontier was first discussed, and the requisite instructions were given to Oberstleutnant Bluhme for deliberation in the Commission of Experts. The English difficulties then were mentioned.

In the Congress Beaconsfield and Salisbury had agreed that Bulgaria should have the Sandschak of Sofia. They afterwards found that the Sandschak extends far beyond the spurs of the Balkan, and that they had conceded too much. They now wished to take that back again, and were quite unabashed. Schuwalow protested, and I instructed Oberstleutnant Bluhme to discover some suggested arrangement.

At two o'clock then the Report Commission met, which deliberated on the organisation of Eastern Roumelia. Protests were raised by the Turkish Ambassador, Karatheodory, against the proposal that the governor should be a Christian. But we did not go further into the subject. The negotiations were very tedious. We were not finished until five o'clock. Meanwhile the Chancellor had heard of the English difficulties, and was furious, so Herbert Bismarck told me. He wishes to lay down the presidency, and so on. I hope that we shall still come to some agreement.

Bleichröder gave a great dinner (*ohne salzfässer*), when the question was much discussed, but the band was so noisy that conversation at table was difficult. In the evening to Karolyi.

Early this morning at 9.30 to the Crown Prince in the garden. He spoke to me about Roumania. He regrets that the Russians are left on the Danube. He is in favour of a canal from the Danube to the Black Sea. He commissioned me at the same time to propose the candidature of Prince Nikolaus of Nassau. He wishes to have some one from a royal house — that is to say, from a mediatised family. No others would be possible.

BERLIN, *July* 5, 1878.

After the audience with the Crown Prince I drove home, met Dernburg on the way, who put himself at my disposal in election matters. His offer could not be entertained, as nothing was to be done yet. I only wrote to Marquardsen to ask him if the Munich Election Committee wishes to set up an opposition candidate against me. At one o'clock I went to the sitting of the Commission, where the resolutions about Roumelia were discussed and drawn up. At two o'clock I went to the Chancellor to inform him about the conversation with the Crown Prince, since it was under his instructions that I had been to him. The Chancellor was glad that the Crown Prince had waived his scruples about Roumelia. Sitting of the Congress afterwards. Haymerle reported on the frontiers of Montenegro. In this connection he read a printed list of the various points, which was incomplete. St. Vallier called his attention to the defect. Andrássy was indignant that his Austrian colleague should have made himself ridiculous, and muttered some uncomplimentary remark. The unfortunate Haymerle was like a half-drowned poodle. Then a long debate on the Danube navigation. Lastly one more English proposal as to the equalisation of religious rights in the Turkish Empire.

Lord Salisbury announced a proposal as to the Armenians, which brought the remark, "*Encore un de plus!*" from the Chancellor. This impatience on the part of the Chancellor, which is justified by his state of health, accelerates the work, but its disadvantages will be felt later, since much will only be superficially settled. I should prefer slower work.

In the evening at Countess Oriola's, where I met Gneist, Scherer, Fanny Boyen, and others. Hauptmann von der Goltz, the author of the book on Gambetta, was there. A clever and amiable man.

To-day at nine o'clock I had a visit from an Israelite of Bucharest, who gave me some interesting information as to the position of the Jews in Roumania.

July 6.

Yesterday at twelve o'clock Delimitation Commission. We made no progress, as the English plenipotentiary was not sufficiently instructed. Report Commission at one o'clock. Desprez brought his articles. We adjourned until 9.30 P.M. In the full meeting, which began at two o'clock, Waddington made a speech in favour of the Greeks, and moved that the Congress should invite the Porte and Greece to come to terms about frontier rights, and should offer the good offices of the Powers for that purpose. The Greeks will not be content with this. But since, as Beaconsfield explained in a long speech, Turkey is not to be partitioned, this declaration was the only means left. After the sitting I still discussed the Balkan frontier with Salisbury. The English had conceded that the frontier should extend to the crest of the Balkan, but they now demand a strip of five kilometres more. At the same time they wish the decision as to the boundaries of the Sandschak of Sofia to be dependent on the above decision.

Salisbury agreed to the Balkan frontier itself, but he will not give way about the five kilometres, because he says no fortifications could be built on the ridge of the mountains, while the fortifications on this side in the new province could be erected in the defiles.

I then went to dine with Bülow, and explained to Schuwalow, who dined there too, a proposed method of adjusting the differences which I had meantime thought out. Schuwalow assented to it, but advised me to defer the proposal until the last moment. At 9.30 there was a long sitting of the Commission, when we again drew up reports. At twelve o'clock I found Oberstleutnant Bluhme in the hall, and he told me that he had arranged nothing with the English general, and that in their special commission they had arrived at no conclusion.

When I heard that Bismarck was still in the drawing-room I went to the Princess. The Chancellor was irritated at the English pretensions, and said I must bring the whole matter before the Congress on Monday. Home at one o'clock.

July 7.

Blowitz came to me yesterday early, and said that he had discussed the matter the day before with the English plenipotentiaries, and that he guaranteed me that they would cede Batum to Russia, if it became a free port and Russia pledged herself not to fortify it. He advised that this concession on the part of Russia should be made at once at the beginning of the discussion in the Congress, in order that the good feeling of the parties should not be destroyed by bitter remarks on any side. I immediately wrote on the subject to the Chancellor, and handed in the letter personally before going into the Commission. While we were discussing the frontiers of Bulgaria Schuwalow was called out, and then told me that Herbert Bismarck had made him a proposal. When the sitting of our Commission was over I went into the breakfast-room, where many *tête-à-tête* conversations were being held. The sitting of the Congress began at 2.30 or later. The Asiatic paragraph was at once brought forward for discussion, and it was a pleasant surprise when Gortschakow began with a declaration that he pledged himself to make Batum a free port. Beaconsfield made one of his feeling speeches and consented to the cession of Batum to Russia. More long debates on frontier questions followed. The main problem was, however, satisfactorily solved, and the peaceful conclusion of the Congress thus assured. At the close of the debate

I asked permission to speak, and asked the Chancellor to put the Bulgarian frontier question on the order of the day for Monday, since I was reluctantly compelled to say that the Commission could not agree on the subject. The Chancellor was prepared to do so, but remarked that the delegates of the Military Commission had nothing else to do than respect the resolutions of the Congress, and base their proposals on them. I replied that in the present case the difficulty did not lie with the Military Commission, but in our Commission, since the instructions of individual plenipotentiaries were defective. Odo Russell was naturally angry at this. He said nothing, but after the sitting declared he would take no further part in the sittings of the Commission. But he allowed himself afterwards to be pacified by Schuwalow.

In the evening to tea with the Empress, when a gloomy conversation was kept up between the Grand Duke and Roggenbach on the state of things in Germany. At eleven o'clock I went to the French Embassy, where St. Vallier gave one of his gentlemen's parties, which are the most tedious affairs which can befall a tired plenipotentiary late at night.

July 8.

The Crown Prince had invited the members of the Congress on Sunday afternoon to a country excursion to Potsdam. While we were holding our Report sitting in the morning in the large room it was raining, and we were afraid that the trip would be very unpleasant. At the station also the weather was still disagreeable. But the excursion came off. The majority of the plenipotentiaries gradually appeared at the station; then Schleinitz and his wife, and various other ladies, chiefly from the Diplomatic Corps. Countess Karolyi wore her Rembrandt hat. Countess Perponcher thought that very unsuitable for a Royal excursion. Lady Salisbury came with two daughters and three boys. The gentlemen who smoked went together in a saloon carriage. The ladies travelled in the Prince's saloon.

We got out at Wannsee, and went to the landing-stage, where the Royal steamer was waiting. The Crown Princess and Prince Heinrich were on board. A band was playing, the crowd on the shore shouted "Hurrah!" and the boat steamed off. But we had hardly gone a few hundred yards, when a violent squall burst, which struck the awning over the deck and made the ship lurch on one side. Many declared there was danger, and some one remarked: "If the Congress is drowned, that would be one solution of the question." In the meantime the sailors had removed the awning, and we proceeded without further interruption along the lake and the Havel to Babelsberg. Here carriages were waiting, which took us first to Schloss Babelsberg, which was inspected; thence to Sanssouci. I drove with Schleinitz and Odo Russell.

We had the first opportunity of washing our hands at Sanssouci, in a long room. The Congress found numerous wash-hand basins, but only one porcelain receptacle, which was not intended for washing. Europe collected round that. But since my duty as a member of the Congress did not impose this collective duty on me, I searched with his Excellency von Bülow and General von der Göltz for some place in the upper corridors of the Schloss where each might have one for himself. After some trouble we were successful.

Then dinner. I sat between Lady Salisbury and Countess Perponcher. The former divided her time between the Crown Prince, who sat next her, and her dinner. I had, therefore, little opportunity of profiting by her wit. Then more standing about on the terrace, and the drive to the station at Potsdam. We were in Berlin at 9.30 P.M. I drove at once to the Congress, where I had once more to preside at a sitting of the Commission, which passed off most satisfactorily. We got so far as to be able to give Oberstleutnant Bluhme, who was present, the necessary instructions to settle the Bulgarian frontier. I broke up the sitting at twelve o'clock.

BERLIN, *July* 9, 1878.

Yesterday was spent in sittings of the Commission and the Congress.

In the full sitting I had to bring forward the details of the Bulgarian frontier, then the question of Eastern Roumelia and Servia. In the case of Servia the Commission was not agreed. We had to bring the question before the full meeting. Some confusion naturally resulted. The Chancellor and the meeting had no suspicion what the point at issue was, and however clearly I repeatedly explained the matter, the questions, when the voting came, were not always correctly put. The Commission was finally instructed to deliberate once more on Branja and once more to report progress. We were to decide by a majority. The sitting lasted until six o'clock. While I was writing my account for the Crown Prince the Chancellor came into the room and invited me to dine with him, which I did. There were various young men from the Foreign Office there. We ate soup, then eel, then cold fish, then prawns, lobster after that, smoked meat, then once more raw ham, finally roast meat and pudding. All calculated to ruin one's digestion thoroughly.

A sitting of the Commission once more at 9.30. We proceeded with reports until 11.30. Then I went to Odo Russell's. The subject of conversation in all political *salons* was the treaty between England and Turkey about Cyprus.* The Italians and French were disagreeably surprised at it.

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* Of June 4, which hitherto had been kept secret.

July 10.

A sitting of the Commission on the morning of the 9th to make final settlements of the Servian frontier. We waited a long time for Oberstleutnant Bluhme, who came at last and brought before us the proposed frontier of Servia. We accepted it by 5 votes to 2, as also the western frontier of Bulgaria. Full sitting at two. Here for the first time the question of Batum was discussed, and it was seen that some difference of opinion existed between Beaconsfield and Gortschakow with respect to the Asiatic frontier. The Delimitation Commission, therefore, was instructed to look into the matter. Gortschakow's proposal about the guarantees for the treaty then was debated. Many speeches were made. The Chancellor spoke best, and convinced even Gortschakow. At the end various other proposals. I had previously made my report as to Branja and the western frontier of Bulgaria, and had the satisfaction to find that no one raised objections.

After this sitting the Delimitation Commission at once held its sitting, in order to smooth the differences of opinion between Gortschakow and Beaconsfield. After a long search we found a small piece which we could take away again from the Russians; some mountain-ridges, out of which we made a so-called *ligne de conciliation*, which was then accepted. None of us knew whether it was a sensible frontier. The maps of that part of Armenia are so inaccurate and contradictory that it is difficult to settle the frontiers from here.

July 10 (*evening*).

Blowitz came this morning merely to ask if he could not have the treaty on Friday, in order to send it to London, so that the *Times* might publish a special edition at the moment when it was signed.

Sitting of the Report Commission at one o'clock. Congress at 2.30, when I once more gave a report on the frontier of Armenia south of Batum. Then a long discussion on Gortschakow's proposals. Schuwalow thereupon made a proposal about a burial-place at Schipka. He had composed his speech in such touching words that he was affected while reading, and was compelled to pause. The Turkish plenipotentiary, Karatheodory, poured cold water on this emotion by giving him to understand that the Russians only wanted to hinder the Turks from constructing fortifications there. The greater part of the sitting was spent in reading out the articles of the treaty, in the form in which the Report Commission had set them out. Dinner at seven o'clock at Oubril's. Very good dinner, but unpleasant owing to a noisy band which deafened me. I sat between Bülow and Launay. Delimitation Commission afterwards. We waited for the proposal of the military members, who again quarrelled about the strategic positions in the valley of Allasch-Kerd. During the waiting Mehemet Ali entertained us with reading out his poems and with anecdotes from his family life. His poems, especially his "Rose of Jericho," are by no means bad. A would-be humorous poem which he gave me was terribly vulgar. Oberstleutnant Bluhme arrived at last and made his report, whereupon we drew up a resolution. At twelve o'clock we drove again to Karolyi's, where I immediately fell into the hands of the Armenians, who bored me with their affairs. Home at 12.30.

July 12.

Yesterday at last the duties of the Congress were ended. I went at one o'clock to the Report Commission. The preamble of the treaty was again discussed, and some paragraphs as to the frontiers.

Full meeting at two o'clock. The proposal of Gortschakow as to a formal and grandiloquent concluding paragraph was negatived. Gortschakow was much annoyed. Waddington remarked, with his customary *bon sens*: "Either it is verbiage, in which case the article is superfluous, or it has some meaning — then it is dangerous." The article as to the capitalisation of the tribute from Servia and Roumania, which had been postponed at my suggestion, and had been almost accepted at a previous sitting, now came up for discussion. I had employed the interval in calling the attention of the Chancellor and other members of the Congress to the unfairness of the thing. Salisbury of course pleaded for the Turks by declaring the creditors had a right to this tribute, since it was a pledge for the creditors of Turkey. I did not speak, since my arguments against the tribute had been brought forward on various sides, but had the satisfaction of seeing the Turkish proposal rejected. There was further talking about the preamble, and the sitting was closed at five o'clock.

At nine o'clock once more Report Commission, which lasted until twelve o'clock. I once more settled a threatening difference of opinion between Russians and English as to the frontiers in Asia. At one o'clock I went to the Chancellor, who was in the drawing-room with his family, and ate ham and drank milk. I mentioned the wish of Blowitz to be able to publish the treaty before any others in the *Times*, but the Chancellor considered that impossible. He said he had no doubt that other Governments would publish the treaty, but he did not feel himself authorised to publish it before ratification, and least of all would it occur to him to give the treaty to any journalist.

Audience to-day with the Crown Prince. We talked about the Congress, and then the Crown Prince showed me the new letter of the Pope, who professed himself prepared to negotiate.

Then to Schuwalow. Report Commission at 1.30. The sitting was only remarkable for the declaration on the

Dardanelles question made by the Russian plenipotentiaries. As there was not entire unanimity in the Report Commission as to the Asiatic frontier, some interruption of the sitting was necessary. Lord Salisbury and Count Schuwalow, with Mehemet Ali, soon brought forward a proposed agreement, which was accepted. The president then closed the sitting, and invited our attendance the next day for signing the treaty. At seven o'clock I dined with Princess Lise and Nini at St. Vallier's, where, besides the Minister, Desprez, and some *attachés*, only M. de Coutouly, of the *Temps*, was invited. I was obliged to leave at nine o'clock, in order to go through the treaty with Jasmund before printing, and to give the *imprimatur*. We collated it until midnight, when I went to Lord Odo. There were only a few ladies there. Count Balbi sang "Ich grolle nicht" with an excellent voice. Home at one o'clock.

July 13.

The Congress finished to-day.

At two o'clock I drove to the palace of the Imperial Chancellor, where little by little the members of the Congress and a number of *attachés* and secretaries, required for the signature, assembled in uniform. There was a general exchange of signed photographs until the concluding sitting began. Beaconsfield asked me if I had any messages for London, and I begged him to express to the Queen my renewed thanks for her gracious recollection of me.

The sitting began with an address from Prince Bismarck, which voiced the general satisfaction at the result so happily obtained, and was broken up when Andrássy had expressed the thanks of the meeting to the president. The signing then took place. The seals had already been impressed. When that was finished we sat down again at the table, and Prince Bismarck made the concluding speech.

There was a great state dinner at the Palace. The Crown Prince made a speech in French. I sat between Mehemet Ali and General Simmons. Reception afterwards. At 9.30 to the Empress with the Grand Duchess of Baden and the Crown Prince. When the latter left the Empress spoke much of the German Press and its unfriendly attitude towards France.

Afterwards to Schleinitz, where I found a large *soirée*. Waddington informed me, with some solemnity, that he had to communicate to me that the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour was conferred on me and also on Bülow.

On the morning of the 15th I wasted two hours with Werner, who drew my portrait for the picture of the Congress. Then I spoke with Gelzer.

15th to 19th visits and commissions. On the 17th I was with the Emperor, whom I found very well. There is nothing noticeable, if he does not show his right hand, which is still swollen. He talked with much interest about the Congress, asked after the routine of business, the protocols, and the secretaries. But after ten minutes he became tired.

On the 18th I was again in the evening at the palace of the Crown Prince, of whom I took my leave. We talked of St. Vallier, whom he found "horrid." I then said farewell to the Empress and the Grand Duchess. This evening I start for Gotha.

BERLIN, *July* 16, 1878.

The following is taken from Gelzer's information about his stay in Rome:

Gelzer, who was instructed by the Emperor to watch Roman affairs from time to time, went there after the accession of Leo XIII. He visited Gustav, and was induced by him to look up Franchi, with whom he had several conversations. Franchi, as appears from the conversations, is in favour of an agreement with the Prussian Government. He has a vague idea of negotiating on the basis of the Convention of 1821. He wishes that the agreement would soon take place, and has several times repeated, "*Faites vite.*" Gelzer thinks that the Cardinal is ambitious and wishes to secure this success. The Jesuits, the French Ultramontanes, and the Austrian bishops are working against it; Lichnowski is for the cause. Gelzer has also spoken to the Pope, whom he describes as clever, but imagines not to possess the energy requisite to repress continuously the counter-influences. The original intention was to entrust the negotiations to Monsignore Prosperi. But Franchi considers him incompetent. Aloysi was therefore thought of, and this idea is now confirmed. Bilio is a pronounced antagonist. Czacky is Franchi's secretary, who imagines he has the wily Pole in his hand. Ledochowski has not got the million of which the papers talked. The circular to the Rhenish clergy, which was regarded in the spring of this year as an unfavourable sign, did not emanate from the Pope or Franchi, but from the congregations, without the former knowing anything about it. The Pope disapproved of it. But it was done.

PARIS, *August* 24, 1878.

The Abbé Michaud came this afternoon. He is here on a holiday from Berne for a few days. He has grown a beard, which makes him absolutely unrecognisable. He began at once on the topic of the negotiations at Kissingen,* and complained that the Chancellor wanted to give up the struggle with Rome. These proceedings were viewed with great concern in Switzerland. In whatever way peace is concluded, and however little the Chancellor gives way, the Curia will always assert that it won, and the public will believe it. The prestige of Prince Bismarck will suffer from that and the power of the Curia will be increased. He hopes that the National Liberals will come to an agreement with the Prince, in order that the latter may not be driven to lean on the Centre.

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* Between the Papal nuncio at Munich and the Imperial Chancellor about the termination of the *Kulturkampf.*

I drove afterwards to Léon Say,* who told me about the Monetary Conference, which had come to nothing. Afterwards to Camphausen at the Hôtel du Louvre. He mentioned his fall, which, with perfect justice, he ascribes to the folly of the National Liberals, who imagined that Stauffenberg was bound to become Finance Minister.

BERLIN, *September* 15, 1878.

Since my arrival I have been trying to sound the feeling in the Reichstag. I see much bitterness in consequence of the election struggle, and of the attitude of the Government to the National Liberals. But I also notice in talks with Forckenbeck, Bennigsen, and others that the danger of a conflict between the National Liberals and the Imperial Chancellor is fully recognised. Bennigsen did not seem indisposed to come to an agreement, and Forckenbeck awaits Bismarck's arrival to learn from him what his views are. That, however, does not point to any definite purpose of bringing things to a climax. Bleichröder, on the contrary, thinks that the rupture is inevitable; that there is nothing to be done with Bennigsen, for the latter is entirely in Lasker's hands, and has no independent judgment, least of all any will which is different from Lasker's. But Lasker has completely fallen out with Bismarck, and they hate each other. It is therefore to be anticipated that the reconciliation will not be effected, the law † not passed, and that a fresh dissolution will result. The elections would then turn out adversely to the Chancellor, and he will resign. This is what the National Liberals wished. I then went to dinner, where I found Gneist. He does not share the pessimistic views of Bleichröder. He says the National Liberals could gain nothing by Bismarck's retirement. It is not to be assumed that they were working for that. The feeling in the Group against the law was not serious. The Government must make some concessions. It was already something that the confiscation of the newspapers by the police was conceded. They would not insist on a fixed period for the duration of the law. The talk had been of two, three, and five years. Two years seemed more suitable than three or five. Three coincided with the new election; five would not be carried. Two years offered the advantage that the Reichstag, which had settled the law, would have to settle its prolongation. And at bottom it was a question of choosing the most favourable moment for the prolongation.

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* The Finance Minister.

† Against the Social Democrats.

As regards the Court of Appeal, a commission of the Bundesrat would certainly be accepted, if it was strengthened by a few jurists. They wished to retain the decision of the judge only in the case of the withdrawal of the concession, which encroached deeply on private rights. Gneist thinks the law will be accepted unanimously by the National Liberals, with the exception of Lasker and some two others.

BERLIN, *September* 16, 1878.

This morning, when I went into the Reichstag and listened to Reichensperger's speech,* Hermann came and told me that the Chancellor would arrive to-day. I immediately drove home, packed up my memorandum,† in which I had included the communication that Marquardsen had made me at Kroll's, and took it to the Chancellor's palace. It was important that he read it first. Then back to the Reichstag, where Stolberg, Eulenburg, Bebel, and finally Bamberger spoke.

Dined afterwards alone. At eight o'clock to the Group; then to a *Bierkneipe* with the members and at 10.30 to Bismarck's. There were a great many people there, so that he could not speak with me about my memorandum. I saw, however, that he was especially gracious and friendly towards me, and I hope, therefore, that my good advice has made some impression on him.

To PRINCE BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *September* 16, 1878.

I take the liberty in the following report to inform your Highness of the impressions I have received in my conversations with the deputies. The report may have some value as a supplement to other reports.

It cannot be denied, and is, indeed, obvious, that the position towards the Government, and the newspapers that are regarded as Government organs, in which some portion of the National Liberal party found itself during the elections still exercises some effect.

But I am of opinion that it would be a mistake to draw from this the conclusion that the National Liberal party is determined to take up a position antagonistic to the Government in general and your Highness in particular. The sensible elements of this party see a danger to the Empire in a conflict between the German *bourgeoisie* and the Imperial Government, more especially in reference to South Germany. They will not, therefore, provoke the conflict. That, on the contrary, they feel the need of some reconciliation, I conclude from the statement of Forckenbeck that he had not hitherto been able to learn from the representatives of the Government which points of the present Bill they absolutely insist upon, and that he would only be able to learn that from your Highness. I conclude, further, from the way in which a remark of mine in a conversation with Bennigsen was received, that your Highness regarded him (Bennigsen) as an antagonist who had to be fought. Herr von Bennigsen then said, "*We* shall not begin the fight." I learn further from National Liberal circles that the conviction of the necessity of avoiding a lasting struggle has been forced even upon Herr Lasker, who, as was told me by an eye-witness of the said conversation of Lasker with leaders of the party, put the question whether it would not be advisable for him to keep himself for the moment in the background, since he knew that his appearance easily aroused your Highness. I doubt if this good intention was persevered in. So much, however, is clearly shown — that there is no member of the National Liberal party who is not filled with the conviction that a definite breach between the Government and the National Liberal party would prove disastrous to Germany. All the rumours which are hawked about that the National Liberal party intends to cause the rupture, are fabrications and inventions of the enemies of the Empire, in order to sow discord, or else they emanate from persons who are imperfectly acquainted with the matter.

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* The first reading of the Bill for the control of the Social Democracy took place on September 16 and 17.

† The following letter to the Chancellor.

There is a danger in discussing the Socialist Bill, which I will not leave unmentioned. I know members who are afraid of the Bill passing, bcause unpleasant personal consequences for the individual may thus be produced. This class will place itself at a dogmatic standpoint, and attempt to wreck the Bill by unacceptable amendments. But I think that, in regard to the timid German *bourgeoisie, my* law against the Socialists is better than none. For every law will bring the assenting *bourgeoisie* into opposition to the Social Democrats, and widens the rift between them. But if these people are in danger they after a time assent to everything.

Journal.

September 7.

I went to the sitting early, in order to speak with Bennigsen. I told him what I had done, and the impression which my letter seemed to have made on the Chancellor. Bismarck came into the House at noon, delivered his great speech, and then had a conversation with Bennigsen. The latter, with whom I afterwards talked, was very satisfied. He told me Bismarck had given him the most friendly assurances, and said he only depended on the National Liberals for support. He seems to have hinted to him that he regarded him as his successor. He also talked with Bennigsen about the proceedings at Kissingen. Nothing at all was settled. The preliminary demands of the Curia were unacceptable. Another letter of Cardinal Nina has come, which Bismarck must answer. All that has been attained is limited to the preliminaries of a polite correspondence.

BERLIN, *October* 2, 1878.

Peter had told me in Friedrichsroda that the Emperor of Russia had induced Prince Bariatinsky to resign the command which had been entrusted to him of the army intended to be employed against Austria. Bariatinsky was offended, and has therefore left Skiernewize and gone to Geneva. The Emperor equally wanted to prevent Gortschakow from going to the Congress, and to send Schuwalow, who had already been designated first plenipotentiary, there alone. Gortschakow would not be persuaded, and declared he had a right to go to the Congress; whereupon the Emperor gave way, but was placed in the unpleasant position of being unable to keep his word with Schuwalow. I asked Bismarck if he had any knowledge of this fact, and he confirmed the correctness of the news. We then talked about Beust, who will ostensibly go to Paris as ambassador; about the ambassador who is to come here, mentioning Wimpffen, whom Bismarck did not consider suitable for Berlin, Szechenyi, and Trautmannsdorf. The last name is a *persona grata*.

Things get on slowly in the meetings of the Commission. The one difficulty is now the duration of the law. The Liberals set great store by that. I don't know whether the Chancellor will agree.

October 12.

In the meantime at Grabowo and Rauden. Back here on the 9th. The explanations of the Chancellor and Bennigsen have cleared up the situation, and we breathe again. But the negotiations produce new difficulties. Yesterday, after the dinner at the Ministry of the Interior, I went at 10.30 to Bismarck. He came very late into the drawing-room, and looked much irritated — as, indeed, he was. The discussion in yesterday's sitting,* which he had not attended, and Delbrück's speech in favour of an amendment, which Bismarck declared was contrary to the agreement concluded between him and the National Liberals, seems to make him quite savage. He spoke of not accepting the Bill at all, and explained the consequences which would ensue. He thought, if the Bill was thrown out through the fault of the National Liberals, the Government would wait for any demonstrations, uproar, &c., and then resign. In such an event the National Liberals would certainly not be re-elected. I did not say a word to this outburst, since I saw that he only wanted to vent his irritation. Lucius remonstrated. I then asked whom Austria would send to Paris. Bismarck said Beust, and told me that Andrássy had written him a letter and begged him not to be offended, but this course was inevitable. Bismarck thought Beust would not tender his resignation merely for the reason that he knew things about the Court which were not to be spread. Beust was thought capable of revenging himself by indiscretions. Bismarck believes that Beust will soon contrive to disturb the good relations between Austria and France, just as he had known how to separate two countries, England and Austria, which were bound together by common interests.

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* On the second reading of the law against the Social Democracy.

I went a piece of the way with Lucius. We proposed to inform Bennigsen of the impression which yesterday's sitting made on the Chancellor.

October 13.

This afternoon to Mommsen at Charlottenburg. He discussed the reasons why it was not advisable to prosecute the work of the *Inscriptiones Latinae* in common with the French. If the French wished to give our savants their materials, well and good, and the fact would be mentioned on the publication of the work, and the work would be described as a joint production. But if they did not give their materials, he and the academy here would proceed alone. In conclusion he begged me to see that no difficulties were raised by the Embassy as to the borrowing of books from the Bibliothèque Nationale. I promised to do so, so far as it was permissible.

In the evening with Bismarck, who informed me that he had sent a long letter to Cardinal Nina and had pointed out that there ought to be no longer any waiting for mutual concessions, but negotiations opened at once. The difficulties would then lessen of themselves.

BERLIN, *November* 16, 1878.

In consequence of an invitation which I received, I went yesterday at two o'clock to the Lehrter station, to go to Springe for some shooting with the Crown Prince. I found Pless, Heintze, Minister Eulenburg, Podbielski, and some other gentlemen there. I was invited to ride in the Royal carriage as far as Gardelegen. There I found, besides the Crown Prince, the Princes Karl, Friedrich Karl, and Prince August, with others. The Crown Prince took me into his room, and we discussed various points — France's cordiality towards England, the Exhibition, &c. The Crown Prince complained that the Emperor interfered in affairs, and said that it could not go on so. He wished the Emperor would take over the government completely. (But different views exist on this point, and there is much scheming for and against his resumption of the power.)

At Gardelegen I took a seat in Stolberg's carriage, who took my place with the Crown Prince. We reached Hanover, where Prince Albrecht joined us. Generals and the Oberpräsident stood in full dress in the wind by the carriage. There were still three-quarters of an hour from Hanover before the train reached Springe. There we waded through mud to the carriages, which took us in ten minutes to the *Jagdschloss*. We — that is to say, the suite — were lodged in the *Kavalierhaus*, the princes in the Schloss. A large dinner at seven o'clock, afterwards pool, when the Crown Prince won. An early start at eight o'clock for the shoot. I went with the Crown Prince on foot to the rendezvous in the park. This contains six thousand acres, and is surrounded by a wall. We climbed a rather steep hill through a beautiful beech forest. The weather was, unfortunately, bad — much wind and some rain. The guns were posted on the top. I got a place which seemed good, but I had no luck or chance to shoot. Then the party met again in a tent, where we breakfasted. Here I greeted Bennigsen, who appeared in long grey gaiters. We talked politics, and he earnestly begged me to come to the Reichstag, since I was the only person who could mediate between the National Liberals and the Chancellor. Strange to say, the Chancellor had expressed the same wish to me. After breakfast a second drive. I stood between Eulenburg and Prince Albrecht, the Crown Prince next Prince Albrecht. There was a good deal of game. But at first I shot badly, since I always attended more to the Crown Prince than the wild boars. Afterwards I lost my anxiety, and brought down five or six head, and fired at a good many animals that ran past. We returned to the Schloss after the shoot. Dinner at 3.30. A great stretch before the Schloss was illuminated by torches, and there was horn-blowing, &c. Then return to Berlin.

PARIS, *January* 11, 1879.

The winter festivities begin again. Dinner to-day with the Queen Isabella. I drove from my house at seven o'clock, and got there after the quarter-past, owing to the snow. I found the Princess Mathilde, a Prince and Princess of Bauffremont, as well as their son, who had married a niece of the Queen's, a young, unattractive lady with beautiful diamonds, the Marquis and Marquise de Lasmarismas, and others. The dinner was very long. So many candlesticks and flower-vases were placed on the table that one was crushed by them. Then there was a heat enough to give one apoplexy. I sat between the Queen and the Duchess of Malakow, like a sardine between slices of bread and butter. The conversation flagged. During the dinner the Marquise de Lasmarismas was taken out half fainting. After dinner the reception lasted a long time. We were not dismissed until I, contrary to etiquette, broke up the company by the help of old Guëll y Rente. The Queen was grateful to me for doing so. Afterwards to Molins, where there was a reception and dance. Waddington, whom I met there, expressed himself satisfied with the negotiations with the Left. The Ministry will read * out a manifesto (programme) simultaneously in the Senate and in the Second Chamber. A discussion will follow.

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* The Republican sections of the Chamber and the Senate had called upon the Dufaure Ministry to issue a programme.

Gambetta is for the Ministry. The amnesty question would present difficulties if the Government had not discovered the expedient of preparing a Bill for the grant of an amnesty to those condemned *in contumaciam* who could not be pardoned. In this way 2000 fugitives are enabled to return. The leaders remain excluded. Even the Left does not want them back. The question of the schools will be decided according to the feeling of the Left, and against the clerics. Waddington looks confidently into the future.

PARIS, *January* 15, 1879.

I visited Waddington to-day. He begins to be uneasy, and said to me: "*Je dois vous avertir qu'il pourra se passer des incidents fort graves la semaine prochaine.*" He finds that a Jacob in feeling is very prominent in the Second Chamber. The fellows have lost their heads, and want to have posts, since the Senate has a Republican majority.* Radical, provincial, steeped in vinegar [*eingesäuert*], irritated at a *procureur*, furious that Dufaure has not restored him, led about and fooled by the clever leaders Clémenceau and Co., Gambetta is in a difficult position, and in danger of being passed by. It is not a question of principles, but of posts. The programme will be read to-morrow; the debate comes off on Monday. How the voting turns out depends on unforeseen occurrences. If the Ministry has the majority against it, it goes. But if Dufaure goes out, the Marshal declares that he will not stop. Then Grévy. If the Ministry is constructed too much from the Left, Waddington goes also. We must be prepared for anything. We can see whither the Jacobins are leading the Republic. In any case, we must keep a sharp eye on affairs. For a Radical Republic can play the maddest tricks. *Kulturkampf*, war with us, and so on. Boxel's † resignation was due to his inadequacy. If he had remained, "*on l'aurait exécuté dans huit jours.*"

I fear that the Republic will be led into excesses by the Jesuits.

January 18.

The day before yesterday at Versailles. The reading of the programme in the Chamber of Deputies fell flat. No applause. The public is astonished, and believes that the Ministry will fall. Blowitz indignant. We drove back together. A commercial traveller on the way declaimed against Dufaure and Freycinet. Evening with the Marshal.

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* By the decisive victory of the Republicans at the elections for the part renewal of the Senate which had taken place on January 5.

† General Boxel, the War Minister, asked to be relieved of his post on January 13. He was replaced by General Gresley.

BERLIN, *January* 26, 1879.

Arrived here yesterday, and took possession of my premises in the Upper House.

To-day we had to be in uniform by 10.30. We met in the chapel of the Schloss, where all the newly-decorated knights, who had already received the order from the Emperor in a room, were collected. Besides the Knights of the Order of the Black Eagle, there were the Diplomatic Body, generals, and functionaries of every class.

The Emperor came at twelve o'clock with the Empress, the Crown Prince with Prince Albrecht, Prince Albert with the little Princes of Meiningen. Prince Alexander also appeared. Many well-known ladies, masters of the ceremonies, and chamberlains. Divine service then began. Fine singing by the cathedral choir. Kögel gave an eloquent sermon. The service was over at one o'clock. Then there was a move into the rooms, where a reception was held, and then dinner at 1.30. All the recipients of decorations, from the highest personages to the office attendants, non-commissioned officers and schoolmasters, dined together there. The Emperor proposed the health of the recipients. I sat between Generals Reichbach and Podbielski. Another reception after dinner, and by four o'clock we were home.

January 27.

To the Schloss to-day at twelve o'clock. The ceremony took place in the so-called Rittersaal. When I arrived Stillfried showed me the places and explained the ceremony to me. The knights and the other invited guests gradually arrived. Boyen and I waited in the ante-room until the Emperor and the princes came. All the knights wore their scarlet mantles. We were then introduced by the sponsors, Generals Blumenthal and Reichbach. The Emperor stood under a canopy in front of the throne. Borgen went first to take the oath to observe the statutes, then I. We then received our scarlet mantles. The ceremony of the chain then followed. Boyen first, then I, went up to the throne, knelt before the Emperor, who put the chain round our necks and embraced us. We kissed his hand. The Emperor then said to me in a whisper: "Well earned." Then followed the clasping of hands by the circle of knights. Afterwards a sitting of the chapter, when the knights in their mantles sat by themselves round a large table. The chancellor of the Order read out the death-roll of the knights during the last year. The Emperor then asked whether any knight had any proposition to make for the benefit of the Order, and since no one wished to speak, he broke up the sitting, and we drove home. Minister Uhden, and before that Wilhelm Radziwill, had last worn my chain.

PARIS, *February* 5, 1879.*

Blowitz visited me to-day to talk with me about the change of Government. He is dissatisfied that Dufaure was not left in office, and asserts he would have remained if Grévy had particularly requested him. But the latter was afraid that Dufaure would overshadow him. Blowitz is not pleased that Waddington has become Prime Minister, and says rightly that Waddington will be compelled to retire if a Ministerial crisis arises, while he otherwise would have been able to outlast many Ministries.

Blowitz's opinion of Gambetta was interesting to me. He says of him he is inordinately vain and has "*de l'affection pour personne.*" He is selfish and treacherous, "*et sans éducation aucune.*" Blowitz does justice to his ability, and also his eloquence. He had not made money, and was not rich, as people said, but had only an income of some 50,000 francs [£2000]. That would not admit of his taking a residence suitable to the President of the Chamber, and he would therefore have to go into the Palais Bourbon. He said Gambetta wished as President to continue to be leader of the Left. That would not do.

February 8.

The *Corps Diplomatique* was invited to appear to-day at the palace of the President of the Republic. I drove there with the members of the Embassy. The Diplomatic Body was assembled as on New Year's Day. Each chief with his staff behind him. When all were there Monsieur Grévy appeared, accompanied by Waddington and Mollard and an aide-de-camp. He began with the Nuncio. Each chief presented his staff. There was no conversation during the ceremony. A Russian diplomatist behind me thought that the whole proceeding savoured of a funeral. When all the members had been presented M. Grévy retired a few steps back, and made a speech, in which he expressed his pleasure at seeing us, emphasised the friendly relations of France with the other Powers, and in conclusion thanked us "*que nous nous étions empressés de regula riser notre situation.*" He then took his leave of us. The Nuncio made no reply. I was back home by 3.30.

PARIS, *February* 12, 1879.

The reports about Madame Grévy, which were circulated by the Bonapartists and were all inventions, decided us to pay her our first visit. It was peculiar to find in the well-known rooms of the Marshal's wife the simple wife of an advocate, surrounded by all the glitter of royalty. Madame Grévy is very unaffected, and knows how to behave. Her daughter is small and plain, and rather too pushing.

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* MacMahon had retired on January 30, and Jules Grévy, President of the Chambers, had been elected in his place. Gambetta was elected President of the Chambers on January 31. The Dufaure Ministry resigned immediately after Grévy's election. Grévy entrusted Waddington with the construction of a new Ministry.

March 20.

Ministerial crisis over.* Waddington again secure. Gambetta wishes to retain him, Grévy also. So after the uproar of the last weeks some tranquillity will follow. I dined to-day at Beust's with Martel, Gambetta, Léon Say, Waddington, Jules Ferry, and Cialdini. After dinner I sat with Waddington, Gambetta, and Ferry.† The talk was first of the new laws against the Jesuits. Gambetta considered the situation serious, and did not underestimate the danger. He would consider stronger measures required — as, for example, the closing of all establishments of non-authorised Orders. He spoke much of his experiences of clerical influence and Jesuit education. He quoted remarks of young people who had been in Jesuit schools and condemned the whole philosophy of the eighteenth century, quite apart from Voltaire. He says if that continues the nation will be split into two camps, and civil war will ensue. I said it was too late now, when Jesuit education had been given for thirty years. Gambetta assented. He then touched on the home situation generally, and declared it was necessary to reintroduce the *scrutin de liste*. The *scrutin d'arrondissement* produced too bad and mediocre Chambers, whose members only cared for local interests. To form a Government party out of them was to square the circle. Waddington, who was formerly a supporter of election by *arrondissement*, declared that he now began to consider the *scrutin de liste* as essential. It was surprising that Gambetta declared the *scrutin de liste* was necessary in order that Moderates should be elected. He spoke generally in a Conservative spirit. As an example of the elections he instanced Belleville, and thought if he had not been elected there the electors would have got a quite red deputy. He said of the Bonapartists that they had no more means, and were in a very sorry plight.

There was then much more talk about the pernicious provincial Press, and about the influence which Soubeyran exercised on the Parisian Press. Thus he had induced the *Marseillaise* by a bribe of 30,000 francs not to write against him.

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* De Marcère, Minister of the Interior, had retired on March 3 on account of a dispute with the Chamber as to the Prefecture of the Police in Paris. The Chamber discussed on March 13 the proposal to impeach the Ministers of May 16, 1877. The Ministry demanded the rejection of the proposal, and asked for a vote of confidence. The proposal was thrown out, and an order of the day severely blaming the behaviour of the Ministry of May 16, 1877, was adopted.

† Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Worship in the new Ministry. He proposed two Bills to the Chamber on March 15, one of which deprived Catholic universities of the right to confer degrees, and contained the proviso that no member of a non-authorised religious congregation should give instruction or conduct a school.

PARIS, *April* 13, 1879.

Turgenjew has returned from Russia, after being the object of universal ovations there. I met him yesterday, still fresh from the impressions received. He expressed his astonishment at having been so *fêted*, although he had never troubled himself with politics, and accounted for the fact by the need of the Russian people to find some point of union where its liberal ideas might be expressed. He said much about the condition of things in Russia. The Government did not understand the movement. According to his view, it did wrong in treating the Nihilist conspirators and the Liberal population in the same way. He granted that secret societies with Radical proclivities existed. He himself had spoken with such Radicals; they had no programme, but only expressed the thought that it was necessary to set fire to the four corners of an old tumbling house and then build a new one. The educated classes, the scholars, men of letters, officials, &c., were all steeped in the conviction that Russia must receive a constitutional Government, not exactly on the modern model, but a representation from the Zemstwos, in order to control the finances and organise the administration. The movement was universal. "*Le peuple russe est frémissant.*" It would be easy for the Emperor to win over the people by concessions, and to evoke immense enthusiasm for himself. The moment was now favourable. But the Emperor, who was always warned that Louis XVI. had been brought to the guillotine by concessions, would not hear of it. He also had become indifferent, saw nothing in it but a little *coterie*, and was induced to proceed against the Liberal and Radical movement in the same way. That policy embittered the Moderates, and quite sane, thinking young persons had said to him (Turgenjew) it was terrible to them not to be able to blame in their hearts the murders which they condemn. Turgenjew mentioned various things as facts which roused general bitterness. Thus some nine hundred young persons, who were only suspected, had been confined in cells; of these nine hundred, sixty had become insane after years of imprisonment, and many had come out of prison consumptive. Some ten thousand young persons were interned, or banished to distant towns. In this way their career was ruined, and they were incapacitated from earning their living. And these were not merely Nihilist conspirators, but the greater part were Liberals, who had given expression to their enthusiasm for a constitutional Government.

In Russia, said Turgenjew, everything was now concentrated on home policy. Foreign policy interested no one. The Slavophil party had lost ground owing to this. Aksakow had been with him, and had uttered jeremiads about it. The war, which had cost much money and blood, and had brought no advantage to Russia, was emphatically condemned, and at the moment no one would hear of a war.

He spoke most contemptuously of the Ministers. Markow was an idiot, Greigh absolutely incapable. The Emperor had said to the latter, after a report: "Hitherto I have believed that I am the man in Russia who understands least about financial matters. But I see I am wrong, and that you are the man." Nevertheless the Emperor retains him. If it is asserted that there are no men in Russia who are competent to guide affairs, that is quite false. He named various capable officials and advocates in the provinces. If this opportunity of rescuing Russia is let slip, a general downfall will begin. Turgenjew does not believe in revolution. The Government was strong enough to maintain order by force. When he asked a former Minister, a Conservative, in what way the conditions could be improved, he merely answered: "*Vis medicatrix naturæ*. The Russians now place their hopes on the death of the Emperor and on his successor. Turgenjew denied that the life of the Emperor was threatened by the Nihilist murderers. They had a definite theory on which they acted in their murders. Their only object was to punish officials who had committed flagrant breaches of the law and acts of injustice, and by these means to intimidate others. They would not touch the Emperor.

Turgenjew is engaged in writing a political pamphlet, in which he will express the ideas with which his stay in Russia has filled him.

It is easy to understand that his presence began to be annoying to the Government. The officer of the gendarmerie at the frontier said to him, as he passed: "We have been expecting you these last five days."

If I were the Emperor Alexander, I would entrust Turgenjew with the construction of a Ministry.

PARIS, *May* 4, 1879.

I paid my farewell visit to Monsieur Grévy before my impending journey to Berlin. He received me in his blue morning suit. He had been in the garden, and had looked after his grounds. We talked of the home affairs of France, and he contested the statement that there was ground for uneasiness. The difficulties were not so great as they were made out to be, and the existing problems would be solved. If the Chamber no longer respected the election laws, it would be a case of minors, foreigners, and women being elected. The Extreme Left seemed for Blanqui, "*mais il n'y a pas trois qui désirent le retour de Blanqui et son entrée à la Chambre.*" He would only hamper them. He and other demagogues would go further than the present Extreme Left, and their present leaders would lose their popularity.

He then touched on the question of the return of the Chambers to Paris. It was important to him that the Imperial Chancellor should be accurately informed of the reasons which induce him — Grévy — to advocate their return. He said the matter was of less importance to the Chambers. He granted that the Chambers could deliberate more quickly and with less interruption at Versailles. But it was primarily a question of the Government. The Constitution prescribed that the seat of the Government and of the Chambers should be at Versailles. If he inhabited the Elysée, he did so on the basis of the law which assigned the Elysée to the President. It was an infraction of the Constitution if the President stayed any length of time in Paris. If then the proposal for a return to Paris was rejected, he would have to go back to Versailles. Paris would in that case be left to itself. The Conseil Municipal had long been trying to play the part of a Parliament, and govern Paris alone. If the Government and the Chambers were in Paris they would form a counterpoise to these demagogic ambitions. But if they remain at Versailles there was the risk that the demagogic trouble might increase, and a second Commune and siege of Paris might ensue.

The danger that the Chambers, if in Paris, might be intimidated did not appear great to Grévy. The Government, he said, was strong, and the populace was not armed as in the time of the Commune. If Monsieur Thiers had remained in Paris, and had possessed the requisite troops to stay there, the Commune revolution would not have broken out. The Government, the Chambers, and the country wished for peace and order; they would not, therefore, allow themselves to be torn from the State and ruled by the demagogues. "*Dites-le,*" he then said, "*à ces messieurs. Ils n'ont pas à s'nquiéter.*"

He said of the Chamber that it could, of course, overthrow a Ministry on a given occasion, "*mais qu'est-ce quelle aura gagné par là?*"

BERLIN, *May* 15, 1879.

I visited the Emperor yesterday. He talked of the conditions in France, mentioned a report of my conversation with Grévy, and expressed himself favourably on it. I mentioned to him the likeness to Simson which had struck me. The Emperor then proceeded to speak of the latter, and related how peculiar it was that that man had been summoned at various times to communicate to him and King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. important resolutions of the Frankfurt, Erfurt, and North German Reichstags. "Always in his classic style," added the Emperor. He then went on to speak of Russia. He regretted that energy had been begun to be shown so late. He told me that he had seen Trepow at Wiesbaden, who held the opinion that it was not too late, and that the present measures would prove successful.

I ventured to suggest the necessity of constitutional forms for Russia (Semstwo and delegations). The Emperor seemed to assent, but he did not consider it possible now, since order must first be established. To the theatre in the evening (*Maria und Magdalena*, by Lindau). To-day with Bleichröder. He says the Imperial Chancellor is dissatisfied with the Ministers, who thwart his plans. He wishes to make the railroads State property, and finds opposition. Stolberg and Friedenthal arouse his anger — the former because he does nothing, the latter because he intrigues against him. The Chancellor is much irritated that the Emperor of Russia abuses him, and he complains of the ingratitude of the Emperor Alexander.

BERLIN, *May* 22, 1879.

I am beginning to find my way about. The Parliamentary situation has completely altered since the previous autumn. The National Liberals, who last year maintained only semi-friendly relations with Bismarck, have now quite broken with him. He now depends on the Centre and the two Rights, and in this way has a considerable majority for his economic * plans. The retirement of Forckenberg is connected with this. It is impossible for the President of a Chamber to remain in office if he has the Government and the majority against him. Personally his opponents do him all justice. As a matter of fact, there must be conflicts, and Forckenberg did right in retiring. The situation was more clearly expressed in the discussions in the sections. The Right — *i.e.*, the German Conservatives — wished to make a compact with the Centre that Seydewitz should be first, and Franckenstein, conditionally on Stauffenberg's withdrawal, second President. The old objection to the Centre prevented us in the Imperial party from accepting the proposal, but we induced the heads of the section to make another attempt with the National Liberals. Great indignation on the point is felt by Varnbüler, Stumm, and the Chancellor, who considered it necessary first to carry out the economic programme with the Centre, and, therefore, wished for the compact with it. Finally, however, it came to the election of Seydewitz, who seems also to be a quite good President.

Bismarck made yesterday an interesting speech in the Reichstag on the corn duties.

At five o'clock I was invited to dinner at Sagan's. The Emperor was present. The dinner was suffocating from the heat in the dining-room, the cooking mediocre, and the wines, with the exception of the champagne, bad. I had dull neighbours. In the evening with Viktor, and then with Countess Dönhoff. Finally I went again to Bismarck. He came very late, since, as he told us, he had been much occupied with his stenographic reports. The stenographers had mixed up the numbers of the sheets, so that Bismarck had much trouble in putting them right. Since he was already in a bad humour, he fell foul of me and Frankenberg, and blamed us for intending to negotiate with the National Liberals, while the point now was to keep the majority together. The National Liberals had behaved so badly towards the Independent Conservatives that nothing more could be done with them. I said that I had started with the assumption that the National Liberals wished to treat with us, and I had been justified in this assumption by well-disposed South German members of the National Liberal section. Bismarck did not admit that, but repeated that the National Liberals must now be cut adrift, and the tariff proposal must be carried by the help of the Centre. Afterwards he recovered his spirits, and the conversation went on until one o'clock.

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* The new protective tariff scheme.

BERLIN, *May* 25, 1879.

I dined yesterday at Kusserow's, where Bucher also was. We afterwards went on foot to the *soirée* at the Chancellor's. On the way I talked with Bucher about the latter. He was, contrary to his habit, communicative, and said that the Chancellor attacked every affair with great zeal, and carried it through, if he was once convinced that it must be carried through. It was clear to me from isolated remarks that Bucher — as, indeed, I already knew — exercised influence on the Chancellor. And it appears that it is Bucher's influence which has turned him towards the new economic policy. If Bamberger accuses the Chancellor of Socialistic proclivities, that is doubtless a hit at Bucher. Bamberger wishes for the unrestricted dominion of capital; Bucher, as Socialist, does not wish the power of the State to be restricted by Jews. There lies the opposition.

In the evening at the *soirée* things were not very cheerful. I hear that Bismarck does not trust the Centre, although he does everything to win it over. Since he will not make any concessions in the *Kulturkampf*, he must always be prepared to find that at the decisive moment they leave him in the lurch.

BERLIN, *July* 11, 1879.

The proceedings in the Reichstag continue, and, as they begin at ten o'clock in the morning and stop at five, they are very tiring, especially during the last days, when interesting and important speeches were made.* The speech of Völk yesterday was again very clear and sensible. The National Liberals are furious at it, and Völk and the other Bavarians will certainly leave the party and join one of the sections on the Right. In the afternoon I drove with Viktor to Potsdam, where we were invited to tea with the Crown Prince. The latter spoke about the proposal of Franckenstein, and seemed to have misgivings about it. We tried to remove them. The Crown Princess then came up. She seemed much depressed, but gradually brightened. We drank tea and had supper, and we were dismissed at eight o'clock.

In the evening to the Chancellor. He was very communicative. The conversation turned upon dates. It was mentioned that the Congress in the previous year had begun on June 13, and ended on July 13. The Princess thought that was fortunate, in order to remove the superstition with regard to the number thirteen. It was thought probable that the Reichstag would be closed on July 13. Bismarck related that he had despatched the telegram which had forced the French into war on July 13, 1870. If this had not succeeded we should have had to put up with the humiliation on our side, and stagnation would have been the result [*versumpft*]. He mentioned that Werthern had then sent the draft of a letter to King William, which the latter was to have signed, and in that were contained excuses and a promise that he would never do it again. The King had sent him the letter for approval, and he had immediately suspended Werthern from his duties. "It was the greatest cowardice of which a diplomatist could make himself guilty." The Chancellor then said, "It would amuse me, however, if Prince Napoleon took up the part. As a Frenchman I don't like him; as a neighbour he would do well enough." Then the talk turned on Gortschakow. Formerly a saloon had always been put at his disposal in Germany, and the journey had always cost the Foreign Office 1100 marks. But now that he was behaving badly, the Chancellor acted as if he knew nothing of his journey. And the stingy man had to pay for his own journey. Spitzemberg, who was also present, remarked that Russians were a great trouble to the Würtemberg State Railway, with their free passes and free trains.

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* On the third reading of the Tariff Duties Bill from July 10 to 12

When we broke up I told the Chancellor again of the Crown Prince's misgivings as to the Franckenstein proposal, and advised him, since the Crown Prince was afraid of particularism in the connection, to enlighten him personally on the point. But Bismarck said: "He ought to be glad to keep his particularism so long as he lives; it gives a sufficient show of idleness in the world." This gloomy notion kept whirling in my head as I started home with Viktor.

PARIS, *July* 28, 1879.

Visited Grévy to-day. He received me with his usual pleasant cordiality. He must have just finished breakfast, for he cleaned his back teeth with his first-finger, which made him put half his hand into his mouth. He then stuck his first-finger into his nostrils, and rubbed various parts of his face with his fingers. He spoke very sensibly on the state of France — thought that a democratic Republic was the only possible *régime* in France, and that a dictatorship could only be temporary. "*Et n'est pas dictateur qui veut,*" he added; a peculiarly constituted individuality is required for that.

Afterwards to Lyons, Cialdini, and Safrit Pascha. The latter made even more faces than usual, since he is much grieved at having to leave Paris.

PARIS, *August* 4, 1879.

The Minister of Public Instruction sent me an invitation to the grand prize-giving to-day in the Sorbonne. Since I had not yet attended any such nonsensical affair, I accepted the invitation with *empressement*, put on the necessary black dress-coat, decorated myself with the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour, and drove at twelve o'clock to the Sorbonne. The Rector received me in his professorial robes, and led me into a room, where I found various well-known personages — Giraud, Faye, and others — and we waited for the Ministers. Gambetta also came. When Jules Ferry, Waddington, and Jauréguiberry were there, we went in procession to the hall, which was already full. The students and the professors sat in the hall, the Ministers on the platform, Ferry in the middle, I on his right, and on the left the adventurous President Guzman-Blanco. Waddington sat next me. The ceremony then began with the Latin oration of a professor, some passages of which were clapped. Ferry then made a speech, with various political allusions. It was received with repeated applause. It was comic that the young fellows clapped most loudly the Republican passages.

I must mention that at the beginning of the ceremony, when all had shouted "*Vive la Rêpublique!*" one youngster cried, "*Vive le Roi!*" Gambetta smiled pityingly. But the other schoolboys with much tumult yelled, "*Vive la Rêpublique!*" threw their Royalist comrade out, and revelled in the strains of the "Marseillaise," which was played meanwhile. After the Minister's speech, for which I shook hands with him in the usual way amid the applause of the audience who sat opposite us, the distribution of prizes began. Every *prix d'honneur* was handed to the winner. The first that came received at my hands his wreath of ivy and his books. Then the Minister requested the other dignitaries to hand out the prizes in turn. My turn came again several times. Gradually the business became rather tiring. When the last prize had been given out the aristocratic company passed into the Rector's wife's drawing-room, where all sorts of refreshments were handed round. I drove home before long, for the business had taken more than two hours.

PARIS, *September* 3, 1879.

At the Besselièvre concert I met Marshal Canrobert to-day, and took a seat next him. He was very communicative, and told me about his visit to the Empress, whom he had found more calm than he expected.* He had been to the tomb of the two Napoleons, and found there on the coffin of Prince Louis Napoleon a wreath of immortelles of exceptional size. It had been sent by the English at St. Helena. They had taken them from the garden in which the first Napoleon used to walk. Then he talked about his mission to Sweden, when he announced the accession of Napoleon III. At that time the Emperor was not married, and Prince Jerome was his heir. He told me that they had said to him there: "*Eh bien, vous avez un Auguste, et après vous aurez un Tibère.*" It was curious, he said, that Augustus succeeded Cæsar, and was succeeded in turn, after Marcellus had died young, by Tiberius. He speaks highly of the intelligence of Prince Jerome Napoleon. He went to see him, and told him his doubts about the course he was taking, whereupon the Prince said: "*Je ne vais pas aussi loin qu'on ne dit.*" I asked him what was the case about the Prince's courage. He declares that the imputation of cowardice is a slander. He can testify to this, for the Prince has served under him. But he is a sybarite, and camp-life did not suit him. Hence, contrary to Canrobert's advice, he went to Constantinople, and thence back to Paris, which course earned him the reputation of cowardice. Canrobert deplores the present state of affairs in France, and envies us our monarchical constitution. Of Gambetta he said that he was from the same part of the country as he, and had seen him as a child. At a party at Waddington's Gambetta got introduced to him. The Marshal said to him: "*Je sais que vous avez beaucoup de pouvoir pour faire le bien et le mal; j'espère que vous ne l'emploeirez qu'à faire le bien.*"

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* After the death of her son on June 1.

GASTEIN, *September* 14, 1879.

Yesterday evening, when we had made our preparations for Wildensee * and hoped to be quit of politics, came a telegram from Holstein to say that the Imperial Chancellor wanted to speak to me this evening. There was no help for it. Marie and our guests went to Wildensee, and I, God save the mark, to Gastein! There Holstein received me, and told me very serious matters were in question, and the Chancellor wanted to consult me.

The situation is as follows. The Chancellor, who does not trust Russia, has come here to conclude a defensive alliance with Austria *within* the League of the three Emperors. Andrássy † thought at first that it was not meant seriously; but when he saw that it was he "jumped right up to the ceiling" for joy, because Austria cannot stand alone and must look out for alliances. But when the Emperor received the Chancellor's proposition, Alexandrovo and the meeting with the Czar of Russia ‡ had intervened, and now he will no longer consent to the project.

The Chancellor, on the other hand, means to resign if the Emperor does not assent. Holstein had proposed that I should talk him over. To this Prince Bismarck has agreed. I have talked to Holstein this evening, and told him that so far I do not approve of the project. In the first place, I do not trust Austria, and, in the second, I do not regard Russia as seriously hostile. Lastly, I believe that an alliance with Austria would result in one between Russia and France. And then there would be war, while Bismarck believes that his treaty would ensure peace. The consultation with the Chancellor to-morrow will determine what is to ensue. Now the envoy from Vienna * has come too, and so the discussion with me becomes a secondary matter. I think I shall go back to Aussee first and then come here again, and from here go to Strassburg.

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* A shooting-box of the Prince's near Aussee.

† He had visited Bismarck at Gastein on August 28.

† On September 3 and 4.

August 16.

Yesterday read the documents and talked it over with the Prince. Bismarck, after all, convinced me of the necessity of the compact with Austria. He says the latter cannot remain isolated in face of the menace of Russia. She will look about her for an ally, either Russia or France. In either case we are exposed to the danger of isolation. My telegram touching the Russian overtures in Paris came very opportunely for Bismarck. Now, however, the Kaiser is unapproachable, thanks to the disastrous meeting at Alexandrovo, and will not agree to the alliance, in which he sees an act of treachery towards his nephew. Bismarck, on his part, has so far committed himself with Andrássy and is so convinced of the Russian danger, that he will not take the responsibility, and threatens to retire if things turn out so. The Emperor, on the other hand, threatens to abdicate. He is in a great state of perplexity as to what to do. Bismarck seems to be determined if the Emperor does not give way. He appeals for help to the envoys, and begs that Münster and I will speak to the Kaiser. So I shall go on Sunday to Strassburg,† and see what can be done.

STRASSBURG, *September* 22, 1879.

After a journey by Ischl to Wels with the children, whom I left there, I reached Munich at six in the morning, and at the station there picked up Baron Erlanger, with whom I travelled further. Reached Strassburg about five. Here I got good rooms at the Hôtel de France, and then went out to reconnoitre. At the Hôtel de Paris I found Radziwill, who, however, did not talk politics. Lehndorff I found at the Prefecture, where the Emperor lives, and where I sent in my name to Perponcher. Lehndorff, who had been initiated into the matter yet had no full comprehension of it, thought all was going well. The Emperor consented to everything. What was new to me was that this time the Empress agreed with "the great man in the mountains." I had been told differently at Gastein. Later I looked up Otto Bülow. He says Stolberg has made his communication to the Emperor, and, in the name of the Chancellor, requested his assent to the negotiation and conclusion of a defensive treaty with Austria, but that there is no mention of Russia in it. The Emperor, he adds, wrote on the margin of the document which forms the basis of the treaty, "Agreed." So far, then, everything seems to be right, but the question is whether at Vienna they will agree to such a general compact. About this Prince Bismarck was in doubt at Gastein, and Bülow even was not yet satisfied about it. He told me the Emperor kept the matter very secret, and had not yet spoken to Moltke about it. It was doubtful whether he would enter on the subject with me; I should probably be obliged to start it myself. The Emperor Alexander has assured our Emperor that he has taken no steps with France. It will be difficult to make him understand that his Imperial nephew is not bound to know anything about the steps which have been taken privately by the Russian diplomats. I settled with Bülow that I should pay him a visit to-day about twelve o'clock.

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* Jacobini, to deliberate as to the ending of the *Kulturkampf.*

† From September 18 to 25 the Emperor was present at the manœuvres in Alsace-Lorraine.

September 22 (*evening*).

This morning early at Bülow the younger's, and then visited the princes, and put my name down. Towards four o'clock the Emperor came back from the manœuvres with the princes. Soon after an orderly appeared and summoned me to the Crown Prince's. The latter asked me why exactly I had come, and I told him frankly. Then we talked about the pending question. He listened to my arguments in favour of the treaty. About five I drove to the Emperor's dinner at the Prefecture. There were present the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg and Baden, Princes Wilhelm, Friedrich Karl, and Albrecht, the Crown Prince of Sweden in white uniform, a Prince of Hesse, and many dignitaries. I sat between the Prince of Hesse and Anton Radziwill. The dinner took place in a fine dining-room. After it the Emperor talked for some time with Moltke and me, so that Bülow asked later whether we had held a conference. But we had spoken of matters of no consequence, over which both Moltke and I lost our coffee. On taking leave the Emperor commanded me to come at eight o'clock.

He received me at that hour in his study. To begin with, he inquired where I came from, and so on. Then he asked me if I had seen the Chancellor. I replied: "Yes, at Gastein." The Emperor: "He is very much annoyed, I suppose?" "No," said I, "but uneasy." Then he recounted the whole course of the matter — the Emperor Alexander's letter, the reply, the meeting at Alexandrovo, his interviews with Alexander, with Miljutin and Giers. Suddenly, after the most friendly assurances had been exchanged, the Chancellor, probably in order to revenge himself for Alexander's letter, made the proposal to conclude a treaty with Austria against

Russia. That, he said, he could not do. He had acquired the impression that Bismarck was planning a coalition of Austria, Germany, France, and England. I refuted this. If now, while Andrássy is at the helm, such a treaty was not concluded, the Conservative party in Austria would come to an understanding with Russia at our expense. In that case France would not also be left in the cold. As regards France in particular, Waddington was against Russia and in favour of England. But within three months he might fall. It was possible that then creatures of Gambetta's would take the helm, and these would open relations with the Russian revolutionary elements, and in concert with them conjure up a war in order to throw all Europe into revolution. Hence a double service would be rendered to Russia by the alliance with Austria—firstly, holding revolution in check, and, secondly, making Austria stable and keeping her from joining a coalition against Germany or Russia. That seemed to open his eyes. But he did not express any further opinion on it. In the first interview I found him very accessible to the arguments of the Chancellor, but throughout afraid of showing himself disloyal towards his nephew and friend. I did not achieve any positive result; but I had carried out my instructions as to laying my opinion before His Majesty.

September 23.

Wrote letters and reports early. Went to Bülow's at 11.30. At three, lunch with the Emperor, where I found Colonel Colomb. Then went for a walk, and at nine in the evening left Strassburg for Munich.

Memorandum of September 22, 1879.

Russia is embittered against Austria, which upsets her plans in the East. Russia will and must declare war against her if her plans are to be carried through. Russia will then ask us what we mean to do. If we side with Russia and remain neutral, Austria will ally herself with France and England. Then we and Russia will stand opposed to France, Austria, and England. If we do nothing at all now, Austria may come to an understanding with Russia. Then if France is strong enough she will go to war with us, in which Russia and Austria will look on as unfriendly neutrals. We shall thus be isolated, or perhaps have to face a coalition of Austria, Russia, and France against us. But if we bind Austria by a treaty England will always be on this side of the Continental Alliance, and then we can look on with the others at the enmity of Russia and France.

In Russia the revolutionary current is so strong that one does not know to what lengths the Government might allow itself to be carried. It is very possible that the Constitutional Reform party wishes for war in order to achieve its reforms. In any case, there is no relying on the friendship of such a distracted country.

The Panslavic party will suffer a check by reason of the Austro-German alliance, and this will make it possible to afford support to the Conservative element in Russia.

VARZIN, *October* 28, 1879.

Saturday, October 25, I remained at Munich in order to be present at the sitting of the Upper House, which turned out pretty wretchedly. I saw for the first time the new Archbishops of Bamberg and Munich, as also the successor of Harless. In the evening I left for Berlin. The carriage bumped and shook so that I could not sleep much. Bad coffee at Hof. Reached Berlin about 1.30. I went to the Foreign Office, where I called on Lindau, Styrum, and Bucher. Discussed with Lindau the question of my succeeding Bülow.* He was very much in favour of it, and put aside all objections, as is his way. Then I had a talk with Münster, who was also in favour of my accepting the post. Stolberg did not talk about it. Then I called on Bleichröder. He talked about the Emperor of Russia, Roumania, the Education question, and so on. Then he proceeded to say that I was bound to be Bülow's successor. He had proposed it to the Chancellor, who expressed doubts as to whether I could exist in Berlin. I dined with Stolberg, went to bed full of anxiety, and got up in the same state. In the morning came Viktor, who advised me not to decline at once, but to make my conditions. At 9.30 to the railway. In the afternoon I came across Herbert Bismarck at a station on the way. We talked together, but said nothing about the question which was taking me to Varzin. About 6.30 I reached there. Dinner, and afterwards conversation by the fireside. When, as usual, Bismarck retired about 9.30 for two hours I went into the garden with Holstein. He spoke forcibly in favour of my acceptance of the post. I put forward my arguments against it, and especially insisted on the impossibility of my managing on what I should get at Berlin. At last we agreed that I should not decline at once, but tell Bismarck I would consult experts about the financial question. After this we went into the drawing-room, where tea was served. I found the Chancellor still somewhat ill, but brisk and lively.

To-day, the 28th, Holstein sent me word to drive with him to a boar hunt. I accepted. A young or stray one did really come my way, but I missed him. Then I drove back, as Holstein wanted to make further beats. I was home towards twelve o'clock, sat down at the lunch-table with the Princess, and waited for the Chancellor. He came soon afterwards, lunched, read out to us a selection of articles and telegrams, and then invited me to come to his room. He began the conversation by saying he appreciated the opportunity of talking over with me the filling up of Bülow's place. He did not think that I would accept the post of Secretary of State, to which I assented. Then there was an alternative, which consisted in conferring on me the two offices of Vice-Chancellor and Secretary of State at the same time. True, he did not know how he was to set about inducing Stolberg to return to Vienna, but that could be managed. Also he could not offer me a salary that was on a par with what I had hitherto drawn, as for this post only twelve thousand thalers were available, and a higher emolument could not at present be passed. I replied I should have considered myself happy to accept this high and interesting position, even at the risk of my mental and physical powers proving inadequate, but I must tell him candidly that the state of my finances would not allow me to live in Berlin without a corresponding salary. I could at any time do without that salary, but should in that case live in the country, or perhaps at Munich. In a great city I could not live without such a salary. The Chancellor fully agreed, and confirmed me in my view by details as to his own affairs. He, who does not lay out more than I should have to, spends from fifty to sixty thousand thalers a year. I asked whether he must fill the post at once. To this he said no. So I said that if he wanted me to act during the summer I should always be ready. This he gratefully accepted in case of need. Then he mentioned Keudell, Schlözer, Radowitz, Otto Bülow, Pfuel, Styrum, and Alvensleben, described each very correctly, and asked for whom I should give my voice. I said Schlözer, whereupon the interview ended.

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* Von Bülow, Secretary of State, had died on October 20.

In the evening I had the opportunity of hearing much more. They talked about Schweinitz, and Bismarck said he wanted very much to see him, as it was necessary to keep him from striking a false note just then at St. Petersburg. He must not be piqued or reserved, but quite natural and as affable as ever. If one was going through a wood with a dear friend who suddenly exhibited signs of madness, one did well to put a revolver in one's pocket, but one could be very friendly all the same. As to France, Bismarck thinks that the Government is in danger of being overpowered by the Radical masses. The Commune was to be dreaded, if the troops could not be relied on. I replied that the Commune had but small chance, as it was not armed.

Holstein is much grieved at the outcome of the negotiation with me, but sees that it would not do.

In the matter of the Austrian alliance the result is kept very quiet. The diplomats learn nothing about it. The Chancellor is of opinion that it is good for us if England and France maintain friendly relations. As long as that is the case the latter will not throw in her lot with Russia. In the Greek question France cut very deep. We could not go with her, as we must consider Austria and England, that did not go so far. Fournier at Constantinople was working against England and for a Russian alliance.

The representatives of the Powers always quarrelled in that capital. England was wrong in reproaching the French with Ultramontane aims in Syria. They could not have everything. About twelve I took my leave and went to bed.

BERLIN, *October* 30, 1879.

To-day I had a talk with Bleichröder, who declares he has received letters from Russia, according to which the Emperor is not responsible. The people and the Court are very embittered against Germany, especially Bismarck and his treaty. What the result would be could not now be known. He indicated as specially interesting subjects of Parisian rumours:

(1) The financial complication;

(2) The question whether a Franco-Italian loan can be arranged;

(3) The question of the Russo-French alliance; and

(4) (added I) The relations between England and France.

PARIS, *November* 4, 1879.

On my arrival in Paris last Sunday (November 2) I was surprised by the inconvenient news that the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Weimar were still here, and intended to remain. Hence dinners and gadding about are to be expected. I heard at home, through Wesdehlen, the Grand Duchess was at Chantilly that day, so that a visit was not necessary. In the afternoon to Waddington and the Princess Urussow. Spent the evening at home. The following day, Monday, visit to the Grand Duke and Duchess. The former asked me whether he should go to Grévy's. I formally laid before him the reasons in favour of such a decision. H.R.H. agreed to them. I now ventured to remark that people of the highest rank were accustomed to drive to the President's between one and two o'clock. That would not do, and so 4.30 was fixed. I went at once to Grévy, to whom, apart from this, I had to pay a visit. When I spoke to him about the Grand Duke's coming he asked whether I could not bring him an hour later, as he had just arranged with Bonnat to sit to him for his portrait from two to four. I assented to that, but took care not to tell the great personage of this proposal of the Republican President's, but chose another pretext for altering the hour of the visit. Then home, where I received a long visit from Monsignore Czacki. He discussed the *Kulturkampf*. His exterior does not greatly inspire confidence, but he is very clever and adroit.*

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* Note by the Prince on his conversation with the Papal nuncio Czacki: "Assurance of the good intentions of the Pope. Hope of an agreement. Dangers to the State. The Pope would be grateful if a compromise should be arrived at. Assurance that he was not entitled to negotiate any more than I was. Academic discussion. I remarked that they should now show that they wanted to meet us by doing what was in their power — *e.g.*, pronouncing themselves publicly. Said this was

About 4.30 I fetched his Royal Highness. We proceeded to the Elysée. There was a guard of honour in the courtyard, the A.D.C.'s were on the steps, and I was greatly pleased that a proper reception had been given to the Grand Duke. But when we entered the reception-room the worthy Grévy was not there. The Grand Duke only said, with an incomparable mixture of irony, indignation, and resignation, "*Enfin!*" and drew himself up even more stiffly than usual. When Grévy came out he became still more stiff, so that the former could not think what it meant. He offered us chairs; and now began a very agreeable conversation on the part of Grévy, and a very condescending and haughty one on the part of H.R.H. When an hour had passed, and the Grand Duke still did not make a move, I fell into a great fright lest Grévy should suddenly rise and express his delight at having made the acquaintance of the royal personage. Happily, however, he did nothing of the kind, set forth the necessity of the republican form of Government in France in weighty language, and was not a little impressive, thanks to his clear exposition. At last the Grand Duke rose, and Grévy accompanied us out to the carriage.

I must mention, besides, that when we were driving to the President's I suggested to the Grand Duke that he should not take offence if Grévy committed a breach of etiquette. He was "A Canadian who knew not Europe's superficial politeness." Whereupon the Grand Duke asked in astonishment if Grévy came from Canada. I had now to say, in explanation, that this phrase was a quotation from Seume, which, according to Büchmann, has furnished two more "winged words."

PARIS, *November* 17, 1879.

To-day I again visited the Nuncio. He at once resumed the conversation which we lately left unfinished at the Ministry. The question still is how the *Kulturkampf* in Prussia is to be ended. I repeated the last sentences of my utterances on that occasion, and said not only the Government, but the people, had considered it necessary to set aside the articles of the Constitution. We wanted no "free Church in a free State" in our country. What I do not like in Monsignor Czacki is his being given to holding out the Pope's prospective support of the Chancellor's plans on condition of concessions being made to him on the part of Prussia with regard to the May laws. When he dwelt on the fact that

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not possible without exposing the Curia to the reproach of showing weakness. The concessions must be simultaneous and mutual. Remark on my part that this was in contradiction with his own proposal. Insisted on it. Reciprocity, *échange de bouquets*, then everything would settle down. Slowly but surely, not hurrying too much nor yet hesitating too long. Cardinal Antonelli's mistake in not accepting Arnim's proposal of a nuncio. An ambassador to Rome."

up to the May laws the most friendly relations had obtained between the Curia and Prussia, I reminded him of how the *Kulturkampf* arose, and that the hostile attitude of the Centre and the Catholic Press had been adopted immediately after the war and the founding of the German Empire, before the May laws were ever thought of. I repeated that we should never consent to the revival of the articles of the Constitution. He expressed his opinion that concessions might be made in another form. This brought him to the Pope, and his good feeling towards the Chancellor, and to speak of the necessity for taking advantage of this favourable conjuncture, for none but Prince Bismarck and Leo XIII. could bring about peace. The conversation took no satisfactory turn, although he emphasised the fact that the Pope was determined and strong enough to induce the Catholics to maintain a loyal attitude towards the Government. Of course, once more only in return for concessions.

In the afternoon Gambetta called on me. He expressed his satisfaction that I was not going away from here, for which he, and, as he said, everybody, would have been very sorry. Then we turned to the harvest and the bad vintage, and the losses it would entail on France. As regards the Chamber, he thinks that the amnesty will be rejected. Anyhow, one must own that the pardons had not been allotted with proper care. Undeserving people had been pardoned, and deserving passed over. A more exact inquiry must be set on foot into this point. The session would last till Christmas, and he hopes to bring the tariff question forward as well. He considers the Protectionist movement has declined, owing to the result of the harvest, and the number of Free Traders increased. Yet one could not say as yet in which direction the majority in the Chamber would incline. As regards the Ferry Bills, he thinks that they will pass with a majority of ten or twelve votes, "*telles quelles*" without modification. Of the Nuncio he said, "*Il se remue beaucoup*," and this was not judicious or wise. The French clergy did not like being guided by a nuncio. This was a remnant of Gallicanism. I then turned the conversation to foreign politics, and asked whether they would be discussed in the Chamber. He does not think so. There was but little comprehension of them in the Chamber, and also there was no occasion for discussion. He declares the temper of the country is peaceful. He had been maligned by the Conservative party and accused of warlike tendencies. He would take an opportunity of exhibiting this with documents in his hand. People were so peaceable that they had written to him from the provinces and warned him not to expose himself to such a suspicion. But it was really incredible what malice his opponents brought into play to injure him. They did not stick at lies and slanders. The conversation lasted some three-quarters of an hour. I must add that Gambetta regards the cause of the Bonapartists as lost — a view which I do not share.

PARIS, *November* 22, 1879.

Prince Napoleon called on me to-day. He looked in his usual health; so the reports about his illness are, it appears, exaggerated. He may, however be suffering from diabetes all the same. He asked after the Kaiser, the Crown Prince, and Prince Bismarck. He thought the latter ate too much. He had seen him take beer, milk, and champagne, and sausages as well. Then he talked about Varzin and Friedrichsruhe. From the Crown Prince he turned to Italy. He considers the state of affairs in Italy better than people usually suppose. The Italians were moderate people and the Radicals in the minority. What the Italians were wanting in was administrative capacity. The army was well disciplined. It was not as good as the Piedmontese, but the influence of the latter made itself felt. Italy was easier to govern than France. There was nothing to fear there for the present. The country was quiet and contented. The Chamber would not be threatened; that would come later. But for that to happen disorder must first arise in the Chamber itself. The winter would pass by quietly. We should see what the future would bring forth. France was making the experiment of a centralised republic. Switzerland and the United States were federal republics. Constitutional monarchy had been put to the test, but not yet the centralised Parliamentary republic. Of Grévy he said that he was a quiet, cautious man. He does not consider the Ministry strong enough — a statement into which I did not enter further. He mentioned Gambetta incidentally. The Ministry would no doubt hold its own through the winter. He thinks they will bring in the *scrutin de liste*. Yet the Chamber was not disposed to do this as yet.

At the beginning of our interview the Prince told me that he saw the Empress Eugenie yesterday in passing through. She looked well, he said. She had not asked for permission to pass through: nor had it been necessary.

PARIS, *December* 23, 1879.

Blowitz to-day told me the following about the Ministerial crisis.* Freycinet intended on Saturday to offer Herold the Interior, and Challemel-Lacour Justice and Public Worship. By so doing he would incline far enough to the Left and yet not go so far as to infringe on circles incapable of governing as he would if he had carried out his original intention of including Brisson. If President Grévy were to hand over the Premiership to Léon Say, he would form a dissolution Ministry which would have no prospect of getting through at the elections. A Freycinet-Herold Ministry can dissolve without bringing about a check to the President. Gambetta is against Freycinet's coming in because he wants to reserve him for himself. Grévy knows this. The Freycinet Ministry is also distasteful to Gambetta, for this reason — that he is afraid that it will carry out the dissolution, with results favourable to Grévy, and postpone the question of the *scrutin de liste.* Freycinet has talked to Gambetta and told him he knows that the latter is against him. But that, he says, is one reason why he can no longer turn back, because else he would appear to be dependent on him. That is how the matter stands to-day. Blowitz is against Gambetta. He says the latter could only remain at the helm either as dictator or as a Socialist, and will do either the one or the other. He considers him to be capable of it, and is working to make him impossible.

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* On December 16 it had become evident on the occasion of a debate on an interpellation of Lockroy's with regard to the application of the law touching the partial pardoning of the Communards, that the Waddington Ministry had no longer a majority in the Chamber. On December 21 that Ministry resigned.

Blowitz asked me about the Greek question, as to which I could tell him nothing. In the afternoon he came again and told me that Grévy had not accepted the conditions of Freycinet, who wanted to rely more on the Union, bring Herold and Challemel-Lacour into the Ministry, and give Floquet the Prefecture of the Seine. He is negotiating with Waddington again.

Thereupon I went to Pontécoulant. He said Waddington was at that moment at Grévy's. Freycinet had wanted to have Brisson as Minister of the Interior, and Floquet as Prefect of the Seine. That seemed impossible to Grévy, and thereupon he broke with Freycinet, and again conferred with Waddington and Léon Say. The same story is in the *Temps* this evening. Gambetta is said to disapprove of Freycinet's proposals. I can well believe that, as the latter's entering the Ministry is not acceptable to him. Grévy thinks it is not yet time, nor does the situation yet justify tending so far to the Left. Blowitz says — to my mind rightly — that Grévy would do better to accept Freycinet's proposals, and go somewhat further to the Left, so as to have a Ministry with which he can dissolve successfully, if the Chamber should again be obstreperous or an alliance should be formed between the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left. To dissolve with a Léon Say or Waddington Ministry would mean the same check to President Grévy as the Marshal experienced.

PARIS, *December* 28, 1879.

Waddington yesterday still cherished the hope that Freycinet would again have recourse to him and be obliged to beg him to re-enter the Ministry, as the Union Républicaine could not have a share in it without Gambetta, but this afternoon he sent to beg me to come to him at the Ministry. He told me that he and Léon Say had withdrawn, and Freycinet would take over Foreign Affairs. The revulsion took place yesterday, as the Union Républicaine, after Gambetta's refusal to join, when Freycinet had announced his intention of retaining Waddington and Léon Say, had declared that it would decidedly fight against them. This was done at the instance of Gambetta, who wanted to get rid of Waddington. Freycinet was all the more pleased at it that he wants to take over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He offered Waddington the Embassy in London, but he declined it. He then formed his Ministry of Lepère, Cazot, Magnin, Farre, Tirard, Cochery, Ferry, and Jauréguiberry.

In foreign policy little will be changed. The Ministry does not promise to last very long. It will be the precursor of a Gambetta Ministry unless Gambetta succeeds beforehand in overthrowing Grévy. Freycinet and Grévy, however, will work against it, and it might prove that Gambetta had reckoned without his host. St. Vallier wants to retain Freycinet. It is advisable to facilitate this at Berlin. He has no reason for going away, as the Ministry is more moderate.

PARIS, *January* 12, 1880.

The visit to Gambetta passed off as usual. He inquired after my health, and I after his. Then he talked about the Chamber, of the change of Ministers, of Freycinet, who was particularly qualified to take the post of President, and said all would now go well. As regards St. Vallier,* he was obviously misinformed. He thought he had resigned in order to make a demonstration against Article VII.† I disputed this and told him how the thing came about. He is astute enough to notice that I only came to see him on St. Vallier's account. As I was going away he began again about it, and declared it was a hasty step on St. Vallier's part, for which he would have to pay. I hereupon asked if he thought St. Vallier could not be retained, to which he said: "No, but the matter must first drag out some weeks."

BERLIN, *January* 20, 1880.

Arrived here on the 16th. To-day visit from Herbert Bismarck and Dernburg. The result of all the discussions is as follows: The Chancellor is at Varzin in a nervous state, and hesitates to come because he is afraid that the Kaiser and everything else will give him too much to do here. The Kaiser is losing his memory to some extent, does not remember what he has signed, and becomes rude at times when he hears that something has happened which he thinks he has not been told about. The Chancellor is not for filling up Bülow's place as yet. When he read a report from me lately which fully tallied with his views, he said, after looking straight before him for a long time: "Ah, if I could only have that man in Bülow's place!" Dernburg tells me the same from the standpoint of the Liberals. Radowitz's acting does not satisfy the Prince. Besides, there is a republican spirit prevalent in the Foreign Office. None of them will obey the other — Otto Bülow, Radowitz, Bucher, or Philipsborn. I see that I alone should be in a position to set matters right, but I do not see how I am to live here. Bleichröder is playing himself off as Under-Secretary of State, and makes it appear as if he was doing everything — more particularly that it is he who will keep St. Vallier. This irritates the Chancellor, and rightly so.

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* Immediately on the appointment of the new Ministry he had asked to resign. After a visit to Paris on February 8 he withdrew his request.

† Of Ferry's Education Bill.

The *Kulturkampf* has now for its scene the Ministry of Education, which is studying the discussions between Hübler and Jacobini. The Pope has himself written to Bismarck. Everything is going on slowly. The Reichstag will discuss the Establishment till Easter; after Easter the extension of the Budget periods to two years and the Septennate. Then I shall be wanted here. It seems not to be expected that I should come before. So that will be in April.

BERLIN, *January* 20, 1880.

To-day at four o'clock I was with the Emperor. He began by talking about the Freycinet Ministry, and remarked that he was really astonished that Bismarck had deputed me to greet the Ministry in such a way * when people did not know as yet what it was like. It might be better than had at first been believed, but it had been rather much to say this quite at the first. Moreover, he had regarded it as a demonstration against Russia. I replied that I was very glad that an opportunity was afforded me to deliver myself on the matter. The Chancellor was quite innocent with regard to it. He had found it incumbent on him, in consequence of the alarming statements of the Press, to have it announced that the new Ministry gave us no reason for changing our relations. I had carried out my instructions as they have been given to me. But the circumstances, and particularly the inexperience of the new officials of the Ministry, were to blame for the *mise-en-scène* of the whole affair being different from what I had intended, and so more had been made of it than was anticipated. At all this the Emperor calmed down. He passed on to other matters. He regretted that I did not see the Chancellor, but thought the main point was that he should attend the Reichstag. Then he talked a great deal about Russia, mentioned that Miljutin was an enemy of Germany and cherished the idea of the humbling of German arms by those of Russia, and then expressed his satisfaction that Walujeu had succeeded in neutralising the influence of Miljutin. The state of affairs in Russia was very regrettable. One could understand the

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* Prince Hohenlohe had on New Year's Day, at the reception of the Ambassadors, conveyed to M. de Freycinet the congratulations of Prince Bismarck and his desire for the maintenance of friendly relations with France.

Russians wanting a constitution for themselves after the Czar giving the Bulgarians one. And yet a constitution would be for Russia the first step in dissolution. Of St. Vallier he said that he hoped he could remain, and commissioned me to work to that end as far as it seemed possible and advisable.

PARIS, *January* 28, 1880.

This afternoon at Freycinet's. We talked first about the Ferry Bills. The law now under discussion by the Senate touching the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction* will pass easily, according to him. How it will go with the law concerning the congregations cannot yet be decided. Yet Freycinet thought that the Catholic party must see that the rejection of Article VII. must have still worse results than its acceptance. He means to speak to this effect too. He agreed with me that they could not dissolve the Chamber on account of anti-clerical proposals, and these would be brought forward if Article VII. were rejected. With regard to the amnesty proposed, he said that the Government would have a majority of three hundred votes against the Extreme Left, even if the Right should vote for Louis Blanc's proposition,* which he expects.

Then Decazes and the article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* came on the *tapis*. He said that everybody knew that the Government of May 16 had at that time expressed itself to that effect both at home and abroad.† There had never been any talk of armed intervention, and it was absurd to defend themselves against such an allegation.

After this we talked about Roumania, and then about our Army Bill. The uneasiness concerning it did not exist in the country, nor yet the Government, but only in the Press. In the evening went to Broglie's, where Conservative society was assembled.

PARIS, *February* 10, 1880.

Yesterday a letter from Holstein, with the proposal that I should offer to conduct the affairs of the Ministry temporarily. I am afraid if I am once there I shall not get away again. I have a feeling that my stay in Paris is approaching its end. In the afternoon went with Princess Urussow to Mlle. Jacquemart's,‡ where a brilliant company was assembled — Brancovan, Broglie, Mme. d'Harcourt, d'Haussonville, and so on. To dinner at Beust's. Gambetta was there too — fourteen persons in all. After dinner I talked a long time to Gambetta. As long as there were listeners our talk was of the tariff and the like. When we were alone he expressed his pleasure that the *Kulturkampf* was not over in our country. He considers there can be no settlement. The contention that the struggle with the Curia was a misfortune was unfounded. There must always be contention and opposition, and so it was better that it should be in this sphere rather than in another. I then turned the conversation to the period of May 16, and brought into play my material. Gambetta listened to me politely, but with an air of knowing it already. He emphatically denied the alleged plans of the Marshal and the Duc Decazes for a *coup d'état*. He agrees with me that the communications at that time were nothing but an attempt at making themselves agreeable to the monarchical Governments. The comedy of 1875 was more serious. He had not believed in the danger of war which Decazes held before them, and had told the Minister so right out at a sitting of the Commission. He was fully informed as to the events of the summer of 1877 and Gontaut's conversation with the Emperor: "We have got all that in the archives of the Foreign Office." Meanwhile he has evidently no desire to make a public outcry about the matter. He approves of every word in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*. But he considers that the moment has been let slip. People should not have let the Ministers of May 16 escape, but condemned them, "*sauf à les gracier plus tard*." The Ministry's conduct in favouring their impunity, he considered, was one of the well-grounded grievances of the Chamber against the Waddington Ministry. The Chamber had not been able to get over this. We then turned to the rumours of war. These, said Gambetta, were a manœuvre of the same people. They wanted to keep up uneasiness, disturb steady work, and spread distrust of the Republic. But that made no impression on the people. The nation was apathetic, and would not let itself be easily roused. Even the debate on the amnesty would cause no disturbance. I thought that might suddenly change. Gambetta rejoined that was possible, but not probable. The real cause of the reserved attitude of the Republicans with regard to Decazes lies in the fact that they regard the matter as settled by the decision of the Chamber, which rejected the proposal for inquiry, and are afraid of exposing themselves to the complaint which they themselves make: "Why were the Ministers not put on their trial?"

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* Of January 22, for the granting of a complete amnesty to the Communards.

† The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* had hinted that the Government of May 16 had taken steps at Berlin, in view of a possible *coup d'état* to obtain assurances with regard to the attitude of the German Government, and had coupled therewith the declaration that the German Government, on principle, held aloof from the internal affairs of France.

‡ A famous artist who afterwards married M. André.

BERLIN, *February 22, 1880.*

I am writing under the impression that a good time is at an end and an anxious and unpleasant one beginning. It cannot be altered, however, and one must bear what is inevitable as well as may be. Arrived here yesterday. Found Holstein at the station. He accompanied me to the Upper House. I learned from him that they want to have me here soon, and are consoling me with the thought that I shall go back to Paris, and Radowitz is to go there *en mission extraordinaire* to take charge of affairs till my return. At eleven I went to the Reichstag. I talked to various deputies — Lasker, Bennigsen, Benda, Dernburg, &c. The article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* which speaks of the aggressive attitude of Russia and France has made a great sensation, and is commented on with alarm. Afterwards I learned at the Chancellor's that he had only written the article to produce an effect on the deputies, so that they might vote for the Army Bill. He laughed when I told him of the result.

Radowitz spoke to me at once about my recall, and said he was to go to Paris if I had no objection. Of course, I could say nothing else than that I did not mind. He thinks that Hatzfeld could be put through in a few months. Then to Lindau, Holstein, Busch, and Herbert Bismarck. The latter told me that his father wanted to see me about three o'clock. I went across. The Prince received me very kindly, spoke of the doubts that Marie had expressed as to the acceptance of the post, and of all sorts of things. He only wants me to act for some months; then Hatzfeld could step in, and then, after some months, perhaps Keudell. It seemed to me that he still hoped that I should even yet decide to remain here altogether. I therefore expressly declared that this was impossible to me. Then Bismarck proceeded to tell of various Ministers who had grown rich — Manteuffel, Schleinitz, Talleyrand, &c. At last he asked me when I was willing to come, and expressed the wish that I should do so by the beginning of April. I shall then be done all the sooner, and can be off in September.

In the evening dined with Bismarck. I mentioned the fears that must be entertained of Gambetta. He attached no great importance to this, and said it could not be altered if it was so. At table much port and Hungarian wine was drunk. Afterwards I sat down by the Chancellor and entered on a variety of subjects. He will not hear of colonies, now as at other times. He says we have not an adequate fleet to protect them, and our bureaucracy is not skilful enough to direct the management of them. He also spoke of my report on the French designs on Morocco, and declared we could only be pleased if France took possession of the country. Then it would have a great deal to do, and we could concede it the extension of its sphere in Africa as a set-off to Alsace-Lorraine. But when I asked him whether I should declare myself to Freycinet to that effect he said no. That was too much. Busch, with whom I discussed the same question to-day, was of opinion that the English would never allow the annexation of Morocco because of Gibraltar.

February 25.

To-day a visit from Busch. Then at the Reichstag. Later at the Foreign Office. Then at Bleichröder's. He does not approve of the mission of Radowitz to Paris, and will advise against it. It will have no effect.

BERLIN, *February* 29, 1880.

The Kaiser sent me word this morning to come to him at one o'clock. I had to wait for some time, as an old general was with him. When I came in he began at once to talk of my proposed appointment, regretted that I was coming to Berlin, as he would sooner see me in Paris, but did not think it could be avoided. He would have preferred Wesdehlen to take charge instead of Radowitz, but he had had to give way to the Chancellor. Then he talked a little about Russia, but soon dismissed me.

At 2.30 I had a visit from Thielmann, who is going to Paris, then from Prince Hohenzollern, and lastly from Radowitz. Went with Marie and Viktor to the Secretary of State's apartments. There a note was brought me summoning me to the Chancellor. He read out to me the report which he had addressed to the Kaiser on my affair. In it it is proposed that for four to six months from the end of March I should do the work of the Secretary of State *ad interim*, and then Hatzfeld should act in his turn, and eventually obtain the post definitely if he satisfied the Emperor. As regards the time, the Chancellor said that he counted on the beginning of April, but that the date could be postponed too if his health held out. He then said something more, from which I gathered that he would like to have me here permanently. He thought I could, if I wished, exchange at any moment with Hatzfeld. Then he came to the alarming of public opinion in Paris caused by my departure, and said it was just a proof of the good relations obtaining with France that they were not afraid to recall me. If we were anxious or had bad intentions the ambassador would not be recalled; but just because neither was the case we could without hesitation leave the post less completely filled in this way. He commissioned me to speak to St. Vallier in that sense. I went to the latter, discharged my commission, and reassured him particularly about the rumour which the *Temps* had started that Reuss was going to Paris.

In the evening at the Emperor's, where the Empress expressed to me her fears, which I endeavoured to dissipate.

March 1.

To-day the correspondent of the *Gaulois* was with me, and asked me about the situation, and told me about the alarming rumours. I told him that he must know well enough that political matters stood more simply than the general public usually supposes, as it imagines all sorts of combinations. I then said to him that the ill health of the Chancellor forced him to look about him for a substitute for Bülow. That this had not been settled at once and for good was a secret of the Foreign Office into which I could not enter further. But the fact that I was going away from Paris was rather of a reassuring nature, as it showed that our relations were of such a friendly character that the recall gave rise to no unpleasantness.

PARIS, *March* 14, 1880.

To-day Maxime Ducamp was with me. Of course, the conversation soon turned on his writings and his researches in the history of the Commune. He told me that he receives many visits from Communards, who tell him their experiences for a consideration, and in so doing achieve the object of making themselves great and lowering their comrades. He says he has published only the smallest part of what he knows. A great deal of it was so frightful that one could not have it put in print. The Commune was bestiality let loose. For instance, he said that the wife of General Eudes, who lived in the Legion of Honour Building, gave an entertainment at which she appeared in pink stockings, black top-boots, and the Grand Cordon of the Legion. She had nothing else on. He characterises the Commune and the whole Socialistic movement of our day as a mental malady, a mania for destruction, which spread by infection. A Communard came to him and complained of his misery and the cold, from which his wife suffered dreadfully, as she had no warm dress. Ducamp gave him fifty francs to buy a dress. Touched by his kindness, the Communist made him a present. It was a little metal box containing a mixture of potash and soda, which takes fire when water touches it. This is the Socialists' means of destruction. Another Communist told him that in three months the republic would be proclaimed in Russia. Then all the other European States would follow suit. Ducamp says that if the Government had extradited Hartmann* it would have been forced to give the Radicals the compensation of a general amnesty. This Gambetta dreaded, as he well knew that the result of it would be that Rochefort would become dictator. If this happened, war with Germany and a general massacre of the Conservatives would follow. He declares Gambetta hates Ferry, and Ferry him. The former harried Ferry into the *Kulturkampf* in order to ruin him, and rejoiced in his defeat.

March 18.

We dined to-day at Princess Wittgenstein's and met Blacas. After the meal he watched for an opportunity to talk to me alone, and said he was anxious that before my departure I should be enlightened as to a mistake that is current here. People declared, and that in diplomatic circles, that the Comte de Chambord had given up the idea of returning to France. That was not the case. The Comte was ready now, as before, to come back and take over the reins of government if he were called upon to save France. In the eyes of the Legitimists the lawful monarchy could alone save the country. I told him I had certainly also believed that the Count had only raised the question of the white flag in order to put a hindrance in the way of his return, for which he had no fancy. This Count Blacas disputed. He had only considered himself bound to say beforehand that he would try to induce the nation to give up the tricolour. He had regarded the white flag as the standard of the Monarchy. He added that even Decazes had admitted to him that that flag would appear everywhere as soon as Henri V. made his entry. He then blamed the Marshal, who by his attitude and neutrality had caused the failure of the scheme of restoration. He describes May 16 as an indefensible folly, by which he had caused much harm and made many people unhappy. As to the possibility of a restoration in the year 1873 Blacas has no doubts. But the matter had been gone about in an unhappy way. Now they would not get back to the Monarchy without a catastrophe.

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* The instigator of the attempt on the Czar Alexander's life at Moscow on December 1, 1879. The French Government had refused to extradite him.

PARIS, *April* 16, 1880.

The Nuncio to-day discussed in detail the decree * concerning the relations of the Prussian Government to the Pope. He asked me if it was necessary that the Curia should take further steps in order that the Government might make the proposal mentioned in its communication. I answered in the affirmative, and wrote to him later that I considered it indispensably necessary that instructions should be given to the bishops who are still in office to make the official notifications. He wishes that the amnesty for the deprived bishops should be coupled with it. And he is of opinion that an agreement could be arrived at about it in which the State would guarantee the amnesty, the Curia the proffered concessions. But the Nuncio forgets in this that the amnesty is not everything, and that the bishops are not reinstated by it. He dwelt on the fact that it was difficult for the Pope to make further concessions if he was not met halfway on the other side. This would be done if at least a prospect were held out of the revision of the May laws by legislation. He then talked a long while about Ledochowski, after I had expressed to him my doubts of that prelate. He thinks he is less dangerous in his diocese than at Rome, and is really an insignificant man.

The appointment of the Prince to the headship of the Foreign Office and the transfer to him of the representation of the Chancellor ensued on April 30, 1880.

BERLIN, *May* 15, 1880.

I now for the first time take up my journal again, after having been so much occupied since April 19, when I arrived here, what with the taking over of my appointment and the transactions in the Reichstag,† that I was not in a state to write things down quietly. During the first days when I was to make myself acquainted with the business of the Foreign Office came the Samoa question, on which the Chancellor did not want to speak himself, and begged me to undertake the defence of Bülow. As this could not be done out of hand, I had first to inform myself so as to have something of my own to say about the matter. It went off well enough, however. Then came the Eastern entanglements, and the long discussions with diplomatists attaching to them. So far I get on with the Chancellor quite unexpectedly well. I go to him every day between 1 and 2 P.M., taking the matters which he must decide on himself, discuss these, and note down the reply that I am afterwards to give to the diplomatists. Then the latter come between three and five, and when the Kaiser is there I report to him, but not often. Yesterday I waited on him, *inter alia*, and was afterwards there to dinner.

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* In reply to the epistle of the Pope to the Archbishop of Cologne of February 24, in which the toleration of the announcement to the Government before the appointment of a cleric is hinted at, the Government published in April a decision of the Ministry of March 17, which, in case of the actual performance of the duty of notification, promised a revision of the May laws.

† Proceedings of the Reichstag from April 27 to 29.

The Chancellor cannot yet get used to the idea that I do not wish to remain. He knows that I can be of use to him, and I fear that it will cost me many a struggle yet to get free again. Of the diplomatists, Saburoff is the worst, because he is always up to some secret manœuvre. Odo Russell is adaptable, Szechenyi easily alarmed. Launay has damp hands, and can never come to an end. Sadullah Bey is a pragmatical, somewhat jaded Turk. St. Vallier, as usual, very businesslike.

May 16.

The Chancellor complained to-day about the German reigning princes, and thought those gentlemen might think themselves lucky to be provided with a sheltering roof under which to live. If they went on in this way he would retire, and then centralisation would break in violently and sweep them away. I rejoined that I could not believe that the gentlemen were not wise enough to see that. They knew very well what he was to them — Bavaria especially. Thereupon he said yes, he had believed that too, but the behaviour of Rudhart * had shown him that while he thought he stood on firm ground he had fallen into a marsh.

I found the Prince in great irritation over a note from the Emperor asking for information about the Hamburg affair. He had thus to dictate a direct report, which vexed him.

MUNICH, *May* 22, 1880.

Herr von Crailsheim says that he agrees with the views of the Chancellor with regard to the management of the Hamburg affair. He also disapproves of the conduct of Rudhart,† and is of opinion that it would be sufficient in a case where a State believed its constitutional or specially reserved rights to be threatened to agitate for the joint arbitration of the Constitutional Committee with the other committee concerned. Crailsheim considers it necessary to keep clear of constitutional questions as much as possible. But he cannot convince me that such questions should be avoided altogether — *i.e.*, that people should once for all refrain from bringing forward such a question when, for instance, a vested right is threatened. As Bavarian Minister he was bound to do this.

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* The Bavarian Minister, von Rudhart, had, at the sitting of the Federal Council of May 3, contradicted the Chancellor with regard to Hamburg joining the Customs Union. The Chancellor had rebuked him for it at a party at his house.

† He had proposed to refer the proposal of Hamburg that the Federal Council should declare that the incorporation of a portion of the Hamburg suburb St. Pauli in the Customs Union, as demanded by Prussia, was illegal without the consent of the Senate, to the Constitutional Committee to report on

23rd.

Crailsheim came to see me. He does not know whom he is to send to Berlin, and asks if it should be Pfretzschner, though it is not known whether he will accept.

Lutz assures us of the good disposition of the Bavarian Government towards the Empire, but says it cannot be expected to say "Yes," always and forego the discussion of the constitutional question in all cases (vested rights).

BERLIN, *May* 26, 1880.

Yesterday evening at the Chancellor's. He spoke of his interview with Bennigsen and Miquel, though without communicating any details. To-day Bennigsen came to me and told me about their interview. He said they had fallen foul of one another, and asked whether the Chancellor had expressed himself bitterly about them. I said: "No, he has been quite quiet." Thereupon Bennigsen declared he was glad of that; he would get himself elected to the Commission * after all. I saw from the whole of his communication how unpleasant a breach with the Prince would be to him. Then he talked about the return of the bishops, and maintained that this was impossible, and would be regarded as a defeat for the Government.

When I went at midday to the Chancellor I repeated this to him. He was very much vexed that Bennigsen did not believe in the sincerity of his utterances of yesterday. He would have preferred that I should say nothing to Bennigsen. He said that they had parted threatening each other, and he had no hope of an understanding. If the Landtag did not accept the proposal he should dissolve. If the country declared against him and his policy he would retire. But with such incapable politicians as Bennigsen and Miquel, who were at the beck and call of public opinion — with such third-form boys and children he could do nothing. I objected that a dissolution would be not unwelcome to the National Liberals, as they hoped to make themselves popular by their opposition to the Bill. They might find themselves mistaken, the Chancellor rejoined. Then he interrupted me; said he meant to have despatches printed, and could go no further to-day.

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* The commission for inquiring into the ecclesiastical proposal of the Government with regard to the revision of the May laws.

So we postponed the further report till to-morrow. Finally, and as I was going away, I said to him he must please remember that he had talked to me about his enemies, in particular his opponents among the officials. He had on various occasions counted up to me the number of his other enemies — Ultramontanes, Court sycophants, Radicals, foreigners; so that now I considered that the only people on whom he could rely were the National Liberals. That was why I had endeavoured to prevent the breach. That was true in certain respects, was his rejoinder, but the fellows were so stupid that there was nothing to be done with them. Thereupon I left.

I must add that when discussing Bennigsen's influence in the Commission he said that Bennigsen only wanted to alter the paragraph about the bishops. But to this he would not consent.

Berlin, *June* 2, 1880.

This morning I paid my visit to old Gortschakow. He was very brisk for his eighty-three years, expressed himself as satisfied with his interview with Bismarck, and talked much about his health and his plans for the summer and following winter.

At 3.30 I drove to the station. There I met Prince and Princess Bismarck. We got into the same compartment and travelled to Potsdam, and thence by carriage to Babelsberg. There we found Redern, the Court marshals, the equerries, and the ladies-in-waiting. Soon after Schleinitz, the chamberlain, appeared, and officially announced that the betrothal of Prince William to the Princess August Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg had just taken place. Presently the august personages themselves entered. The Emperor gave his arm to the *fiancée*, who looked very blooming and charming, and led her up to the dignitaries present. The Crown Prince and Princess were very delighted. The young Duke of Augustenburg, who was wearing military uniform for the first time, seemed very happy. The Princess pleased every one very much. The Crown Prince complained to me of the unfriendliness with which the betrothal had been received by the other Prussian princes and princesses. Then we went to dinner. Opposite me sat Bismarck with Countess Schleinitz, beside me a major [the young Duke's Governor] with whom he lives at Dresden. We talked a great deal about public school education. During the meal the Kaiser gave the toast of the affianced couple. After dinner I had a talk with the *fiancée*, who has improved very much since I saw her last. She was very nice and tactful in this trying situation. As we drove to the station, I in a carriage with Albedyll, Wilmowski, and Lehndorff, those gentlemen announced that they were now reconciled to the marriage. I again travelled with Prince and Princess Bismarck. The Prince looked out at the young plantations and cornfields, talked about them, and then sang in an undertone. We were all tired, and avoided serious conversation.

BERLIN, *June* 6, 1880.

The Chancellor, when I made my report to him to-day, reopened the question of some one acting as his substitute, and said he wanted me to contrive that Stolberg * should declare himself ready to hand over the duties of substitute to me, as he did not credit him with the experience necessary to keep guard over the Imperial dignitaries in his absence. I told him that I had made an attempt, but as he had himself cautioned me not to wound Stolberg in the process, and to say nothing point-blank, had failed. He wants Stolberg to hand over the duties now, probably, as Busch says, in order that Hatzfeld may take them over. And as he is afraid that Stolberg may have no desire to give up this part of his responsibilities to Hatzfeld, he wants to hurry on the matter, so that Hatzfeld when he comes in may find the change already made. Busch thinks that Stolberg knows this, and accordingly makes believe not to understand my hints. I must try again to-morrow.

June 9.

I have spoken to Stolberg, and found him all the more ready to agree to the proposal because he himself wants to get away for a cure in the mountains. I told this to the Chancellor, who then spoke to Stolberg himself. Then the Prince commissioned me to speak to the Emperor, who approves. I shall get more to do. But the business will not keep me longer than the Foreign Office, and at any rate it is interesting and honourable. The extra work does not matter.

18*th*.

The Conference opened on the 16th.† We all agree to the French proposal. So it will not last long.

To-day the Chancellor read to me a memorandum he had drawn up, in which he proposes to the Emperor that I should act for him as Prussian Minister too. If anything is to be countersigned I am to send it to him, as only a real Minister can do that. For all other signatures I am to do as before.

BERLIN, *June* 29, 1880.

Yesterday was a very busy day. The *Times* correspondent came in at ten in the morning, and tried to make clear to me the advantages that would ensue if the *Times* published the decisions of the Conference soon. Scarcely was I at the Foreign Office when the Greek envoy at St. Petersburg, M. Brailas, arrived. I discussed the Bavarian loan with him, and depicted the dangers to which Greece would expose itself if it did not pay the Bavarian debt. Then came the Turkish Ambassador with a note protesting against the decisions of the Conference. I promised him to lay it before that body. Then to the Chancellor's. We talked of the news that the Russian Ambassador in London had proposed to Lord Granville to furnish twenty thousand Russians to enforce the decisions of the Conference if England would send a fleet. At three the sitting of the Conference began; it passed off very quietly, but lasted till six o'clock. Then I went across hastily to dine with the Chancellor. It was his farewell dinner before his departure. Only Holstein, the Rantzaus, and the Eickstädts, husband and wife, were there. We sat in the drawing-room till 8.30, then I went with Philipp Ernst to the theatre, and at ten to the Foreign Office, where I worked till eleven. Then to Odo Russell's, where there was a large party. I had myself introduced to Lady Simmons, the wife of the general, who told me "*qu'elle s'était beaucoup amusée avec les musées de Berlin.*"

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* The Vice-Chancellor and Vice-President of the Prussian Ministry, Count Otto zu Stolberg-Wernigerode.

† The conference of the Powers, represented by their ambassadors, at Berlin for settling the Græco-Turkish boundary question.

I told the Turkish Ambassador about the Russian proposal as to the twenty thousand men, which rather alarmed him. I said if the Russians sent that number others probably would do the same. "*Et vous aussi?*" he asked. I replied that we had no such intentions, but that there were plenty of others who would be a party to it. He said he would telegraph to that effect at once. In this way I have put a flea in his ear which will cause the Porte to think.

The Chancellor leaves to-day. So I shall have more independence, but at the same time more responsibility. The Conference will probably come to an end this week.*

POTSDAM, *July* 11, 1880.

In consequence of an invitation from the Crown Prince and Princess, I left Berlin yesterday at 6.30 P.M., encountering at the station Friedberg the Minister, who was also invited, and Hermann Grimm and his wife, who were bound for Wannsee, and reached the Wildpark station towards 7.30. There a carriage was waiting for us, and took us to the castle. Their Highnesses had gone for a walk, and Seckendorff conducted me to my rooms. An ante-room, a small sitting-room, and a large bedroom. Very high *rococo* rooms, with silver-bordered panelling and *rococo* furniture. In my sitting-room there are portraits of the Margravines of Ansbach-Baireuth. My bed is surmounted by a silvered canopy. The hangings are of Chinese silk. The whole gives the impression of a glorified Schillingsfürst. About 8.30 I went into the garden, where we had supper in front of a small pavilion. There were present Joachim and a pianist, Friedberg and I, and some courtiers. The repast was somewhat disturbed by gnats. After supper we went into the drawing-room, where Countess Dönhoff appeared. Then we had a concert by Joachim till eleven o'clock, when everybody retired. This morning breakfasted with the Prince and Princess in the pavilion, where only the three young Princesses were present. Afterwards a long walk with the Princess and the Prince in the grounds. Then all went to their rooms till dinner.

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* The Conference closed on July 1.

About four we got into the carriages, the Crown Prince and Princess, the Hereditary Princess of Meiningen, the three little Princesses and myself in the same. We drove through the parks to the Marble Palace, and from there to the steamer, which took us to the Pfaueninsel [Peacock Island]. There we left the steamer, inspected the palm-house which had been burnt and the castle, and then proceeded to a switchback, in which the children and some gentlemen and ladies of the suite took a ride. The evening was wonderfully beautiful, the park, with its great trees, splendid. Then we went on board the steamer again and returned. In the evening tea in the garden and a party in the drawing-room. Tomorrow early I return to Berlin, much refreshed.

During the morning walk the Crown Princess talked much about the Eastern question. She thinks it would be dangerous if Russia should occupy Constantinople, and doubts the accuracy of the contention that the possession of Constantinople would entail the weakening of Russia. She thinks that a State might be formed, not including Bulgaria and Greece, with Constantinople as the capital. She hopes that even the present English Ministry will not consent to the seizure of that city by Russia.

When the Princess went away the Prince took me through the garden, talking the while of the Prussian officers whom we are now to send to Turkey. He expressed his doubts whether this should not now be postponed, for he thinks that the officers might be made use of to lead or assist in the resistance of the Porte to the Powers. He bade me communicate his doubts to the Chancellor.

To the Crown Prince.

Berlin, *July* 16, 1880.

Your Imperial and Royal Highness was on my last visit to Potsdam graciously pleased to entrust to me communications to the Chancellor, which I hastened to convey, and concerning which I take the liberty of most humbly reporting.

As to the doubts of your Imperial and Royal Highness with regard to the sending of officers and civil servants to Turkey, the Chancellor has come to the conclusion that he cannot share them. He considers the measure in various respects advantageous. For one thing, the duties there discharged are very instructive to those employed, and will give them the opportunity of showing the extent of their capacity; and, secondly, it will furnish us with a number of reliable informants whom we could obtain in no other way. Moreover, the influence which we should thus acquire in Turkish territory is not to be underrated. The consequences the arrangement may have for the Turks and its acceptability to the European Powers need not concern us. It is not our policy, he says, to further either Turkish or European interests. A

European interest is, to his mind, a fiction useful to all who want to use others, and can find persons who believe in the phrase. It might be useful to us to have the Turks as friends in as far as this might be to our advantage. The Turkish artillery had been trained by Prussian officers at a time when we were living on terms of the utmost cordiality with Russia, and we had thus acquired influence and useful connections in Turkey. If Chauvinism, Panslavism, and the anti-German elements in Russia should attack us, the attitude and the military efficiency of Turkey would not be indifferent to us. She could never be dangerous to *us*, but under certain circumstances her enemies might be ours.

Speech at the Sitting of the Ministry of August 7, 1880.*

In the vote of the Minister of Public Worship, as made known to Ministers, the view is expressed that the decision of his Majesty settles the matter. I admit that it certainly will be difficult for his Majesty to depart from a decision once arrived at, as he regards the question from the point of view of sentiment. I too am of opinion that if his Majesty adheres to his decision the Ministry must yield to the Royal command and be present at the celebration. Meanwhile it might be advisable to lay before his Majesty once more the objections to his participation in the celebration.

In his Majesty's communication the inhibition of the ecclesiastical festival at the last moment is suggested as a possible danger and special stress is laid on this.

I believe that *this* danger does *not* exist, and that if the Church festival should be inhibited it would injure the Catholic Church, not the Emperor. The leaders of the Ultramontane party, who exercise a decisive influence over the clergy, are more likely to seize the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty towards the person of the Emperor. If they did the reverse the celebrations would still take place, and the people would condemn the abstention of the clergy as tactless. But it is, in fact, the proposed warm and respectful reception of the Emperor, and the speeches and demonstrations connected with it, which give cause for hesitation.

It is a known fact that the so-called ecclesiastical proposals have awakened uneasiness in the Protestant inhabitants of Prussia, and the dread that we shall go further in the way of concessions to the Catholic Church than is compatible with the dominant position and the rights of the Government. So if the Protestants see that the Emperor is in friendly communication with the Church authorities they will say to themselves, "These people have been in opposition for six years, and in antagonism to the laws of the State, and yet the Emperor meets them halfway."

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* Concerning the participation of the Emperor in the celebration of the completion of Cologne Cathedral. It was fixed by a Cabinet Order for October 15.

The agitation of the Radical party, which makes use of the ecclesiastical proposals as a means of alarming the Conservative portion of the Protestant community, would receive new aliment from the circumstance, and the consequences would make themselves felt at the elections. Should the event which the Chancellor fears take place, *i.e.* should Melchers * appear and put the Emperor in the position of sanctioning an illegal act by his presence, the impression would be still more regrettable. Under these circumstances I consider it imperative that the Ministry should once more lay its objections before the Emperor. If his Majesty does not assent the Ministry would have to adopt those measures which the Minister of Public Worship proposes in his memorandum.

To the CHANCELLOR.†

BERLIN, *November* 2, 1880.

I have the honour most obediently to inform your Highness that I have so far recovered from my illness that I am able to go out again. But as the doctor has forbidden me all mental exertion as long as my present weakness lasts I find myself unable to undertake the business of the Foreign Office again, and I hope I may count on the consent of your Highness if I accept an invitation from my brother and go for a time to Rauden until I am fit for work. I expect that in a fortnight or three weeks I shall have so far recovered as to be able at any rate to take over the duties of the Embassy in Paris again, even if I cannot manage those of the Foreign Office, in so far as this is in accordance with the intentions of your Highness.

As soon as I come back from Rauden I shall place myself at your Highness's disposal, and should be very grateful if I were allowed to receive the instructions of your Highness personally at Friedrichsruh.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *November* 3, 1880.

I thank your Grace most warmly for your note of yesterday's date, which has just reached me, and am sincerely glad to learn from it that the illness, of which I heard with the keenest regret, is over, in your opinion. It is natural, and his Majesty the Emperor will no doubt consent to it, that your Grace should for the present desire some rest, in order to recover the strength you have lost. That you should presently, as soon as your health admits of it, again take over the Embassy in Paris, is, apart from other considerations, a necessity on financial grounds, in order that all the payments attaching to the post in Paris may once more become current. Even the shortest stay your Grace might make in Paris would be sufficient for this, and would not, of course, stand in the way of a renewal of your leave, as soon as your health makes this desirable.

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* The deprived archbishop.

† Prince Hohenlohe had been unable to perform his duties on account of illness since September.

To see you before then, is not only a business necessity for me, but it would give me and my wife the greatest pleasure if your Highness would honour us with a visit here. My passing intention to go this week for a few days to Berlin, I must regretfully relinquish, because the indisposition that attacked me last week has not yet passed off. In any case I can reckon upon an opportunity of repeating verbally to your Highness before you return to Paris, the expression of my heartfelt gratitude for the friendly and effectual manner in which your Highness has granted me your support during the summer. I couple this with the hope that I may depend upon the same in similar cases, and that your Highness's health will soon permanently restore to you your accustomed energy in the Cabinet, and in sport.

To the Editor of the "National Zeitung,"
Dr. Dernburg.

Rauden, *November* 14, 1880.

Sir, — I take the liberty, of enclosing herewith two newspaper cuttings, which continue to spin the web of invention that appeared some time ago in the papers about the alleged Chancellorship crisis. There is not even a shadow of truth in this supposed storm in the Foreign Office. The "unexpectedly speedy conclusion" of my functions in Berlin has no foundation but in my illness. If I do not now return to the Foreign Office after a probably complete recovery, the reason lies in the fact that a longer duration of my Commission than until the end of the year was never contemplated. The coincidence of the recall of Herr von Radowitz with my return to Paris needs no further explanation. If the *Tageblatt* brings the alleged family conference at Rauden into connection with the occurrences mentioned, it really beats everything. I wonder that the four brothers are not also supposed to be commissioned to set the Dulcigno question to rights. Perhaps you will have the goodness to rectify these misstatements in a few words, as you have, after verbal discussions, occasionally done before. I think, however, that it would be best to pass over the family gathering in silence.

Journal.

Friedrichsruh, *November* 26, 1880.

I arrived last evening, and found Schweinitz, who left again the same night. I had some conversation to-day with the Imperial Chancellor about French affairs. He emphasised the fact that we might tell the French openly that we were pleased that they should pursue interests elsewhere, as in Tunis, West

Africa, or in the East, and should thus be kept from casting their eyes upon the Rhine frontier. That does not mean that we wish to goad France into an entanglement, but only that we are passive onlookers, and would not incommode France it she were otherwise engaged, for we have nothing to ask of her but peace and quietness. The Imperial Chancellor thinks Gambetta's influence has waned, and he believes that Freycinet will be called upon again to play a part. He considers that one ought to treat Gambetta with civility, but not to *fête* him too much.

This evening, when St. Vallier came, foreign politics were discussed. Prince Bismarck, like St. Vallier, expressed the wish that the ships of both nations might soon leave Dulcigno. Prince Bismarck blamed Gladstone's policy in the most decided manner. He said he (Gladstone) did nothing but further Russian interests in the East, and left the interests of England out of account. Later on the conversation turned on Decazes' *brochure*. Bismarck said that the whole war scare of 1875 was caused by the imprudent utterances of Radowitz to Gontaut. The latter had reported them, and thereby given Decazes means for his intrigue. Gontaut, he said, had pursued the affair also on his journey to St. Petersburg. It had thus become possible for Decazes to raise the alarm of war in the world, and Gortschakow could, on his arrival in Berlin, pose as the preserver of peace.

November 27.

During a discussion that I had to-day with the Imperial Chancellor I thanked him for the kindness shown to me during my official activity in Berlin. He said all sorts of complimentary things, and especially that I had only made the mistake of being too conscientious and not lazy enough. That this had made me ill. Should I come into the same position again, I must not do so. Then he spoke of Hatzfeld, who no longer cared much to come to Berlin, but would do so notwithstanding. He would now try whether the personal and other difficulties could be overcome. So long as he should be as well as at present, he could manage with Busch. In summer it was different. The conversation was not further continued.

BERLIN, *November 27*, 1880.

Returned from Friedrichsruh. I note down the points which St. Vallier discussed with the Chancellor, and which are of quite a confidential nature, wherefore St. Vallier was obliged to advance them verbally.

(1) They wish in Paris that we should exercise our influence in Italy to persuade the Italians to adopt a less encroaching attitude in Tunis. The Italians want to depose the Dey, and to put his first Minister, a creature of the Italian Government, in his place. France would use every means to prevent this.

(2) In reference to Greece, the instructions that Radowitz had received, agree with those of France to her representative: a warning against precipitate action.

(3) In the Dulcigno affair, England has proposed that the fleets should now be withdrawn, though not entirely, but be dispersed among the Mediterranean ports so that they would be prepared at any moment to take further action. However, neither Prince Bismarck nor the French Government are inclined to remain on under the guidance of such a fantastic Government as the English (Gladstone), but will definitely recall their ships. Prince Bismarck believes that Austria also takes this view of it.

(4) The French Government has projected an electric and telegraphic exhibition for next year. Stephan has expressed himself guardedly. The Imperial Chancellor though, who knows the reason of Stephan's ill-humour, has assured St. Vallier of the collaboration of Germany.

BERLIN, *November* 29, 1880.

To-day at eleven o'clock I was with the Kaiser. I found he had a cold and was hoarse, but bright and cheerful. He asked after my health, and wondered that I should go to Paris now; but agreed with me when I explained to him the reasons. We then spoke of my visit to Friedrichsruh, of my transactions with Bismarck, about the Ministry of Trade,* about Hatzfeld, Radowitz, and other things. With reference to Hatzfeld the Kaiser is as little clear as Bismarck, whether it will be possible to bring him *here* again. About the Eastern question I reported what the Imperial Chancellor had commissioned me to say. In the meantime, however, a fresh fact had entered into it, which made the English proposal impossible, namely, the declaration of France that she intended to withdraw her ships.

We then came to the question of the Jews. The Kaiser does not approve of the action of Pfarrer Stöcker, but he thinks, that the affair will come to nothing, and considers that the noise is of use in making the Jews rather more modest.

At the close of the discussion I asked permission to leave Paris again, and to go to Munich, which he granted. "Above all, spare yourself," the Kaiser concluded; "you are too valuable to us to lose."

PARIS, *December* 5, 1880.

This morning I visited Gambetta. He received me in his polite and cordial Italian way. He expressed himself as much pleased with the result of the measures directed against the congregations, and thinks that everything has gone very well. The country was once for all anti-clerical, and had demanded and expected the fulfilment of the decrees. The only danger for the Government was, that they had not taken energetic action soon enough, and thereby had caused mistrust of their sincerity. Freycinet, whose qualities as a speaker, and whose authority and character Gambetta especially praised, and whose resignation † he described as a loss to the Cabinet, had, he said, allowed himself to become infatuated by the reverend intermediaries, and had at last gone so far that he was no longer willing to carry out the decrees.* "And yet," exclaimed Gambetta, "he wanted them himself. I told him that the existing laws sufficed." After the decrees were once there the country had demanded their fulfilment. Freycinet's vacillation had roused the greatest uneasiness and excitement, and his position had become untenable. I asked Gambetta if it was true that the unauthorised congregations (with the exception of the Jesuits) had been inclined to seek authorisation, and he told me the following fact: On July 9 a meeting of delegates of all the unauthorised congregations took place in the Archbishop's Palace in Paris, under the presidency of Archbishop Guibert, to consider the question whether they should apply for authorisation. The meeting, with two exceptions, decided unanimously in favour of it. When the leaders of the Catholic movement, Buffet and the Jesuits, heard this, they were beside themselves, and stormed until another meeting of the delegates took place in the Archbishop's Palace, which was attended by many laymen, more especially those leading partisans of the Jesuits, and here the question was decided in the negative, and the appeal for authorisation pronounced inadmissible. Then they went to the Curia, which answered evasively. The congregations submitted to the will of the Jesuits, and gave up the appeal for authorisation.

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* Which Bismarck had undertaken on September 15.

† On September 19 Freycinet had resigned; Jules Ferry succeeded him as premier.

In discussing Eastern affairs Gambetta thought that the best thing to be done was to induce Turkey, by means of money, to withdraw from the countries named in the conference. With reference to this I remark that Baron Erlanger has asked on his own responsibility, in Constantinople, whether the Turkish Government would be inclined to regulate the Greek question for a million pounds and 100,000 pounds *backsheesh*. He has not yet received an answer.

On my leaving, Gambetta touched upon the approaching elections in Germany, and said that according to his information the elections would not bring in a Reichstag of a different colour: *Rien ne sera changé*. He thinks the Progressive party have done themselves harm with the lower classes of the people by their attitude in the Jewish question, for these, as he knew from Alsace, hated the Jews.

KING LUDWIG OF BAVARIA *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

HOHENSCHWANGAU, *January* 15, 1881.

MY DEAR PRINCE HOHENLOHE, — By the convention with Greece, concerning the repayment of the Bavarian loan, of which the completion is imminent, an affair which has hung over us for decades has reached a satisfactory conclusion. This speedy and satisfactory result is in great measure due to the active and circumspect co-operation which you, as interim chief of the Foreign Office of the German Empire, have lent to the settlement of this affair. Accept, my dear Prince, the expression of my fullest acknowledgment and my friendly thanks for the meritorious efforts made by you on this occasion which proved your devotion to the interests of my House.

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* The decree of March 29, 1880, according to which all Jesuit establishments were to be closed within three months, and notice was given to all congregations hitherto unauthorised by the State to apply for authorisation within the same time.

I am, with particular esteem,
Your well-disposed King,
LUDWIG.

Journal.

PARIS, *March* 11, 1881.

The Gambetta-Grévy conflict has lately occupied me much. The affair is for the time being patched up, as Gambetta appeared yesterday at the Elysée ball, and conversed with Grévy in a friendly way. How it will be with the *scrutin de liste* no one knows. Certainly Grévy would not be able to maintain himself if he suffered a defeat. It is not impossible with Grévy's apathetic character that that may happen.

PARIS, *April* 8, 1881.

General Pittié * who passed through Berlin on his way back from St. Petersburg,† saw the Kaiser and Prince Bismarck there, and is much pleased with the graciousness with which he was treated at Court. Prince Bismarck talked to him and St. Vallier on various questions, and said that the French were to go ahead in Tunis, and not trouble themselves about the Italians. Referring to the Greek question he said: "In Greece there is only one honest man, that is the King; for he is not a Greek, and we must not suffer him to be driven out." Pittié and St. Hilaire ‡ are greatly astonished by this plain speaking.

BERLIN, *May* 20, 1881.

Arrived here on the 16th in the evening to dine with Bismarck. There was not much conversation about politics, as an old Herr von Dewitz, a college friend of Bismarck's, talked much about Göttingen's conviviality. He had been drinking a good deal at table, and would not cease talking about his former feats of that nature.

The remaining days passed in conversation with Styrum and Holstein, and in visits and sittings of the Reichstag. On Thursday I was with Hermann in Potsdam. It is to be noted that

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* The chief of the Military Cabinet of the President.

† The funeral ceremony of the murdered Czar Alexander II. had taken place on March 27.

‡ Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Foreign Minister since September 22, 1880.

Prince Wilhelm is a rather youthfully inconsiderate young man, of whom his mother is afraid, and who comes also into conflict with his father, the Crown Prince. His wife is said to exert a moderating influence. The Crown Princess spoke much about Russia, also the Crown Prince. They are both horrified at the state of things there, and the Crown Princess quite shares my view that only the constitutional system can help. The Imperial Chancellor fears that a law-giving assembly would only cause the Czar to make good speakers Ministers, but that I did not tell her. The Crown Prince said that the Czar expressed himself in a very friendly way to him, that the Grand Duke Vladimir had become, through repeated sojourns in Germany, quite a friend of Germany. The Czar had expressed himself as averse from a Constitution.

May 22.

Yesterday, Imperial dinner with Viktor. Very successful. The Emperor, in the Silesian Cuirassier uniform, very bright and cheerful, commanded me for twelve o'clock to-day.

May 24.

At the audience yesterday we spoke of Paris, and then of Russia. The Emperor seemed not much pleased by the nomination of Ignatiew.* He spoke, too, of the Constitution, and I thought I noticed that he would become reconciled to the idea of a constitution for Russia.

I went in the evening with Paul Lindau and his wife to the National-theater, to see Rossi as Romeo. Magnificent. Then to the Imperial Chancellor. When I gave him the Countess Mercy d'Argenteau's compliments, the conversation turned upon the war and the peace negotiations. He said that he had waited for Clément Duvernois to negotiate for peace as the Emperor's plenipotentiary. The latter, however, came too late, when the armistice had just been concluded with Thiers. Of the Empress and her activity as Regent, he spoke very contemptuously, saying she had conducted herself quite as a Liberal Regent, just like the Crown Princess, whose idea is to hand everything over to Hänel, and let him act.

BERLIN, *May* 27, 1881.

The result of a discussion that I had yesterday with Saburow is that the negotiations begun last year between St. Petersburg and Vienna will assuredly lead to a renewal of the alliance of the three Emperors. It seems that the matter is being very secretly conducted. Saburow thought that I knew about it, and spoke out in detail. Between Berlin and St. Petersburg there is no difficulty. In Vienna they still want to make the condition that besides the recognition of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the sandschak of Novibazar shall also be annexed by Austria, and included as Austrian territory in the guarantee of the treaty of the Powers. A condition to which Russia will not agree, as the Emperor of Russia will not concede any more than his father. Saburow believes, however, that this difficulty can also be overcome, and hopes soon to sign the treaty which is to be concluded here. Saburow spoke then of the state of affairs in Russia, and said that all Russians who come through here are constitutionalists. He himself seemed doubtful, and fears that, as the Imperial Chancellor will probably have said to him, a constitution and the legislative body consequent upon it will call forth centrifugal tendencies.

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* Count Ignatiew, the former Ambassador in Constantinople, was appointed Minister of Crown Lands on April 7, on May 16 Minister of the Interior.

PARIS, *June* 21, 1881.

Arrived here this morning at nine o'clock. At three o'clock I paid a visit to Grévy. He received me with particular friendliness and seemed much satisfied with his success.* After some general conversation I came round to the latest political occurrences. He said that the Chamber of Deputies voted only under great pressure for the *scrutin de liste* † but would "have been really in favour of the retention of the mode of election hitherto existing. It had also, he said, passed the law by a majority of only 8 votes. The country was quite indifferent, and rather against it. Only some ambitious persons had pursued the matter from selfish motives. The country, he said, desired peace. Also the attempt to move the Chamber not to prolong the Budget had arisen from these motives. It was intended to disquiet the country. "I would, however, never have dissolved the Cabinet. If it would not vote the Budget, that would have been its own business. I would not have lent a hand to it."

I found the President more self-possessed than usual. When I left he accompanied me to the outer steps, which he never does as a rule.

General d'Abzac, who visited me, said that Gambetta had done himself harm not only by his journey to Cahors,‡ but also by his aristocratic manners and predilections. About eight days ago Marquis du Lau, whom he knows, arranged a dinner to meet Rothschild. At this dinner were present several men in good society: La Tremoïlle, A. Rothschild, Breteuil, Kerjégu, and others. There Gambetta spoke very conservatively. The dinner has put his Republican friends out of humour. That has also contributed to prepare his downfall in the Republican party.

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* Presumably the result of the Tunisian expedition is meant. By the Treaty of May 12 France had received the Protectorate over Tunis.

† On May 19. On June 9 the Senate rejected the law.

‡ Gambetta's native town. The journey took place from May 25 to 30.

June 22.

Lesseps was with me here, and said that the United States had concluded a treaty with Colombia, by which the new canal will fall into their hands. The Senate of Colombia, however, he said, had thrown out the treaty, and Lesseps desired now that Germany should take the matter in hand and carry through a general neutrality, an understanding between all Powers and Governments that would recognise the neutrality of all sea-straits. The Colombian Minister is coming to me to-day.

The following quatrain is attributed to Beust, who will, however, not acknowledge the authorship:

Si pour éviter la guerre
Il est utile de braire,
On doit prier M. St. Hilaire
De faire une circulaire.

PARIS, *June* 29, 1881.

Gambetta, whom I visited to-day, spoke of the Anglo-French commercial treaty, and remarked that he held the tariff question far less important than the preservation of good commercial relations, and that he hoped that some result would in the end be gained. The Chamber, he said, would have an opportunity of expressing itself upon the tariff question at the Discussion to be held upon the proposed prolongation. The Tariff-protection party was represented especially in the Senate, but the Senate, he said, should not be allowed to lead in this matter. Of the *scrutin de liste*, he said that it was impossible for the next period of legislation. The question must for the present be allowed to rest. It was precisely the supporters of the present mode of election, however, who would reap no advantage from the rejection of the *scrutin de liste*, for the Radical party would gain seats. Referring to the inquiry * to take place to-morrow, Gambetta said that it would lead to nothing, only to squabbling. It seems then to be correct when it is said that Gambetta will not attack Albert Grévy.

July 12.

Waddington told me a few days ago about the debate in the Senate on the *scrutin de liste.* His colleagues, he said, had wondered at his courage in daring to oppose Gambetta, before whom they crouched *à quatre pattes.* He said he had only conquered because he brought the matter as quickly as possible to a decision. Had it lasted another fortnight Gambetta would have brought round the majority, for he would have made extraordinary efforts to undermine them.

Yesterday I was with the Nuncio. The Nuncio looked very miserable, and smelt very much of *vésicatoires,* which he had about him. Even the flies in his room were torpid and sticky.

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* Into the state of things in Algiers, and the accusations made against the Governor-General, Albert Grévy, brother of the President.

PARIS, *July* 15, 1881.

Yesterday was the festival of July 14, in memory of the day when the mob of Paris killed a few innocent soldiers and officers and destroyed the Bastille, in which no one would ever have been imprisoned again, for the *grands principes* of 1789 were already proclaimed. There had, however, been a rising, and the Republican *faiseurs* thought themselves called upon to choose the anniversary for the national festival, in order to treat the Parisian mob to an ever recurring compliment. This pleases the Parisian very much, and those who really no longer know anything about the Bastille are pleased that it is a holiday, when the *badauds* have plenty to look at, and when there is much drinking, shouting, and perspiring.

PARIS, *July* 15, 1881.

At nine o'clock in the morning I went on to the terrace of the Tuileries Gardens, to look on at the demonstration before the statue of the town of Strassburg — opposite the Rothschilds' house — about which I had been told. A few workmen in black coats were standing there, and had red flags, which they had brought with them and had reared against the pedestal. They were wating for their comrades, who had appointed a procession to start from that place. As no one came I went home. Later a procession of students is said to have sung a song there. At one o'clock I drove to the review. Of the other gentlemen of the Embassy, none were present, as Bülow was having an airing at the seaside, and Thielmann in Compiègne. On the President's stand I found many Ambassadors' wives, a few elegant South American diplomatists, as well as the friend of the Grévy household, Madame Dreyfus. Then came Lyons, Fernan Nunnez, and Orlow, and others. We were much crowded together. The review was like all others. The heat was tempered by a fresh breeze. The sun was terrible, and many soldiers fell out. Indeed the grass was so dried up that it suddenly took fire, probably in consequence of a match thrown down, and began to burn. We saw how a regiment, which was some distance from us, made every effort to stamp out this prairie fire. After the review I looked at the Boulevards and a few other streets to enjoy the spectacle of the countless tricolours. At the review, Madame Blest-Gana, Madame Magnin,* Madame Arago, and the Prefect of Police had arranged to come to me at 8.30, in order to take a drive, under Andrieux's guidance. They came very punctually. I drove with Madame Magnin, and the little Blest-Gana. The youngest, who is fifteen years old, had an enormous Rembrandt hat on, and makes conversation like a lady. In the other carriage drove Madame Arago, Madame Blest-Gana, and Andrieux, and the others in a third carriage.

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* Madame Blest-Gana, wife of the Chilian Minister; Madame Magnin, wife of the Minister of Finance.

We drove along the Seine as far as Ranelagh and then turned into the Bois. There we got out and walked to the Lac, where everything was illuminated like fairyland, and fireworks were let off incessantly. We sat for a time on the grass, went in an illuminated bark in and out amongst the other boats lighted up with paper lanterns and then returned home. After I had set down some of the ladies, I drove at a foot pace with Madame Magnin from the Avenue de la Grande Armée to the Louvre. We could not, however, get so far, and were compelled to do the last part on foot. At twelve o'clock I set down Madame Magnin there, and walked for some time longer through the lighted up streets, and in the illuminated Tuileries Gardens, and arrived at last at one o'clock at home, where I found the official illuminations still burning. I immediately ordered them to be extinguished, thankful that the festival was over. I must say though that the Parisian people, although they drank continually in the heat, conducted themselves very respectably. There is said to have been a great scuffle in the Faubourg Montmartre between the police and the mob. But that was at two o'clock in the morning, and only there. For the rest everything passed off very harmlessly. I would not, however, go to see the festival a second time.

August 7.

Returned yesterday from St. Valéry-en-Caux, where I had two days sea bathing. In the afternoon as I was walking across the Pont de Solférino, I saw a dirty-looking man walking along in front of me, who probably came from a Social-Democratic meeting and was drunk. He evidently was repeating the speeches that he had heard, in incoherent phrases, which he shouted out in an impassive tone. I understood "*Malheur à vous*," and such like. A stout old workman in a blouse listened to it for a time, and then shouted: "*Veux-tu bien cesser de gueuler, salaud*," and so on. That seemed to impress the shouter so much, that he was silent and went quietly on his way amidst the laughter of the listeners.

BEUZEVILLETTE, *August* 16, 1881.

An excursion that was arranged to Cabourg,* could not take place, and Madame Magnin, whom we were to visit there at Beuzevillette, asked me whether I had given up this visit also. I could not well decline to visit her at her château, also it seemed to me expedient and interesting. I left Paris therefore yesterday morning at eight o'clock, had an hour to wait at Rouen, and went on then to Nointot, where Madame Magnin's carriage met me. The house is a small château, in the style of the last century, with a pretty park. I found there the Prefect of Rouen, a M. Renaud, with his wife and three daughters. The latter distinguished themselves by a French such as I had not yet heard. The men of the party told me it was "*l'accent bourguignon.*" We amused ourselves for two hours with croquet, and then I dressed and went in to the *salon*. At half-past six was dinner, at which the above-named guests, besides an old cousin with his wife, two Sous-préfets and a Receveur, were present. All very pleasing, cultivated people, particularly the Sous-préfet of Havre. In the evening we played a game of whist, and then the Prefect drove away. The Sous-préfets remained. I am occupying an old-fashioned room, which has a view over the trees. Unfortunately it rained in torrents all night, and is pouring still at present.

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* A sea-side resort.

PARIS, *August* 18, 1881.

On the 16th we had a walk in the rain, and then in the afternoon we played whist. Dined at seven. At ten I drove with M. Nelson, the General Secretary of the Prefecture in Rouen, to the station, where we groped about in the wet and at last found a train, after one had steamed past us so full that it could not take us up. I arrived at Rouen at half-past twelve. The Hôtel d'Angleterre was so full that I found poor accommodation though it was clean enough. The next morning I looked at the beautiful churches of Rouen, the most beautiful Gothic churches that I know. The Palais de Justice is also a magnificent Gothic building, in the transition stage from Gothic to Renaissance. I breakfasted with M. Nelson, who told me much of interest about Algiers, where he was born. He accompanied me to the station. I reached Paris at half-past four. There every one is occupied with the scene at Belleville,* and discusses whether this will injure Gambetta or not.

PARIS, *August* 22, 1881.

The Nuncio, who visited us yesterday, is of my opinion, that Gambetta will not undertake the Ministry, but that a Freycinet-Ferry-Brisson Ministry is at hand. He thinks that St. Hilaire will not remain. He thought too that Gambetta would be elected, and that he is not yet done with. This I believe too. Then I drove with Philipp Ernst to the Père Lachaise, walked through the cemetery and came to the Mairie of the 20th Arrondissement, where Gambetta's election was.† We roamed about at first for a time before the Mairie, where various groups of citizens and workmen stood arguing. Incredible nonsense was talked. Some were for Gambetta, others against him. A little workman in a black blouse with a pale face and fanatical eyes said that Gambetta could not be elected because he was a friend of Gallifet, who had sent him, the workman, to Nouméa. Then he spoke against the clergy, said that it was his wish that they should be excluded from election "*parce que ils ne prennent pas part à la défense de la patrie; il faut les traiter comme les femmes.*" Once he said, "*Le bon Dieu ne peut pas vouloir cela, s'il y a un Dieu — car moi, je n'y crois pas,*" and so on. He complained that the rich bought themselves graves in Père Lachaise, and the others were buried together. A well-to-do citizen, on the other hand, with whom I spoke, was against the Socialists, and said that would be a nice thing if one had to give one's savings to these people! All pleasure in work would then be at an end! When I asked him whether Gambetta would he elected, he said, "*Nom de nom, oui!*" A workman in a blue blouse spoke against the Socialists, but put himself to shame by all sorts of mistakes and was laughed at. On the whole the Socialists were in the minority. We then went to the polling-place where we looked on at the conclusion of the *scrutin*, and then returned through the cemetery to our carriage.

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* During an election speech on the 16th, Gambetta was howled down by the Radical mob, and forced to withdraw.

† On August 21 the election of Deputies took place.

In the evening we went for a little to the Folies Bergères, and when it was time we wandered through the neighbouring streets to the *Figaro* and the *Citoyen* in the Rue Drouot. In the office of the *Citoyen* there were many Socialists, who were lamenting very much that Gambetta had been elected in both election centres. I bought a few newspapers and hurried home at twelve o'clock in order to be in time to telegraph. To-day every one is well satisfied. The peaceful Republic is secured. Ferry has gained a great victory. Gambetta must now go with the Moderates, for the Radicals will no longer follow him. My reports hitherto are fully confirmed.

VARZIN, *October* 23, 1881.

Left Rauden October 22. In the evening at Berlin, Hôtel du Nord. Left Berlin on the morning of the 23rd for Varzin, travelling by way of Stettin. I arrived in time for dinner, towards six o'clock. The Imperial Chancellor looks bright and well, and seems in very good humour. He inquired about my election prospects. On the whole, he said, one could not make any prognostication. It was all the same, however, how the elections went. A change of system, he said, would not be the result. Should a majority come which would not accept his economic measures and schemes of taxation, these must be postponed. These, he said, were things which could not be carried through off-hand. Whether this should be carried through during his lifetime, or after, was the same to him. That he had the duty only of proposing what he held to be needful.

In the evening at tea there was much talk about the past, about Darmstadt, Frankfurt, and so on. Then the Prince suddenly asked: "Well, where has Gambetta been all this time? I am still waiting for him."* He then said that he would have liked much to see him. It was part of his duty to receive foreign statesmen. Gambetta was, he said, without doubt called upon to play in one of the most important neighbouring countries a great part, and therefore it would have been quite agreeable to him to converse with him. That the rumour should still exist, the Imperial Chancellor said, was explained by the impossibility of finding a form for the *démenti* that would not wound Gambetta. Then he told me of the various attempts that had been made to bring Gambetta and himself together.

The Prince also asked whether I was satisfied with Thielmann. I answered that I thought him a very capable man. The Prince said that the gentlemen in Berlin were better satisfied with Bülow's † political report than with Thielmann's. That, he said, surprised him. That it was possible Thielmann might be better in a financial capacity than in diplomacy. He might fit himself in time for the Ministry of Finance. Only that he must attain the age for it; meanwhile he might always be a Minister somewhere. I then indicated Bülow as the most suitable First Secretary in Paris. At half-past eleven we parted.

To-day after breakfast conversation turned again upon the policy towards France. The Imperial Chancellor insisted again, as on previous occasions, that we could only wish that France might be successful in Africa. We might rejoice if she found satisfaction elsewhere than on the Rhine. Our relations with France could always be peaceful and friendly; for as long as she has no allies she could not be dangerous to us. We should, he said, beat her, even if the English were with her. In reference to this he told the following story about his sojourn in Paris in the year 1867: He had then often conversed with Marshal Vaillant, who showed him particular sympathy, and told him that he, Bismarck, was popular amongst the French soldiers as *un gaillard que n'a pas froid aux yeux.* When Bismarck rejoined that that was very pleasing to him, and proved that good relations with France could be preserved, Vaillant answered: "*Ne vous y trompez pas, il faudra tout de même croiser les baïonnettes.*" And when Bismarck asked why, he answered: "*Nous sommes comme le coq qui ne veut pas qu'un autre coq crie plus fort que lui.*" "*Eh bien,*" replied Bismarck, "*vous allez nous trouver au rendez-vous.*"

In the evening the Prince added that whoever were Minister in France, even if it were Gambetta, there would be no change in our peaceful policy. Then he begged me to tell the Kaiser that he was still unwell, and suffering from nerves. The Kaiser, he said, was inconsiderate towards him, and irritated him. For instance, that he had, inspired he knew not by whom, written the Prince a rude letter about Korum's appointment,* and accused him of negotiating with Rome without asking the Kaiser.

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* Gambetta had been in September and October in Germany.

† The present Imperial Chancellor.

But the Kaiser, he said, had in this forgotten that he had expressly granted his consent to Schlözer's mission.† That Schlözer had gone to Rome to ask what would be said in Rome if on the Prussian side, while supporting the laws, a conciliatory course was pursued. That there had never been a question of a Nunciature and of a reciprocal agreement. Bismarck wishes to obtain satisfaction for the Prussian Catholics by filling up the vacant sees and by dealing with them generally in a conciliatory manner. More he will not do.

I must still add a few more utterances of Bismarck's. During a discussion about the state of things in Germany, he said that the Germans did not know how to deal with the Nuremberg toy that he had given them; and that they were spoiling it. If this went on the allied Governments would return to the old Diet, and only preserve the military and financial confederation, but give up the Reichstag. Then he said: "I might, of course, do things much more comfortably. I might make trouble, do nothing, and play the part of a figure-head Imperial Chancellor. That would be much more comfortable. But as long as I am in office, my sense of duty will not allow that. I can also not hurt the old gentleman by leaving him so long as he lives; I must get on as best as I can with him."

PARIS, *October* 31, 1881.

Returned from Berlin yesterday. This morning with Barthélemy St. Hilaire, whom I found to have resigned. He said that he would retire shortly. That Gambetta's Ministry was inevitable. He, however, could not remain in it. He recognised Gambetta's good qualities, his talent, his spirited activity, his patriotism. But Gambetta had grown up in an atmosphere that was strange to him (St. Hilaire), and to which he could not reconcile himself. Gambetta was an orator, he said, but no statesman, and wanting in calm deliberation. We should, of course, see what he would do. All through his explanation it was apparent that he hoped that Gambetta would soon be used up. This hope, and the, in my opinion, unfounded expectation that there will then be a return to more moderate men, leads Barthélemy St. Hilaire to hope that Ferry will not enter the Ministry. However, he fears, and Beust, whom I saw later, decidedly believes, that Ferry will not refuse in the unlikely event of Gambetta offering him a Ministry. He is doubtful, he said, whether Freycinet will undertake the Ministry of War. He recognises Freycinet's capabilities, but thinks that he is too much of a mathematician, and too much accustomed to mathematical deductions, to have a correct estimate of things, and to take sufficiently into account actual facts. St. Hilaire thinks that Léon Say will now, notwithstanding his former attitude, even now come in as Minister of Finance, assuming that Gambetta offers it to him. That he is not a consistent man. It seems that Tissot is to receive the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. St. Hilaire thinks that Gambetta would do well to take the Ministry of Justice. Then he would not have much to do, and would be able to direct the whole. A position as a Minister without a portfolio would be detrimental to Grévy, for in that case Gambetta would be practically President of the Republic, and there would be nothing left for Grévy. With regard to the extradition question, St. Hilaire said that the ministry were agreed thus far, that in the *exposé des motifs* they must pronounce that murder was not a political crime.

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* The Government had come to an understanding in July with the Curia about the appointment of the Alsatian, Dr. Korum, as Bishop of Trier. He was consecrated Bishop at Rome on August 24, and on August 29 acknowledged by the King. He was excused the oath of allegiance.

† Schlözer, then Minister in Washington, had gone in July on a secret mission to Rome to negotiate semi-officially about the settlement of the education contest.

Grévy, to whom I paid a visit afterwards, said: "*Eh bien! ici nous sommes dans l'enfantement.*" He approves of the ministers defending their policy to the Chambers. He really could not see how the ministry could be reproached for the Tunis affair. The expedition had been necessary. Everything had gone off well. Perhaps the military administration had not been all that it should have been; he did not know. Beust does not regard the position as serious, though he does not think Grévy's optimism reasonable.

PARIS, *November* 1, 1881.

Blowitz came to-day. After a few introductory words he touched on the matter that had brought him. He said: "*Gambetta n'a pas été à Varzin?*" and looked knowing, as if to say, "I know that he was there." To that I replied: "No, he has not been there." And, as he stared at me in surprise, I added: "The Prince would have been very pleased to receive Gambetta, had he gone to Varzin; but he did not go." Blowitz, in reply: "*Mais alors son voyage était une bêtise! Comment, il s'expose à être insulté en Allemagne,*" &c. Blowitz gives Gambetta two years; then he will be worn out.

PARIS, *November* 2, 1881.

St. Vallier, who had announced that he would call upon me to-day, came at five o'clock. He was anxious to discuss the advisability of his further stay in Berlin. He said that he was obliged to consider two points; in the first place, whether, in the opinion of the German government, he could rely upon the peaceful intentions of the French government in view of Gambetta's entry to the ministry; and, in the next place, whether the composition of the ministry would make it possible for him to remain. As far as the first point was concerned, he was convinced that Gambetta would pursue a peaceful, non-revengeful policy. If he should be forced to change his opinion, he would not remain, as he could only represent a policy of peace. Thus, if Prince Bismarck did not withdraw his confidence from the French government after Gambetta's entry to office, it would be possible for him to remain. As to the second point, it went without saying that he could not represent a government which should form a Floquet government or anything of the kind. I replied that the German government would maintain their previous amicable relations with the Gambetta ministry, which appeared to be an imperative necessity to France. I was neither commissioned nor called upon to express any wishes concerning the Berlin Ambassadorship. As he asked me, however, I could assure him that we should be very glad to continue our diplomatic relations with him. As to the second point, I must regard his decision as final. St. Vallier begged me to write to the Prince that he had not applied directly to him, as he did not wish to trouble him for an expression of opinion. He was quite satisfied with my opinion. Whether, indeed, Gambetta did not prefer "*de se débarrasser de moi*" was a question which he could not as yet determine.*

PARIS, *December* 4, 1881.

Yesterday the first dinner at Gambetta's.† The whole Diplomatic Corps was invited. Gambetta received us at the drawing-room door. I sat next to the nuncio, who was in the place of the lady of the house, opposite to Gambetta, and the new Minister for the Interior, a young man of good appearance and agreeable conversation.‡ Gambetta sat between Lyons and Orlow. The catering was in the hands of the renowned chef Trompette, and was not, as is usual with Ministerial dinners, given to Potel and Chabot. Consequently it was very good, and did not give me indigestion, as is generally the case with these official dinners. After dinner I had a conversation with Spuller; § then with Gambetta. The latter said that he could not understand the opposition that was being raised to the Imperial Chancellor's financial policy, as his policy must advance the consolidation of the Empire. I told him that the Opposition, the Progressives as well as the Centre, were opponents of the unity of the Empire, federalists. That was new to him, and it was only then that he understood their policy. He expressed his entire admiration of the Imperial Chancellor's speech,* especially of what the Prince said about gratitude.

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* After the formation of the Gambetta Ministry, on November 14, St. Vallier handed in his resignation.

† The Ferry Ministry had resigned on November 10. On November 14 the Gambetta Ministry was formed. Gambetta became Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

‡ Waldeck-Rousseau.

§ Gambetta's friend, Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office.

December 16.

Gambetta dined with me yesterday. The dinner was down below; eighteen people. Of the Ministers, there were only, besides Gambetta, Paul Bert,† Waldeck-Rousseau, and Proust,‡ Kern and Beyens of the Diplomatic Corps, Berger and Pallain. There had been rumours that I had only invited the Ministers who had been presented to me or who were in sympathy with me. So, when Cochéry § came to me on the 14th to offer his apologies, I hurried to Paul Bert, who is the most disreputable person in the ministry from a social point of view, and invited him, frankly informing him of my reasons. He was very delighted, and accepted at once. The dinner went off very well. I sat between Gambetta and Waldeck-Rousseau. Kern, though, ate so slowly that he reduced Anton and Auguste to the verge of desperation and prolonged the dinner for an extra quarter of an hour. Beust acted as hostess. When we rose from table news arrived that Rochefort ‖ had been acquitted in the Roustan case. Gambetta shrugged his shoulders, and said that it had been a mistake to bring the action at all. He had also been accused of embezzlement, and his friends had urged him to prosecute for libel, but he had not done so, knowing that these actions only injure the prosecutor. The Parisian press would always be libellous and the public would always read it. Consequently the jury would always acquit, even if guilt were clearly proved.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *January* 4, 1882.

I sincerely thank your Highness for your kind wishes for the New Year, and heartily return the same, while thanking your Highness for your goodwill and effective support in office.

VON BISMARCK.

Journal.

PARIS, *January* 14, 1882.

It is forty years to-day since papa's death!

I arrived here last night with Elizabeth.¶ Was at Gambetta's this morning, and met Spuller. I only stayed a moment, as he was very busy. He spoke of the revision and of the necessity of including the *scrutin de liste* in the Constitution.* He seemed sure of success, and said, laughing: "*Ils le voteront!*" In his opinion, it is only by means of the Damoclean sword of the *scrutin de liste* that a solid majority, without which it is impossible to govern, can be created. "*On ne peut pas gouverner, si on doit se former chaque jour une nouvelle majorité.*"

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* During the debate on November 28, upon the Empire's contribution to the Hamburg Customs tariff, Bismarck had remarked: "No one owes any gratitude to me, and whoever says I expect it calumniates me. I have done my duty, and nothing more."

† Minister of Education.

‡ Minister of Fine Arts and State Manufactures.

§ Minister of the Post Office and Telegraphs.

‖ Rochefort, in the *Intransigeant*, had published revelations concerning the French representative in Turin, Roustan. Thereupon Roustan had brought an action against Rochefort, with the sanction of the Government.

¶ After his absence on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Philipp Ernst, which took place in Vienna, January 10, 1882.

January 19.

The votes in the offices for the special commission for the revision of the constitution show thirty-two out of thirty-three members who are against the *scrutin de liste.* Blowitz declares that Gambetta will not carry the *scrutin de liste*, and that he will be wiser if he restricts himself to a fight against a general revision of the constitution and on behalf of partial revision. Then he will hold his ground. If he insists on the *scrutin de liste* he will fall. I have to-day reported that Gambetta will carry the *scrutin de liste,* and do not know whether Blowitz is right. There is a struggle on the Bourse between Bontoux and the Jews.†

PARIS, *January* 31, 1882.

Blowitz says that Gambetta ‡ has now passed over to the "*sauveurs,*" and is on a par with the Comte de Chambord, Prince Victor Napoleon, and the rest. He will thus only be recalled if he is needed for the salvation of the country. He admits Gambetta's extraordinary oratorical talent, courage and determination, and parliamentary *savoir faire*, but says that Gambetta does not possess the qualities of a statesman. He is a domineering democrat, who seeks to win the people by promises in order to secure power for himself. For the present he is shelved. As he identified himself with the *scrutin de liste*, he was obliged to make the *scrutin de liste* the condition of his resumption of office, and as the Chamber will not agree to it before 1885 he will be excluded from participation in affairs until that year. The revision of the Constitution, says Blowitz, has been shelved. It is not at all necessary, according to the regulations, to place the decision of the Chamber before the Senate.

WIESENTHEID, *March* 21, 1882.

Just as I used to write my diary by the page, for Stephanie to read when we met, I am writing to-day to record the whole impression of the past week. Now to tell of Stephanie's illness and last hours.

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* The Bill for a revision of the Constitution, to include the *scrutin de liste*, came before the Chamber on January 14.

† On January 19 the Catholic "Union Générale Bontoux" suspended payment.

‡ On January 26, after the rejection of the *scrutin de liste* by the Chamber, Gambetta resigned. On January 31 the new Freycinet Ministry was formed. Freycinet became Foreign Minister.

On Sunday afternoon, March 11, we received a telegram to say that Stephanie had fallen ill of diphtheria. This news alarmed us. The contents of the telegram, however, were not disturbing. We thought that the illness had just commenced and that it might be possible to check it in its first stages. In the evening, however, news arrived that her condition was serious. We drove to Dr. Teste, the specialist in this disease, obtained from him an order to make use of his remedy, and immediately telegraphed it to Munich. On Monday the news was no better, but we still could not leave, as the *Chargê d'affaires* to whom I was bound to entrust the direction of affairs, was away, and not yet returned. At last he came, and we started on Wednesday evening. At Strasburg we found a telegram reporting improvement, likewise at Karlsruhe. We continued our journey relieved, but when we arrived at Munich station we were met by Karl Schönborn and G. Castell, who informed us that since the afternoon a change for the worse had taken place, and the operation of tracheotomy had been performed. Then our hopes sank very low. When we entered the house the news was told us in greater detail. Stephanie had herself asked for the operation. And now she was content to be able to breathe once more and to have escaped the danger of asphyxia. I found her in bed, unable to speak, on account of the incision, calm and composed. But her glance, as I said good-night to her, told me that she was conscious of her danger. We inquired early in the morning, and heard that the night had brought no change for the worse. The day passed quietly. In the evening I sat for a long time by her bedside, holding her hand. That pleased her, and she thanked me with a bright look. At ten o'clock I went down again, to write. I had hardly finished one letter before I was recalled by a cry of terror that the end had come. We hurried, hardly able to climb the stairs, to her bedside. She lay there pale, and apparently dying. All gathered round and cried. But when the doctors came in immediately afterwards they said that it was only a faint; she soon recovered. The night passed in anxious suspense. There was, to all appearance, little alteration; her weakness, however, increased, and no stimulants had any effect. Some of us remained upstairs, the others sat below, in the drawing-room. Then we went up again. She lay very quiet, dozing occasionally. As morning approached I stayed upstairs. And as the day began to break and the thrushes to sing I saw that the end could not be far away. There was no alteration perceptible in her face, no distortion, no fear, no rattle in the throat. She lay quietly, with her eyes open. Then her eyes assumed a wonderful, unearthly brilliance. There came into them an expression of illumination, joy, and resignation, such as I have never seen on any human face before. Thury sat on the bed and cried. She whispered "Better," to give him hope. Then she asked for a sleeping draught, which, however, the doctors could not give her. They gave her ether and camphor injections, which somewhat stimulated and refreshed the dying girl. I could do nothing more to help. When it was broad daylight, and the sun peeped brightly in, her breathing grew shorter and shorter, and at last ceased. Her pulse was quick to the last. Then her hands grew cold, her eyes dim, and at half-past eight her heart had ceased to beat.

When I saw her again in her coffin a few hours later she lay with a peaceful smile on her face. We buried her to-day. The grave is under a tree near the chapel. It was a mild, sunny spring day, on which we took leave for ever of our most deeply-beloved daughter.

Man hat in Blumen dich zur Ruh getragen,
Ein Blütenhauch zieht über deine Gruft.
Du warst ja selbst wie Lenz und Frühlingsduft,
Wie Sonnenschein an blütenreichen Tagen.

Und wenn du kamst, zog Freude, zog Behagen
In jedes Herz, wie wenn die Frühlingsluft
Das junge Grün zu neuem Leben ruft
Und sanft im Hain die Nachtigallen schlagen.

Nun ist dahin, was uns so hoch beglückt,
Es brach des Auges strahlend heller Glanz,
Das heitre Lächeln deiner Lippen schwand.

Als sie mit Blumen deinen Sarg geschmückt,
Stand ich gelähmt von Schmerz. Nimm hier den Kranz,
Geliebtes Kind, den ich in Tränen wand!

PARIS, *May* 13, 1882.

Beust, who was here to see me this morning, came to talk about his recall, and said it was a piece of great stupidity to recall him. In Vienna they dread his memoirs. Now he will have time to write them; here he would never have had the time. Besides which, all the opposition forces will gather round him. He was in the Upper House, so could take an active part in politics. It seemed to me that he talked of himself as of a third person, a bad character, quite outside and apart from himself. His mocking laugh, as he spoke, and the whole interview, made a very repellent impression upon me.

PARIS, *June* 23, 1882.

The Egyptian question has kept me very busy during the last week.* Last Sunday I went to Freycinet, to inquire how matters stood with the conference. He had had favourable news, but he did not know who was to issue the invitations. I said: "Why, the Powers who first conceived the idea of the conference." "That would be France and England," said Freycinet. "Then," I replied, "those two Powers should issue the invitations." This was a new idea to Freycinet. Then he asked when the conference ought to begin. I thought not before the 5th; but that was too late for Freycinet, who proposed Friday the 23rd. I suggested that it was an unlucky day, and he had better propose the Thursday. That suited him, and he asked me to inquire from Berlin whether they would be satisfied there with the mode of invitation and the day. I then went to church, and afterwards home, telegraphed to the Imperial Chancellor, and by six o'clock received the brief reply that he was quite satisfied with all that we had proposed. So I went at once to the Ministry, but there was no Minister there, no *chef de cabinet* — in fact, no one at all. Then I went home again, and as I was dining in the evening at Blest-Gana's, I had the horses put in earlier, and drove out to Passy, to Freycinet's first, and thence to the dinner in the Avenue de la Grande Armée. The dinner was curious, and there was a reception afterwards. The next few days there were all sorts of ups and downs, until to-day the conference has at last begun. Waddington, with whom I was speaking to-day, is very dissatisfied with the weakness of the French and English Governments, and said that in this way the Powers would lose all their prestige with the Mohammedans. Now it is difficult to do anything. The Western Powers ought to have put Egypt in order a year ago.

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* France and England had mooted a conference of ambassadors in Constantinople for the settlement of the Egyptian question.

PARIS, *July* 6, 1882.

At church this morning. I went to Notre Dame. A plain coffin stood there, with a white cloth over it and a wreath of everlasting flowers upon it. Two women were kneeling in front of it. The priest came into the side chapel close by and said a private Mass over it. I remained there too, to hear the Mass. Stephanie's birthday!

VARZIN, *November* 7, 1882.

Yesterday I went to see Friedberg, to discuss the ecclesiastical question with him. He agrees with me that we cannot now be compliant. That is also Bismarck's opinion. He will wait until proposals from Rome are brought forward. Friedberg thinks that Puttkamer and Gossler are making a mistake in passing over the Catholic State priests and putting Ultramontanes in good positions. That is absurd. The choice of Korum as Bishop of Treves was a blunder. Korum was recommended by Manteuffel and is a Frenchman. Friedberg likewise thinks that Herzog is not suited to Breslau, and that Gustav would have been the proper Prince Bishop. Herzog is a man of inferior education and views;

a *Rechnungsrat* [accountant] who wishes to play the cavalier, and whose elevated position makes him lose his head.

In the evening I drove out to Potsdam, to the Crown Prince. He received me at first alone, and spoke very sympathetically, and at length, about Stephanie. Then he began to speak of the danger of his own house in Berlin. The district was infested with diphtheria, and he is uneasy about the winter, when he will have to go there. Then the Crown Princess came in. Likewise very sympathetic. She thinks in many ways the same as I, and expresses her opinion very frankly. I am only afraid that she does the same to others, which is not wise. It may be that Christian consolation does not suffice one, but it is better to keep this to oneself and think it over. Plato's dialogues and the ancient tragedies she finds very consolatory. Much that she said was true. But she is too incautious and hasty in her verdicts upon things which are, after all, worthy of reverence.

We went to supper and continued our conversation. After the meal a Fräulein Zimmermann played the piano.

To-day, the 7th, I left Berlin at 8.30 A.M. for Varzin, *via* Stettin, and other places, and arrived here at six o'clock. The Imperial Chancellor, with his white beard, was in high spirits. At table we discussed wines and fruit; afterwards, over our cigars in the drawing-room, moose-hunting, Prince August of Prussia, Frederick the Great, and other subjects, but politics little. He recommended an attitude of great reserve towards the Western Powers, no offers of advice, and no incitement to disturbance, which would give occasion for ill-feeling. If the French want the English to give them a free hand in Syria, it does not matter to us. The French are to be allowed to do what they like everywhere, so long as they keep away from the Rhine.

He expressed himself unfavourably concerning Courcel.* He is too passionate and aggressive. If we had been less considerate to France, his behaviour might have caused friction. I asked whether this referred to the question of the European mandate, to which Bismarck replied that it did. He thought that we could not give any mandate without compromising ourselves. We need not form any verdict with regard to the actions of the Great Powers, but must, before all things, pursue a policy of self-interest.

November 8.

The Prince mentioned Turgenieff to-day, and declared that he was the most intellectual living writer of any nationality.

In the evening a long discussion over our pipes. Bismarck charged me to present his compliments to St. Vallier, and to say to him "*que nous le regrettons.*" With regard to French affairs, he says that we must look on quietly, should the French and English locomotives happen to collide. For the rest, we are to continue to observe the same benevolent attitude, ignoring possible clamorous accusations of Chauvinism, and we are to assure the French that we shall never threaten them, even if they should get into difficulties, so long as they keep away from the Rhine. They can do whatever they like in the rest of the world. We are quite agreeable to a republic. In a monarchy we see the prospect of a war. If they attack us, we shall defend ourselves. Yes, it may be that we shall attack them, if the monarchy seems to menace ourselves.

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* Baron de Courcel, formerly director of the political department of the Foreign Office, was appointed Ambassador to Berlin, December 28, 1881.

PARIS, *November* 15, 1882.

Returned to Paris the night before last. Received a great many visits yesterday. Went to see Duclerc to-day.* He spoke of the Egyptian Question, said that there was a prospect of an understanding with England, and is very pleased that the other Powers did not encourage England in unreasonable demands. The matter is not, however, concluded. The form of the arrangement was a matter of indifference, provided that France secured a share, proportionate to her interests, in the control of the Egyptian finances. Among domestic questions, he touched upon the anarchist movement.† The minister said it was somewhat ominous, quoted the terms of his declaration, and said that he should maintain order with a strong hand. The foreigners who took part in the movement would be expelled. As far as the Chamber was concerned, he complained chiefly of the Conservatives, who ought to have been satisfied with the attitude of the Ministry, and yet were his most violent opponents, because they would like to see the situation as bad as possible; and yet this would not end in their advantage. The monarchy was impossible. There was talk of *coups d'état*, and there were many impotently desiring it with no prospect of realisation. The European Powers, Duclerc thought, were chiefly interested in the consolidation of the Republic. The French Republic would only produce a bad effect upon neighbouring monarchies if it did *not* exist. A monarchy could never subsist for long in France, and its collapse would entail many far-reaching disturbances. I expressed to M. Duclerc my entire agreement with his opinions.

PARIS, *November* 16, 1882.

This morning, as I was riding in the Bois, I met Andrieux. We rode a little way together. Andrieux gratefully accepted a few congratulatory remarks upon his speech, and said he thought it would now be necessary to combat parliamentarism.* It is said that he is full of a revision of the constitution in a Conservative direction.

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* The Freycinet Cabinet resigned on July 29, when the Chamber refused the credit required, for the garrisoning of the Suez Canal. On August 8 the Duclerc Cabinet was formed. Duclerc became Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

† Excesses of the miners at Monceau-les-Mines, August 16.

PARIS, *November* 20, 1882.

M. Mollard wrote to me a few days ago that the President invited me on Monday the 20th to a shooting party at Marly. As I had no shooting things with me, I bought myself a shooting jacket at the Montagnes d'Ecosse and a pair of waterproof shoes. I then took advantage of the opportunity to buy myself a new gun, which I got from Guyot, who makes a specialty of English guns. One I borrowed from him. I was thus equipped, took 150 cartridges with me, and drove at ten o'clock this morning to the Elysée. There I found Fernan Nuñez, the Roumanian Minister Pherekydes, M. Mollard, and Grévy's two nephews, and finally Grévy's inevitable Jewish friend of the family, M. Dreyfus, all in shooting garb, most of them in blue coats. Then appeared a little old gentleman, who looked like an Upper Silesian country pastor, and who was introduced to me as M. Grévy's agent, a M. Mesquitte, a landed proprietor at Rambouillet. At last the President arrived. Then we went to lunch, which lasted rather a long time. Afterwards cigars were distributed, and the President said: "*Eh bien, messieurs, nous pourrions nous mettre en route.*" By this time it was twelve o'clock. In the courtyard we found two omnibuses waiting, in which we took our seats. I was with Grévy, Fernan Nuñez, Pherekydes, and Mesquitte. We talked of all sorts of things on the way. Grévy gave us a lecture on Napoleon I. and his marshals. We drove through the Bois to St. Cloud, past Beauregard, to the Marly preserves. Here we found the beaters and the *gardes-chasses* drawn up. An *inspecteur des forêts* showed us our places. We began with a drive across the ground, which, especially near a wood, swarmed with rabbits. In this drive I shot seventeen. Then came a battue of pheasants. After that we had a drive and a battue alternately. The weather was passable; a downpour now and again. At dusk the shooting came to an end. We had brought down 340 head, including 95 pheasants, 23 hares, 14 fallow deer, 1 partridge and a *rale*, or landrail. The rest were rabbits. I shot most — 60 head exactly: 24 pheasants, 34 rabbits, 1 hare, and the landrail.

M. Grévy changed his clothes in a forester's lodge. Then the bag was counted, not for the pleasure of looking at it, but so that they could pack up the various boxes of game. It is the custom here to send a portion of the game to each member of the shooting party. This packing took an hour. At last we were in the omnibus again, and arrived back at the Elysée at seven o'clock, where we took leave of M. Grévy and drove back home.

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* In the Chamber Andrieux had proposed a modification of the constitution on the model of North America (with reference to the President's position and the independence of the Ministers with regard to the Chamber).

PARIS, *December* 18, 1882.

I was talking to Duclerc to-day about Egypt. He would not say anything about the state of the negotiations. I could see, though, that he does not anticipate any result. He denies that the English are raising difficulties in Madagascar. A section only of the English politicians, who are under the influence of missionary zeal, are against France; the Government does not interfere. Upon the Egyptian question England will see that her action can bring her no advantage. Europe cannot sanction the closing of the route to India. "I do not know," said Duclerc, "what proposals your Government is making to England, but think that your interests are the same as ours."

December 19.

Shooting to-day with Hirsch, in the Versailles preserves. I drove with N. Potocki, Hirsch with the Duc de Penthièvre and the Duke of Koburg. A true sign of the times was the sight of the grandson of Louis Philippe shooting with Hirsch, the German Jew, at Versailles. It was raining as we drove out, but later, it cleared up, and the day was very pleasant.

PARIS, *January* 9, 1883.

Prince Napoleon was here to-day. He inquired after the Emperor and the Crown Prince, and charged me to convey his respects to both of them. He began to talk about the events of the day, and about Gambetta.* He asked what I thought of him. I said that he had, at any rate, shown himself to be an *homme de génie*, which he thought rather an overstatement. I said that he was, at any rate, an oratorical genius, and that he admitted. But in the conduct of business he lacked experience and education. He said he thought that he would leave a great *vide* in the party. Such positions could not be created at any moment. Upon the Egyptian question he was right, only he had not understood how to deal with the matter. He spoke with great contempt of the Chamber, and said that nothing more could be done in the Egyptian question at present, though France had had important interests there.

PARIS, *February*, 1883.

President Grévy, to whom I paid a visit to-day, is by no means ill, weak, or mentally depressed. He is as healthy and cheerful as ever. When I mentioned to him that people were saying that he was ill, he replied with a laugh: "*Oui ma santé les gêne beaucoup.*" I thanked him for Mollard's visit of condolence,† when he took the opportunity of asking for details of Prince Karl's death, and expressed his hopes that the Emperor would keep well. When I mentioned the troubles of the last few days he said that it was all very *ennuyeux*.* He complained of the stupidity of the Chambers, who were always inclined to push necessary measures to extremes. In the affair of the Princes of Orléans,† he said that he did not accuse the Princes of plotting, but he reproached them with allowing their friends to plot, and for inciting their party Press against the Government. He had been elected to uphold the Republic. It was his duty to defend the republican form of the State; the stupid law, *cette bête loi* of 1881,‡ deprived the Government of all means of defence and left it helpless. An alteration in the law was necessary. No Government tolerated attacks such as those daily hurled against the Republic.

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* Died December 31, 1882.

† On the death of Prince Karl, January 21, 1883.

PARIS, *April* 1, 1883.

Have written nothing since February. During a several weeks' attack of influenza, which only left me strength enough to stand and to look after current business, I was incapable of writing for other purposes. So an interesting time has gone by without notice; the arrest of Prince Napoleon,§ the debates about the Princes of Orléans, and much besides. On March 17 I went to Nice to gain strength, and we stayed there till the 28th at the Villa Mussigny. Went for excursions to San Remo and Mentone. Back on the 29th. On the 31st dinner at the War Minister's. It was thought here that I should remain in Nice to avoid the dinner at Thibaudin's.‖ I had no idea of this, however, and, in view of the instructions I had received, never thought of avoiding the dinner. It was arranged for seven o'clock, but did not begin until eight, because, for one thing, the Minister of Commerce only arrived at half-past seven. I had Thibaudin on my left side, Lord Lyons on my right. I had a very pleasant conversation with him. We talked about all manner of harmless subjects. The Minister for War is of my opinion that it is a mistake to suppress gambling, and can only lead to harm. We talked about absinthe drinking and the prevalence of it for a time in Africa, in which respect, however, there has been an improvement. On the whole I found Thibaudin a calm, well-bred, serious-minded man. It is a great pity that he broke his parole in the year 1870.

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* Resignation of the Duclerc Cabinet, January 23. Fallières Ministry, January 28.

† In January and February the Chambers were debating a law against the pretenders. As a result of the Senate's rejection of the Government proposals the Fallières Ministry resigned on February 13.

‡ Presumably the Radical Press law of July 21, 1881, which precluded the punishment of attacks upon the Government which did not directly lead to criminal actions.

§ As a result of his manifesto of January 16, which demanded the election of the head of the State by a plebiscite. On February 9 an *ordonnance de non-lieu* was issued, which resulted in the release of the Prince.

‖ General Thibaudin, captured when a colonel at Metz, escaped by breaking his parole and re-entered the service. He became Minister of War in the Fallières Ministry and retained this post under the Ferry Ministry formed on February 21.

PARIS, *April* 6, 1883.

Professor Krauss from Freiburg was here to-day. He is still much vexed because he was not made Bishop of Trèves, and told me the following about the matter: The Emperor had told him that he was to be Bishop of Trèves; but of late the Pope had lauded Korum to the skies, to make him coadjutor of Strassburg. When Archbishop Raess made this known to Field-Marshal Manteuffel, the latter protested and declared that he could not do with a priest who was committed to French interests, and refused to ask the Emperor's sanction. The authorities at Rome were thus embarrassed as to what they were to do with their desired coadjutor, and through the nuncio at Munich, and through Werthern, they recommended him to the Imperial Chancellor for the bishopric of Trèves. Bismarck, who had hoped that this would put the Alsatians in a good humour for the elections, was willing to propose Korum as Bishop of Trèves, and charged Gossler and Puttkamer, who were at Ems at the time, to get the consent of the Emperor. The two gentlemen went to see the Emperor just as the operation on the Empress was taking place, so that the Emperor, without reading it, agreed to sanction the nomination. Afterwards the Emperor was very angry, but then it was too late. So now they have Korum at Trèves and Herzog at Breslau — two enemies. Krauss says he hears that they are willing to surrender the academic training of the priests if the obligation to report themselves be remitted, and this Krauss regards as a great mistake. That Jacobini, since the death of Cardinal Franchi, has gone over to the Jesuits, Krauss declares is a certainty. The article in the *Norddeutsche Zeitung* on Ledochowski was the result of a communication made by Krauss to the Grand Duke of Baden, in which the danger of Ledochowski's residence in the Vatican was noted, together with the necessity of removing Ledochowski from the Vatican and of replacing Jacobini by another Secretary of State. But the article was so clumsy that it simply made Ledochowski's footing in the Vatican more secure.

PARIS, *April* 11, 1883.

This evening I had an opportunity of discussing the projected and modified manœuvres on the frontier with General Thibaudin, and told the General that I was glad the plan of the manœuvres had been modified, as the original project, had it been carried out, might have given rise to unpleasant discussions in the press of both countries. Thibaudin said that he had modified the plan because he believed that the same object could be attained without operating on so large a scale. "Besides which, I thought," he said, "that you were asked." I replied that I had known nothing about it. When I brought the conversation round to General Gallifet, and said to General Thibaudin, "You preferred not to concede this unusual position to the General," he replied: "Yes, I did it myself in the General's interest. The command would have done him more harm than good." Then the Minister of War began to talk about his own past, and said: "I will speak quite frankly to you. If I left Mayence, chiefly for the purpose of seeing my mother, and then took a commission in the Army again, the position in which my native country was placed at the time is my excuse. But I was most careful not to pursue any ambitious intentions in so doing, and for that reason, after the conclusion of peace, I at once relinquished the position I had acquired during the war. The commission of inquiry then acquitted me." I restricted myself to replying that he could not complain of the manner in which the German official Press had expressed itself with regard to him. That he admitted, and expressed his gratitude.

PARIS, *May* 13, 1883.

"*Le prodige de ce grand départ céleste qu'on appelle la mort, c'est que ceux qui partent, ne s'éloignent pas. Oh, qui que vous soyez qui avez vu s'évanouir dans la tombe un être cher, ne vous croyez pas quitté par lui. Il est toujours là. Il est à côté de vous plus que jamais. L'être pleuré est disparu, non parti. Les morts sont les invisibles, mais ils ne sont pas les absents.*"

— VICTOR HUGO.

The *Rappel* to-day reported Vacquerie's speech at Madame Drouot's funeral. In it he quoted these words.

PARIS, *May* 22, 1883.

This morning I had a letter from Count Seckendorff, who, to my surprise, informed me that the Crown Princess, who was only to have come to-morrow, has arrived to-day, and is at the Hôtel Bristol, and that she was expecting me at one o'clock. I drove there, stayed to *déjeuner*, and discussed with her what was to be done during the three days. As I dine with Ferry to-morrow, I proposed to her that she should dine at the Embassy on Friday. She accepted, but wishes it only to be a little dinner. On Thursday I shall give the Crown Princess a dinner at St. Germain.

PARIS, *May* 24, 1883.

At half-past three yesterday the Crown Princess arrived at the Embassy. The staff were presented to her, and the reception continued for some time, partly in the garden, partly in the library. Afterwards the Crown Princess drove to the Exhibition without me, and in the evening I dined at Ferry's. Princess Victoria went with a lady-in-waiting, Villaume and Vitztum, to the Hippodrome, where she is said to have enjoyed herself very much. To-day Lord Lyons gave lunch to the Crown Princess, as he is not able to invite her to dinner owing to the banquet he is giving to the English colony. So at half-past five to-day the expedition to St. Germain will be undertaken, and I am looking forward to it with some apprehension. Rural excursions with royal personages are not exactly among the pleasant things of life.

On Saturday the Royalties leave again.

PARIS, *July* 1, 1883.

I had accepted an invitation from the Marquise de Saint Clou, who lives quite near us, for yesterday evening; there was "*musique*" on the card. The drawing-room was badly lighted and the company rather somnolent. I asked for an introduction to the Duchess of Mirepoix, whom I probably knew already. She was conspicuous for her dazzling white stockings, in shoes that almost reminded one of paws. Then the Duke came, was introduced to me, and spoke feelingly of Arnim. Among the other guests were Madame de Reculot, Madame de Croy, Madame de Roche-Aymon, de Janzé, and others; then Gurowsky, Arthur Meyer, and many nobodies. The music was produced by the performance of a piano virtuoso, named Macalauso, I believe. An ordinary-looking man, who only played his own compositions. These consisted of first crawling about the keys very softly for about ten minutes as if he could hardly move his fingers, and then finishing up with a deafening drumming that lasted about five minutes, which was the more welcome because during the first part, owing to the heat, the whole company were on the verge of slumber. I took a Legitimist lady, *dame d'honneur de la Comtesse de Chambord*, in to supper, and disappeared at half-past eleven.

As I was sitting in the garden yesterday after dinner and reading in the fading light, I suddenly saw a rat under my table. However, I had no pistol in my hand. Up to now I have only killed one, which uttered such a piteous cry that it made me quite sorry for it.

Blowitz publishes an article to-day in which, discussing the various Ministers of the Foreign Office, he also alludes to me, and says: "That great and honest friend of peace and mutual toleration, who has for France all the affection consistent with his position and his duty." Challemel-Lacour * comes off badly in his article. He declares that the diplomatists hated him. I know nothing of it. To me he was always a sympathetic personality.

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* Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Ferry Cabinet.

PARIS, *July* 2, 1883.

Blowitz was here, to talk over the news of the illness of the Count de Chambord. He wishes to write an article, and, so it appears, agitate for the Orléans cause. He asked me whether we regarded the Orléans party as a greater danger to peace than the Republic. I gave him a definitely affirmative reply. Blowitz was not pleased, because he wants to conduct a campaign for the Orléans cause. But he resigned himself, and said that, from the German standpoint, perhaps we were right. He said he had definite grounds for believing that the Orléans princes would issue no manifesto. If they did so their banishment was certain. If the Republic banished them before they had done anything it would be a great mistake. "I think," he added, "that just because it would be so stupid the Republican Government will do it." Then he spoke of Challemel-Lacour and his article against him. He declares that Challemel-Lacour is a danger to France. He was so hated in England, and was so disagreeable in the conduct of diplomatic business, that even Lord Lyons went to him as little as possible. If this should continue and if Challemel-Lacour and the section of the press that he controls proceeded to irritate England, England would eventually join the Triple Alliance, and this quadruple alliance would crush France *comme une puce.*

PARIS, *July* 23, 1883.

The so-called Armée du Salut, a society founded in England by the Wesleyans or Booth Methodists, which has made it its aim to combat sin, and has a military organisation, has had a branch in Paris for the last two years, and holds its meetings in a distant part of the city. I was curious to see what these meetings were like, and drove yesterday evening, with Schwartzkoppen, after dining with Marie, to the place. It is in the Quai de Valmy, on the Canal St. Martin, in one of the remotest parts of Paris. We arrived there before half-past eight. It is a plain room with seats and a platform, upon which stand a piano and a number of chairs. It was empty when we arrived. From behind a partition in the upper part of the room singing and speaking could be heard. I asked a woman sitting by me what was going on there, to which she replied: "*Ils prient.*" It was the officers and converts preparing for the meeting. At half-past eight the singing stopped, and the officers and their companions came down. First came a few young girls, with black dresses and red collars on which the letter "S" was embroidered. Those were officers of the various ranks. Then a few middle-aged men, wearing black military blouses and the distinguishing mark; and, last of all, a few old women and children and several young men in poor clothing. They came in without any ceremony, seated themselves on chairs on the platform, and held their hands before their faces in prayer. Then a happy-looking young person of about twenty years of age, in the above-mentioned costume, and with a black straw hat upon her head, stepped to the front of the platform, and in rather English-French said: "We will sing the *cantique premier*." The first verse ran:

Nous voulons marcher vers le ciel:
Voulez-vous venir?
Jouir d'un salut éternel —
Voulez-vous venir?

After four verses had been sung, part of the audience joining in, the young person came forward again and gave an address, in which she invited her hearers to come to Jesus and renounce a sinful life. Then another *cantique* was sung, and then a poor-looking man, in an overcoat, about forty years of age, came forward and gave a similar address, in which he spoke of the slavery of sin, from which he had now freed himself since he had come to Jesus. All very earnest and sincere. This last speaker was a Frenchman. Then came a young man and related that he had been with the Armée du Salut for some time in Geneva, and that he brought greeting from friends there. Then another *cantique*. Then came a lady in uniform, and with a rather pronounced German accent gave an address and a warning to them to be converted. Jesus had washed her too in His Blood and she was happy. She was followed by a rather dirtily-dressed young man, perhaps a clerk, who likewise declared that he had turned from the world, and called upon those present to renounce sin. Then singing again. At last it was announced that Miss Charleston would speak. This was a pretty little person, hardly twenty years of age, with a pale face. Her address was the same mixture of pietistic mysticism, but was delivered with such modesty and attraction that she reaped general applause. After a few more hymns and addresses a young lady in uniform with a rather red nose, and looking as though she had a very bad cold, announced that Miss Booth — or, as she said, *la Maréchale* — was ill, and asked the hearers to pray for her. We should very much have liked to hear Miss Booth. She manages the Paris Committee of the Armée du Salut, and is the daughter of the Mr. Booth in London. The young lady announced further that the second part of the meeting was about to begin, in which only those who wished to be converted were to take part. As this was not our purpose, we came away. The audience had meanwhile grown to very large dimensions. Besides a few people of the educated classes, who had come from curiosity, I saw many workmen and their families, probably people from the neighbourhood, who did not know what else to do with their Sunday evening. Some seemed to be converted and reverent; all were well-behaved and quiet. The singing was accompanied by a wind instrument, blown by a male member of the Army in uniform, and by a violin, played by a young lady in uniform. The tunes were of a tolerably cheerful character. The confidence, the self-security, and the honesty of purpose that is evinced by all these female officers is marvellous. Their appearance of poverty may perhaps also help to bring home their words to the poorer classes. I have rarely seen anything more extraordinary than this evening meeting of the Armée du Salut in Paris.

Courcel, who has arrived here from Berlin, was talking to me to-day about the article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.* He is horrified, and interprets it as a threat. I told him that the article did not surprise me, that I had expected it, nor could I say that I thought it unjust. Courcel, on the contrary, maintains that it is wrong for the article to judge all the French by the same standard, whereas it is only a small section of the press that is guilty. I replied to him that the entire press, without exception, were writing articles in reply, and quoted some to him. I had done my best to represent the articles as isolated events, and had likewise attempted to appease the German correspondents, but the matter had gradually assumed too great proportions, and the article was not unjust.

Courcel said that France was being constantly threatened by the new formation of the frontier. From Metz we could be before Paris at once. That was disturbing, and might even drive the French to strike in desperation. They could not, however, think of beginning a war against us. Courcel says that Challemel-Lacour is very "*blessé*" by the article, as he also was by the article upon the Triple Alliance during the past winter. The German press is much more virulent than the French.

GASTEIN, *September* 6, 1883.

Left Aussee at one o'clock on the 5th. In the saloon compartment I met quite a number of people — amongst others, the Roumanian Minister Bratiano. At Lend I found my carriage waiting for me, and drove off at once. It was a cold drive. I arrived at Gastein towards half-past nine and wrote a few words to Herbert Bismarck, who then came and told me that his father would see me the next day at a quarter past twelve. We spoke of all sorts of things — of the French, the English, and the Russians, of the latter's armaments, of the opposition of Prince Alexander to Russia. I went to bed at eleven o'clock, dreamt all sorts of horrible things, and woke at six o'clock. I dressed, took a bath, and went to breakfast on the promenade. Later I met with Beust in front of the hotel, and went for a walk with him. At half-past twelve I went to Bismarck. I thought him thinner, but looking well, and mentally unchanged. He was indignant at the *Times* articles, which are inciting France against us. He wants steps to be taken in the newspaper against them. "We," said he, "want nothing from France." A war would not benefit us. Money might, but you don't make war for that. We had too many French subjects already. Then he began to talk of the Russian armaments, and said: "They certainly always make fair speeches, but they go on arming and are always equipped, ready for war, on the frontier. What is the use of fair words if at the same time a pistol is levelled at my breast? This sort of thing cannot go on. It is true they say it is only a question of Austria; but we cannot allow Austria to be overthrown or enfeebled. If we stood by and looked on without helping, the result would be that after the war a triple alliance of Russia, Austria, and France would be formed against us. Whoever cannot keep quiet in Europe is a menace to peace, a disturber of the peace." It seems to me that Bismarck is anxious now to extend our alliances further and further. The presence of Bratiano, whom he has summoned to Gastein, points to an alliance with Roumania. He is anxiously watching Bulgaria, where the Prince is now beginning to show his teeth to Russia. He says he is in the right. The Prince of Montenegro wants Herzgovina, and in return will engage to keep order in Albania for Turkey. Karageorgevitch wants to be Prince of Bulgaria, in order to get Servia. Such is Russian intrigue in the Balkan peninsula. We were interrupted by the arrival of Bratiano. The Prince introduced us.

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* Under the provocation of the action of the Strassburg Government against the veterinary surgeon Antoine at Metz, there had been a general outburst of Germanophobia. The *Norddeutsche Allegmeine Zeitung* had replied to this on August 22 by pointing out, in menacing terms, the danger there was to the peace in the unmeasured violence of the French love of retaliation.

BERLIN, *October* 24, 1883.

According to the information I have obtained in the Foreign Office, the Imperial Chancellor seems to be anxious to proceed cautiously and tenderly with Rome. Consequently the scandal with the Cardinal was very inopportune.* Bismarck was against the lending of a regiment to the King of Spain,† because he foresaw that it would mean unpleasantness for him with France and because he saw in the project a "sort of higher peasant-catching." As far as Russia is concerned, the Chancellor is not going to provoke war, and hopes that he will find it possible to bring about an understanding between Austria and Russia on the question of their Balkan interests.

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* At the beginning of October Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe, after inquiring into the removal from office of an Archbishop of Albano, had left Rome, ostensibly without leave of absence. He had called upon the Italian Ambassador and Döllinger at Munich, which had roused the Ultramontane Press to virulent attacks.

† King Alfonso had taken part in the September manœuvres at Homburg. The Emperor lent him the Strasburg regiment of Uhlans. The consequence was an outburst of anger in the French Press and abuse of the King when he went through Paris.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *October* 26, 1883.

I arrived here to-night in consequence of a telegraphic summons from the Imperial Chancellor. The Prince looked well, but complained that he is not yet properly fit for work. I told him about the Cardinal, explained what could be explained, and was listened to kindly and sympathetically. I was not, however, met with the expression of a wish to see him in Berlin. The Prince's attitude was silent, but kind. It seems to me that the visit would not quite suit his purpose just now. Then there came a long letter from the Crown Prince about his Spanish journey,* to which the Prince immediately replied. At half-past nine he went to bed. Later on I went down to drink tea with the Princess, and to have a talk with her and with Rantzau.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *October* 27, 1883.

The Imperial Chancellor came to me this morning, and began talking about the letter that he received yesterday from the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince is anxious to go to Spain, and the Chancellor is in favour of the idea. But now the Crown Princess wants to go as well, and to this Bismarck thinks the Emperor will not agree. The Crown Prince is also anxious to take Count Hatzfeld with him. The Chancellor is consequently indignant. How could such an idea occur to any one! It would be said at once that we had such desperate purposes to carry through in Madrid that it was imperatively necessary for the Foreign Minister to be present as well. It would be just as if Lord Granville were to accompany the Prince of Wales on a journey. "But that is like Hatzfeld," said Bismarck. "It is his laziness! He does little enough at the best of times, &c., dictates memoirs, and I have to correct the copy." I let the Prince talk, because I was afraid that contradiction would only irritate him more. "Besides which," said the Prince, "I want to be relieved of business. I ought to have gone in 1877. Perhaps in that case I should have been in good health to-day. I cannot work any more, and the blood flies easily to my head. That might bring on apoplexy." I suggested: "Perhaps you might work less and take things more easily. The all-important thing is that you should remain at the head of affairs." To that he objected that it would not do. He could not subscribe his name to documents that were not drawn up according to his mind. Then he began to talk about France. When I said to him that Saburoff had told me the Prince made a "*distinction entre le Comte de Paris et le Duc d'Aumale*," he laughed, and said it was true, but it did not mean that we were going to alter our policy. We were against the monarchy, as we had always been. We were on good terms with France, the Chauvinistic provocations we leave unnoticed, and in colonial policy we were advancing the wishes of France. Relations with Russia were good. Bismarck would have liked the meeting of the Emperors to have taken place. But he had been too ill himself to move in the matter. He said that we must, above all things, keep the Hungarian and Polish Hotspurs in order, so that they would not proceed against Russia. A war with Russia, in which we should have to side with Austria, would be a misfortune, for we could gain nothing — should not even get our war expenses. Then the war would also oblige us eventually to re-establish the kingdom of Poland as far as the Dwina and the Dnieper. We should certainly not revolutionise Poland, but should be obliged to allow Austria to proclaim an archduke, if she had one, King of Poland. And that would lead to another alliance of the Imperial Powers against this kingdom, which would bring us back to the alliance of the three Emperors. But for the time being we must aim at preventing the whole contingency. When I spoke of the dissatisfaction of the Russians at the failure of the proposed loan from the Berlin bankers, and Bleichröder's refusal, he laughed. It was foolish to talk like that. Russia would get no money because no one had any confidence in Russian affairs. Otherwise, they would be able to get money enough from France and England, and would not need the Berlin bankers.

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* Which was projected as a reply to the insults to King Alfonso in Paris, and was carried out between November 17 and December 14.

After the Prince had been sitting with me for about three-quarters of an hour he said that his head had got hot again, and that he would be obliged to go for a walk by himself. Then he showed me a few things in the house, and went for a walk in the park.

He leaves the question of the consul in Paris to me to decide. He had objected to the consul in Paris, but it was all a matter of personal character. To my question as to whether he was not afraid that the French would appoint a consul to Berlin he replied that he did not mind if they did; we had consuls at Stettin and other places.

When we met again some time later in the drawing-room he spoke of Mukhtar Pasha,* who had come to solicit the influence of the Imperial Chancellor in protecting the Turks against English encroachments. The Prince had set his face against all such intervention, and advised Mukhtar to apply to France upon the Egyptian matter. In Bulgaria they must help themselves. And if Armenia was used as a weapon against them, they were to "*envoyer promener les Anglais*," or, if it were plainer to him, to tell them to "*d'aller se faire f—— ailleurs*." That pleased the Turk. He said of Gladstone: "A fine speaker, but a stupid fellow."

Drove in the forest with Rantzau in the afternoon. Rantzau told me of his passionate love of sport, whereupon I invited him to shoot with us at Aussee next year.

* On October 9.

In the evening back to Hamburg. Bismarck's last and farewell words: "Deal gently with the young man Absalom."

BERLIN, *October* 29, 1883.

Back from Friedrichsruh yesterday afternoon. Interview to-day with Baron Cohn, who wishes for a Bavarian Grand Cross. Then wrote letters in the morning at one o'clock to Saburoff, who complained bitterly of Kalnoky's speech.* He said that the contention that in a war with Russia Austria would not stand alone was not in agreement with what was stated to the Emperor of Russia in 1879. He could not believe that any further arrangement had been made subsequently. Moreover, Kalnoky had reproached the Russians with being *impuissants* and afraid, and this would produce the worst possible effect in Russia. He did not wish to talk the matter over with Busch, but would be grateful if I would bring his opinion of the pronouncement to the notice of the Foreign Office. I repeated the conversation to Hatzfeld and Busch. Holstein advised me to put it down on paper, which I did. Then we sent it to the Prince. Holstein thought the speech would be a useful hint to Russia.

At half-past four I was summoned to the Emperor. He told me all sorts of things about Homburg, extolled the King of Spain, said that the telegram that had appeared in the newspapers, in which he is supposed to have said that he knew quite well the insults were directed against Germany, was an invention. The King of Spain had assured him that he would side with Germany if France made war upon us, to which the Emperor had replied that he was young and hasty, and should consider the matter carefully. We should be well satisfied with a benevolent neutrality. Then our relations with Russia came under discussion. The Emperor of Russia had made him the most promising assurances, and he believed in their sincerity. He had told Giers that he might suggest any policy to him so long as it was not a policy that might lead to war with Germany. That was all very satisfactory, only it was not incompatible with the array of troops on the frontier, and so he had advised the Emperor, through Dolgoruky, to lessen the number of troops on the frontier. He would raise no objections to the construction of railways and fortresses. But the cavalry on the frontier was a very grave symptom. The Emperor went on talking in the same strain until he noticed that it was five o'clock, when he released me, to go upstairs to the other guests. He followed soon after himself, and we went to dinner, at which the Ministers and several generals were present. After dinner

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* In the Delegations. Count Kalnoky had complained of the attitude of the Russian Press, and said that if Russia were to attack her Austria would not stand alone.

Baron Cohn came up to me and told me about the business he had done for the Emperor.

PARIS, *November* 4, 1883.

Called on M. Grévy to-day. I did not omit, in the course of conversation, to say that no alteration in the opinions of the Imperial Government with regard to the French Republic had taken place, and that we still wished to continue the same friendly relations with the Republic as before. M. Grévy replied that this was likewise the wish of the French government, and that the latter fully appreciated the kindly attitude which Germany had maintained for the last thirteen years. When I alluded to the hopes of the Monarchists, and the rumours here current of the dangers which are supposed to threaten the Republic, he answered, with an animation unusual to him, that that was only the opinion of the reactionaries. The Republic was still the form of State that appealed to the French people, and to which it clung. The elections proved this. The objection that the elections were not the true expression of the opinion of the country was baseless. The spirit of the French nation was permeated by the principle of equality, and was absolutely democratic. Whoever attempted to oppose this democratic stream and its *égalité* would be crushed. The danger to the Republic did not lie among the few impotent Monarchists, but among the Anarchists. Against these latter the government would have to summon all its forces. They disturbed and hindered the tranquil development of the country. The government, however, was hampered in its task by the inadequacy of the press legislation. A restoration, if it were attempted, and were successful, would not be of any duration. For that matter, it would be quite impossible, as in France constitutional change was impossible, unless introduced by those in power, and the Monarchists had no power.

Prince Orloff, who called on me to-day, spoke of the disturbing rumours on the Bourse of war with Russia, and declares that this is a phenomenon which constantly recurs when, after the harvest, the time arrives for the rouble to rise. As the Russian financiers and industrials were considerably interested in keeping the rouble down, they had hastened to fill the European money market with disquieting rumours, in which task they had succeeded.

Orloff expressed himself as reassured concerning matters here. He says that the Orleans princes would have very little chance, and he made fun of the news which Herr von Bleichröder brought back to Berlin from his journey to Paris, and which he took from a report by Herr von Saburoff. Prince Orloff says that Bleichröder expresses the opinions of the Rothschild firm, and the Rothschilds are biassed by the Legitimist and Orleanist environment in which they live, and labour under delusions. The Bonapartists had a better chance.

Jules Ferry was here this morning. I congratulated him on his victory,* and he said that the majority that he had gained would give the necessary stability to the ministry. He sees, as Grévy does, danger in the irreconcilables (*Intransigeants*), and he too regards a monarchial restoration as impossible. A monarchy would have to contend with all the difficulties with which the present Government is confronted, and with others in addition. As an instance of the danger from the irreconcilables, he quoted the scenes of the arrival of the King of Spain. He remarked that the matter had not at all displeased the King, as he had quite realised the advantage he would gain therefrom in his own country. Challemel-Lacour is not going to retire, but is going to Cannes for a time to see if he can get better. Meanwhile he will himself lead the interim government. No change of ambassadors is contemplated.

PARIS, *November* 7, 1883.

Challemel-Lacour says that the negotiations between the Government of the Hovas † and Admiral Galibert have not yet been resumed. The delegates from Antananarivo have gone to Tamatave, but the General was away. France is willing to come to an understanding with the Hovas. Challemel-Lacour admits that France would derive no advantage from an occupation of Tamatave. I then inquired about the English intervention in the Chinese controversy. The minister knew nothing about that. Things are just the same as they were when I went away. The minister declares that he still does not know with whom he is to conduct negotiations. He went on to complain of the Chinese double-dealing.

BERLIN, *January* 22, 1884.

Left Paris on the evening of the 16th; arrived in Berlin on the 17th, at eight o'clock. Viktor and Philipp Ernst and Chariclée ‡ at the station. Supper at Philipp Ernst's. The Eighteenth chapter of the Order of the Black Eagle. Dinner at five o'clock in the afternoon, at court, with various knights of the Order. In the evening to the Renz Circus. On the 19th (Saturday) received and paid visits. Dined with the Crown Prince.

Sunday, festival of the Order, from half-past eleven till four o'clock. Then calls, and in the evening to Strauss's opera with all my relations.

Monday morning to Hatzfeld, who read me a letter from his cousin Hermann in Rome, in which, among other things, there was a passage in which he says that the Pope had said to him that since Hardenberg had been in Rome all difficulties had been removed. Leo XIII. will end by imagining that Bismarck will go to Rome!

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* The vote of confidence in the Chamber (339 to 160 votes) in the debate on Tonking.

† In Madagascar.

‡ The Prince's daughter-in-law, *née* Princess Ypsilanti.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *January* 23, 1883.

Yesterday afternoon with the Emperor, who asked me questions about the revision of the Constitution in France,* and was very pleased with my report. He went on to talk about Russia and the Russian armaments. Afterwards he drove to Marie's, where he remained a long time.

To Friedberg this morning. He told me a good many things about the Crown Prince's visit to Spain, and the pains that had been taken by certain people to sow dissension between the Chancellor and the Crown Prince. He thinks it necessary for me to come to Friedrichsruh. At half-past twelve to breakfast with the Crown Prince. He spoke sympathetically of the Orléans family, and so also did the Crown Princess. The Duc de Montpensier had been charged by the Comte de Paris to assure the Crown Prince that he cherished very peaceable sentiments, and, if he became king, would never make war. I remarked that I entertained no doubts as to the peaceable sentiments of the Orléans princes, but that I must nevertheless retain my opinion that the monarchy would strengthen France and place her in a better position to make alliances, and would threaten our alliances. The Imperial Chancellor thinks the same, especially as regards Austria, though he added that in that case we should have to cling the more closely to Russia. After breakfast I remained for a time with the Crown Prince, who expressed a very favourable opinion of the King of Spain, and said he thought he would regenerate Spain, if he could keep his throne. Manteuffel and Bismarck said this evening that it depended on whether the King had enough troops at his disposal to combat the revolution. The Crown Prince also spoke of Queen Isabella, and considers that she is a good woman, but a danger to the King, because she is erratic in her utterances. Then home again, and then, after some visitors had been to see us, went with Philipp Ernst, Chariclée and Marie to the station. Here at eight o'clock. Talked with Manteuffel, Bismarck, the Princess, and Countess Rantzau till ten o'clock; then both the gentlemen went to bed, and at eleven o'clock I went to the Princess to tea.

The Crown Prince commissioned me to deliver his compliments to the Comte de Paris, if I thought advisable; likewise to the Duc de Chartres.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *January* 24, 1884.

This morning, I lunched with Manteuffel and Bismarck; the latter read out telegrams from Reuss touching Giers' presence in

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* On December 30, 1883, Jules Ferry had announced in the Chamber that the coming year would bring constitutional reforms with it, and the Government would move the revision of the Constitution. On January 8, 1884, Andrieux had announced a motion for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

Vienna. Giers is anxious and nervous and returns to St. Petersburg with sorrow, as Saburoff has made his position there very difficult. The latter will not go to London, but remain in Berlin. Orloff, however, will come to Berlin all the same, Mohrenheim remain in London, and Saburoff come to Paris, which the Imperial Chancellor regrets.

Speaking on the Tongking question, Bismarck said that I ought to give out quite openly in Paris that we shall act loyally towards France, that we shall allow nothing to turn us from our neutrality, whether France makes war on land or on sea. Tattenbach is to be disavowed. The Prince is of opinion that France ought to act energetically and occupy some of the islands.

PARIS, *February* 3, 1884.

Called upon Grévy to-day. After I had delivered the Emperor's and Bismarck's messages, he talked first about the Emperor, the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess, the Empress of Austria, and all sorts of things. I then brought the conversation back to the Emperor, and spoke of the satisfaction that his Majesty felt at the calming of public opinion in Germany and France.

CHANTILLY, *June* 18, 1884.

On my return to Paris,* I found an invitation from the Duc d'Aumale to Chantilly for June 17, which I accepted. Yesterday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I drove with Bülow, who was also invited, to the station. There we met the Marquis de Beauvoir and his wife, and travelled in the same compartment. Menabrea was in the same train, with his wife, the Duc and Duchesse de Rivoli, Sardou, the Duc de Rivière, and some other gentlemen and ladies. Arrived at Chantilly, we found the Duke, who was meeting the Duchess of Chartres by the same train. I took my seat in an open carriage with her, the Marquise Menabrea, and the Duc d'Aumale; the others followed, and the whole company drove to the great stables, where there is room for two hundred horses, and then to the castle. We assembled in a large gallery with very fine pictures. There introductions were made, and then we went into the various rooms to see the curios. The Duke explained everything in detail. In a little rotunda we found the masterpieces, amongst them a very fine Raffael, several Greuzes, Salvator Rosas, and some paintings by Decamps, de la Roche, and others. After seeing all this the gentlemen went into the library, and we smoked. At half-past seven I went to my room, a very handsome *salon*, with a picture of the Duke of Bonnat and various Condé pictures. Louis Joseph de Bourbon, whose circular letter I have so often seen at Schillingsfürst, hung there as well — a man in scarlet uniform, with a pleasant face. He was the Duc de Condé, and usually signed himself "Bourbon." Dinner at eight o'clock. I took in the Duchesse de Chartres, and sat between her and her daughter, the Princess Amélie.* The latter is certainly not pretty, but she is attractive, well-bred, and lively — one of the nicest princesses I have met. During dinner an orchestra played old pieces by Grétry, Gluck, and some modern pieces. It was not too loud, so was not disturbing. The dining-room is magnificent — great tapestries from the Condé days, and brown wood-panelling, gilded. After dinner we went back again into the other drawing-room, all white and gold, Louis XIV. style; pictures of the great Condé's battles, his arms, trophies, &c. Then again into the library, where the Duke told stories and smoked his pipe.

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* After a visit to Schillingsfürst.

At eleven o'clock back to the ladies; then tea and good-night. The castle is really quite uncommon, and richly and harmoniously furnished. One could write volumes about it.

Back to Paris at ten o'clock this morning.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

PARIS, *June* 22, 1884.

A diplomatist, formerly very well known here, to-day related to me the following:

"A few days ago I was at the house of my friend the Duc de Decazes, who told me that the time was not now far off when France would be sick of the Republic, and the Monarchy would be re-established. Everything has been prepared, and the only thing that is wanted is a Monk; 'and him we have already,' he added. I did not ask his name, but have no doubt that he meant Gallifet. An interview which I had afterwards with Gallifet confirmed my supposition. The General says that the French nation are afraid of war, and for the moment believe that Germany is going to declare war against France, if the Monarchy takes the place of the Republic. He added that this used to be true enough, but was so no longer. The opinion of Prince Bismarck had altered. His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince, as well as Bismarck, no longer saw any danger in the re-establishment of the Monarchy. The only thing now wanting was to get a public expression of this opinion. The General is of opinion that an article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* attacking the Republic would be enough to alienate the French nation from the Republic and reconcile it with the Monarchy. Such an article immediately before the elections would result in the return of a Conservative Chamber. When this is assembled, his (the General's) *rôle* as *exécuteur de la volonté nationale* begins. The Republican party will undoubtedly raise violent opposition, but he will put it down, for he is firmly determined to hang the leaders. France must be governed for eighteen months without a Chamber and without freedom of the press; then the Comte de Paris can come along *avec son parapluie* and govern liberally. I am certainly convinced that General Gallifet is exaggerating, and is not very careful of the truth; but I have had other opportunities of discovering that there is a great deal of conspiracy going on here, and I am beginning to believe that the Republic will not last much longer. Gallifet thought that "in two years he would have played his part." Thus far my informant, who remarked further: "If Gallifet goes on publishing his plans so innocently, he will be rendered harmless before then."

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* Born 1865; married Prince Valdemar of Denmark in 1885.

From the above it is evident how anxious the Monarchist party is to win Germany's support, and how convinced they are that the Republic only subsists through the goodwill of Germany.

Journal.

PARIS, *July* 16, 1884.

The festivities of July 14 would have passed without comment, but for the scandal with the flags at the Hôtel Continental.* It was only yesterday morning that I heard what had happened the day before. At once sent a telegraphic report to Berlin. At six o'clock in the evening Ferry arrived, but did not find me in. He came again this morning and expressed his regret, also informed me that the Commissary of Police who has shown himself so weak, had been removed. This afternoon a Würtemberger, Dr. Wurster, from Reutlingen, came and told me it was he who had taken refuge in the Ministry of Naval Affairs. He was just passing the Strassburg statue when the demonstration was taking place, and watched everything very carefully. As he was wearing the so-called "shooting coat" and looked very German, he was recognised as a German at once and abused. Gradually the insults grew worse, he was hustled and struck, and then fled to the Ministry for Naval Affairs. The people ran after him, for by this time it was reported that he had said or done something hostile. He had been very quiet, however. I told all this to Ferry.

PARIS, *August* 24, 1884.

Courcel was back in Berlin yesterday,† and brought with him Ferry's consent to the understanding, which is certainly not an alliance, but a considerable *rapprochement*. In the West African question action will be in concert and also with reference to the various Egyptian questions, such as quarantines, the Suez Canal, liquidation commissions, &c., and so forth. He denies that he will ask for Germany's mediation, as is asserted here, with China.

BERLIN, *November* 2, 1884.

This morning, church. Then the Foreign Office, where I studied the matter of the West Coast of Africa. I was interrupted in this occupation by a letter from the Adjutant, summoning me to the Emperor at half-past three. I thought the Emperor surprisingly well and cheerful, and remained an hour. He spoke of the satisfactory relations with France, and smiled. Then he spoke about England, and lamented the Radical tendencies of the Government and Chamberlain's intention of carrying the Reform Bill by creating a number of peers.* That disquiets him, and he is afraid that the Republican movement may gain the upper hand in England. What would be the outcome? "We shall have trouble in retaining our position." It was consequently necessary that, at any rate, the three Imperial Powers should unite to defend the monarchical principle. That was also the main reason for the meeting at Skiernevitze.† Prince Wilhelm‡ had exerted a very good influence over the Emperor of Russia. The Emperor and Bismarck had given the Prince instructions to advocate the union of the three Imperial Powers, and he had accomplished this very creditably. So that, when the visit of the Emperor of Austria was decided, he, the Emperor Wilhelm, had also expressed a wish to be present. No documentary agreement had been drafted, nor was any necessary. We then spoke of the opening of the Polytechnic School, at which the Emperor was present, and of the revival that is apparent in Berlin, and so forth. At six o'clock I dined at Bismarck's. Conversation turned upon the Emperor's words with regard to the Skiernevitze meeting, and Bismarck said the Emperor was making a mistake when he said that he had expressed a wish to be present. That had been an understood thing. The only difficulty had been in Vienna and with Hungary. The Empress always wanted to know what had been arranged at Skiernevitze, and had worried the Emperor about it. When I took my leave, he gave me his compliments for Ferry, whom he holds in high esteem. I am to say that we do not desire any friction between England and France. Gladstone may remain in office. It will be good for us, not for England.

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* The German flag was torn down by young men.

† On the 26th he had been at Varzin.

PARIS, *December* 11, 1884.

Ferry says that the Chinese Government have communicated their conditions to Lord Granville, but that Lord Granville has scruples about placing them before France, as they are impossible of acceptance. The same claims as before — the retention of the Chinese suzerainty over Annam, division of Tongking, and so forth. The intentions of Li Hung Chang are pacific, even if his actions are not.

As far as Egypt is concerned, so Ferry says, Alphonse Rothschild regards the transference of the control of the debts and the

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* The Franchise Reform Bill.

† The meeting of the three Emperors at Skiernevitze took place September 15–17.

‡ Who at the coming of age celebrations of the heir to the throne, May 18, had represented the Emperor.

Crown lands to England as impossible of acceptance. He himself regards the matter in the same light, and says that six thousand officials of French nationality would be deprived of their bread by this proposal.

December 18.

I had applied for leave of absence at the proper time, and had proposed that Kiderlen should carry on business until the return of Baron Rotenhan, and was now awaiting a reply from Berlin. On the 16th inst. a telegram arrived, to the following effect: "Hatzfeld is rather inclined to dissuade. I also. Holstein." That meant it was not advisable to go on leave at present. I therefore wrote to Viktor and begged of him to learn at the Foreign Office what was wrong and to telegraph to me. I also wrote to Marie, and telegraphed the next day. Then yesterday a communication came saying the Chancellor could not place my application for leave of absence before the Emperor until Rotenhan was back. I might have telegraphed to recall him, but that was not the question. There were other things to take into account which rendered it expedient to give up the journey. I therefore wrote to Berlin and withdrew my application for leave. I believe that Prince Bismarck is suffering from nervous irritability, and that consequently all his subordinates are mystified and frightened and see more behind his utterances than is really there. This, however, alters nothing for me.

THE EMPEROR *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE: *Telegram.*

March 27, 1885.

Heartfelt thanks for your loyal good wishes for March 22. Unfortunately I have entered on my eighty-ninth year ill, and thereby much disturbed the due celebration of the day. It was a real joy to have seen the Princess here.

WILHELM.

Journal.

PARIS, *April* 1, 1885.

The Emperor's birthday on the 22nd passed by as usual. The dinner-party of fifty-four persons was very lively. My speech was applauded. We remained together smoking until late.

Since then a Ministerial crisis, the fall of Ferry, unexpected and without obvious reason.

To-day a dinner in honour of the Imperial Chancellor. I drank to the Emperor's health. Herr Rumpf made a speech on Bismarck. Herr Lüdert read aloud a telegram to Bismarck, which was adopted. Then Herr Grube proposed a toast to myself. I replied (hoarsely) that I knew how to value the approbation of the people of Germany,* that it was a great honour for my name to be mentioned conjointly with the names of the Emperor and of Bismarck, but that my modesty did not extend so far as to say it was too great an honour. For with regard to the national development I might also say *quorum pars*, if not *magna pars*, still *quorum pars fui*. That the Germans should have pronounced their approval of me, that they had done me the honour of naming me to-day, that they had recalled old memories — for all this I was most grateful to them, and could not better express my thanks than by proposing the health of my German friends here present. Great enthusiasm. Then home.

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* The German colony in Paris had congratulated the Prince on May 23, 1884 — the tenth anniversary of his having taken over the embassy — by offering an address and a present consisting of a silver inkpot with a view of the Niederwald monument.

The Freycinet Ministry * appears to be formed. Courcel will take office. Who will replace him? That is an important question.

PARIS, *March* 22, 1885.

To-day Darenthall sent me intelligence, probably emanating from Barrère, of an ultimatum of the French Government to Egypt about the suppressed newspaper *Bosphore*,† and of an eventual French occupation of Damietta. Freycinet, whom I cautiously sounded, pretended to know nothing of an ultimatum. Barrère may, indeed, have made the proposal; Freycinet may have given no answer. Freycinet said all rumours of conflict were exaggerated. Waddington ‡ said the same thing, and thought he would arrange the matter in London. It is an affair between Baring and Barrère, whose wives do not harmonise, as Lady Baring does not accept the Armenian wife of Barrère "as coin current." The matter in itself is unimportant.

PARIS, *May* 23, 1885.

Yesterday at 1.30 o'clock Victor Hugo died. I drove to the Avenue Eylau to make inquiries, and learnt there the news. Great funeral ceremonials are being prepared. I think that the Diplomatic Corps will not have anything to do with them. And I am determined in any case not to take any part in them.

May 31.

Since yesterday the body of Victor Hugo has been placed on a catafalque under the vault of the Arc de Triomphe. All day long people have defiled past the catafalque, and the square was covered by thousands of people. This increased towards evening, and when I arrived, about nine o'clock, the press was frightful.

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* The Ferry Ministry was overthrown in consequence of the defeat at Langson on March 30. On April 6 the Brisson Ministry was formed, in which Freycinet took over the Foreign Office. Freycinet's endeavour to form a ministry himself miscarried.

† On April 9 the French Government protested against the closing of the printing office of the *Bosphore Egyptien*, decreed by the Egyptian Government. On April 27 an agreement was concluded.

‡ Then French Ambassador in London.

People were all in the best of good humour, pushed and shouted as at an annual fair, and gazed at the triumphal arch and regretted that it was not better lighted up. Many, indeed, seemed to expect fireworks. It gave one, indeed, a remarkable impression. The triumphal arch, from which a long black mourning crape waved; below the catafalque, the whole picture defined against the clear, moonlit sky, and close by the tumultuous throng of human beings, who quite forgot that there a dead man lay. To-morrow the burial will take place. I have not begged to be excused, as we were not formally invited, but only were assigned places. It would, however, have been as tactless as undignified of me to take any part in the funeral procession of the poet of the *année terrible* — the vain old man who said in Bordeaux in the year 1871 that he thanked the Germans for having driven out the French Emperor, and trusted that the French would render the Germans a similar service. Mohrenheim,* who had distinctly declared he would not go, asked me again in the evening what I intended to do, to which I replied that I had no thought of accompanying the procession.

June 2.

Yesterday's funeral ceremony for Victor Hugo was magnificent. No funeral procession in the proper acceptation of the word, but a national festival, with much pomp, and of a comparatively cheerful character. The speeches which were delivered at the Arc de l'Etoile and at the Panthéon were partly insignificant, partly pure nonsense. The entire population rejoiced at being able to show the whole world that they were burying a great man and still possessed one — which in this case is more than doubtful. The Austrian and Spanish Ambassadors who, like myself, refrained from any participation, were very indignant that we were represented by the newspapers as having been present, and even in uniform. I am quite indifferent on the subject.

PARIS, *June* 11, 1885.

In the spring I had begged for permission to go to the South of France for a week or fortnight. As, however, at the end of March, when I should have set out on the journey, the Ministerial crisis occurred here, I let Marie travel alone with Alexander, and wrote to the Chancellor of the Empire that I had given up the journey, but begged of him kindly to manage to get me three weeks' leave of absence in Germany for the end of May. Thereupon I received the reply that I might revert to my proposal in the middle of May. The Prince, if political conditions were favourable, would gladly support my proposition in the highest quarters. As everything was now quiet referring to this communication, I addressed, on May 12, an application for leave of absence to Bismarck. I thereupon received the reply from Hatzfeld on May 26 that the Emperor certainly granted me leave, but, nevertheless, had written the word "Unwillingly" on the margin, which the Chancellor of the Empire considered easy to understand in face of the Afghan, Egyptian, and other questions. He left it to my decision whether, under existing circumstances, I would take leave.

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* The Russian Ambassador, successor to Prince Orlow.

To this I replied on May 29 that I had not asked for leave as a relaxation, but on business. I had made my arrangements, and could not now postpone my departure; should, however, be within reach of a telegram at Schillingsfürst ready to return immediately. I begged of him to lay before the Emperor the state of the case and the reasons for my going.

Soon afterwards a letter came from Holstein, who wrote me that he advised me during the next few days not to quit Paris, where anything might happen. Hatzfeld was of the same opinion, and even thought I might summon my steward to Paris. Upon this I wrote to Holstein and said, if the Emperor preferred that I should not leave, I was to be wired to. I could not disarrange everything simply on the strength of his advice. After this I received on 3rd inst. a telegram from Hatzfeld announcing to me that the matter had been laid before the Emperor, and that he had annotated the statement with: "Read. So both my Ambassadors at the most important posts will perhaps be absent on the decisive day." Hatzfeld added: "Your Highness, I can only respectfully submit the decision to your own judgment." Nothing now remained for me but to telegraph that the word of his Majesty was for me a command, with which I would comply by remaining. In the meantime nothing happened. I therefore wrote to Hatzfeld on 8th inst., thanking him for the information imparted about my leave of absence, and saying I presumed that, his Majesty having consented to my taking it, there would be no need to renew the application to his Majesty in order to set out on this momentary leave. I would duly report it did I intend to make use of this leave.

Now to-day I receive a communication of the 9th inst., which had crossed my private letter to Hatzfeld, saying he had called the Emperor's attention to my announcement that I would not start, who declared that he agreed to my proposal, and at the same time gave his gracious permission that I should be authorised to set out on my leave of absence as soon as circumstances permitted. Then came these words: "At the same time his Majesty the Emperor was pleased to express his surprise that, according to your Highness's previous utterances, the postponement now actually taking place was impossible."

That was too much for me, and I consequently wrote the enclosed letter:

To BARON HOLSTEIN.

PARIS, *June* 12, 1885.

HONOURED BARON, — I am a man of much patience, especially when there is a question of anything connected with the service of the Emperor, but by the communication of the 9th inst. this characteristic quality is put to a severe test. I declare that I obey the Emperor's commands, although the fact remains that this is to my disadvantage. I put aside my private affairs, as is expected from me, for the Imperial service, and as thanks the Foreign Office represents the Emperor as saying that according to my previous statements the present postponement would appear to have been impossible. Such a thing has hitherto never occurred. In any case, I do not believe that the Emperor made the remark as it is reported. As I know the Emperor, it is not like him to give utterance to such a jeer. He has far too much good feeling for such a thing.

I will end here, fearing to become too bitter. Perhaps I may one day have an opportunity of discussing *viva voce* with you the opinion which these incidents have obtruded on me.

Under the date June 21, 1885, Count Herbert Bismarck wrote to the Prince at Schillingsfürst on behalf of the Secretary of State:

After your Highness, under the date 15th of this month, had announced your intention to set out last Wednesday on your leave of absence to Bavaria, the Secretary of State did not fail to report it suitably to the Emperor, and to seize this opportunity of laying before his Imperial Majesty the reasons which necessitate your Highness's journey to Bavaria. His Majesty, in recognition of these reasons, has been pleased graciously to express his full concurrence in the granting of your leave of absence, of which I herewith do not fail to respectfully inform you.

Journal.

KISSINGEN, *June* 19, 1885.

I arrived here at midday. At a quarter to six o'clock I drove to the Saline, where Prince and Princess Bismarck are living. I thought the Prince very cheerful. He only complained of faceache; boasted, however, that he could still walk a great deal, and looks well. He said of the Emperor that he would like to remain at Babelsberg, but that the Empress and Grand Duchess talked of Ems, which was distasteful to him. Then the conversation turned on Brunswick * and the nomination of Reuss as Duke. The Prince said that was nonsense. If the son of the Duke of Cumberland, under a good, safe guardianship, was not to be appointed, it was clearly a Prussian prince, possibly Prince

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* Where Prince Albrecht of Prussia was chosen as Regent, October 21, 1884.

Heinrich or Prince Albrecht, who should be made Duke of Brunswick. After dinner the talk turned on the Governor of Alsace-Lorraine,* and Bismarck said that there were many candidates. Reuss VII., Prince Albrecht, Hermann Langenburg, Henckel, Roggenbach, Albedyll, Schweinitz, and so forth were objected to, and then he added, "Would you not like it?" I said, "Oh, yes; but there is the difficulty that I do not wear a military uniform." Bill opined this might be surmounted, but Bismarck said: "You could wear your ambassador's uniform; that will please the French, for you look very French." It appeared to me that he considered me, after all, the most suitable. He did not know, however, what the Emperor would decide. Then we talked of the English Ministry. Bismarck said that the Tories must inevitably bring about a war by their speeches. War would be no misfortune to us. We could only gain by it, if Russia had occupations which would divert her attention from Austria. Bismarck did not believe that the Turks would place an army at the disposal of England, but would open the Dardanelles. That the French would be terrified if war broke out between England and Russia amuses him greatly. They believed that we would then fall upon them, which would be very silly of us. He believed that the French would be driven more and more towards anarchy, and would end with a monarchy, which would, however, raise to the throne no Bonaparte or Orléans, but perhaps just some Monsieur Paturot or other. On the whole the conversation was satisfactory in tone and tenor.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *July* 3, 1885.

After I had confidentially assured myself during your Highness's visit to Kissingen that you would be agreeable to eventually assuming the Governorship at Strassburg, I addressed a proposition to the Emperor to confer on your Highness the succession to Field-Marshal von Manteuffel.

His Majesty has agreed to my proposal, and authorises me to ascertain your Highness's willingness. I beg of you, therefore, to honour me with an official reply, which I can forward to the highest quarters.

VON BISMARCK.

PRINCE HOHENLOHE *to the* IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, *July* 7, 1885.

I have had the honour of receiving your Highness's gracious letter of 3rd inst., in which your Highness informs me that his Majesty the Emperor has acceded to your proposition to appoint me as successor to Field-Marshal von Manteuffel. I take the liberty of expressing to your Highness my sincere gratitude for this fresh proof of your confidence, and beg of you to submit to his Majesty my most respectful thanks and my assurance that I am ready to accept the honourable post assigned to me. On account of my ignorance of the rights and duties connected with this post, I should like in the meantime to regard its acceptance merely as a matter of principle, and to stipulate that I may venture to acquaint myself more exactly with its conditions, so as to judge whether in point of fact I am equal to the functions in question. I therefore beg for permission to go at once to Berlin in order to ascertain the extent of the duties I must assume, as well as to confer personally about the moment of entering upon office. I take the liberty of begging the great favour of a telegraphic reply, to say that your Highness consents to my journey to Berlin.

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* Field Marshal von Manteuffel had died June 17, at Carlsbad.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *July* 8, 1885.

With most grateful thanks for your letter, I rejoice to hear that you are willing to render the Emperor and the Empire the service required of you. The information you desire is not, however, to be obtained here. I myself, and, in a greater degree, all the other high officials, have these last five years been almost completely withdrawn from knowledge of the situation at Strassburg. Your Highness can only receive such information in Strassburg itself, and I venture to propose to you that you should go there in the least obtrusive manner possible, and there confer with the authorities, and disclose to them the confidential communication which I made to you in the Emperor's name. I particularly recommend you in this matter to the Under-Secretary of State, von Puttkamer, who has distinguished himself by his sagacity and knowledge of the country. Further, I mean by authorities the Secretary of State, von Hofmann, the Lieutenant-General, von Heuduck, and the Under-Secretary of State, von Mayr. In Ems your Highness would also find sources of information; but the people there might be influenced by the wish of bringing forward other candidates. I look upon the Under-Secretary of State, von Puttkamer, as being free from any such influence, and as taking only a neutral interest, and General von Heuduck will regard the separation of the chief command from the Governorship as assured by your Highness's nomination. The time for taking over the post will eventually chiefly depend on your Highness's decision, as it is immaterial whether the provisional order of things which must shortly be organised should continue a few weeks more or less.

VON BISMARCK.

In consequence of this letter Prince Hohenlohe decided, as he wished to avoid staying in a Strassburg hotel, to go at once to

Baden, and from there to collect the desired information from Strassburg. The visit to Strassburg took place July 12.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

VARZIN, *July* 12, 1885.

I have the honour, supplementing my telegram of to-day, to forward to your Highness the enclosed transcript of a most august autograph letter of the 10th inst., so far as it refers to the Governorship. Your Highness will gather from it that I myself think the need, from a business point of view, of a consultation between us is not so urgent as to require your Highness to undertake the long journey here from Schillingsfürst. In face of his Majesty's so clearly stated wishes, I see, however, no way of sparing you this discomfort, and my selfishness is consoled by the joyful prospect of having the pleasure of seeing you here. I beg of your Highness to arrange your journey quite to your own convenience, as any day will suit me, and I gather from his most august autograph letter that his Majesty does not desire to hurry on matters. Your Highness will have the goodness to acquaint me with the time of your arrival at Varzin.

VON BISMARCK.

' [Copy.]

EMS, *July* 10, 1885.

From your letter of 8th inst. I observe Prince Hohenlohe's acceptance of the important post, and his gratitude for the projected trust. I consider the conditions laid down as quite natural, but I cannot say that I agree with your view that he should be released from consulting with you, for he can only thoroughly learn and understand your views through a verbal exposition of your ideas, and thus know where he stands, before he goes to Strassburg, should this be, on the whole, advisable, before he is appointed, because on the Prince's appearance there the matter will transpire officially, and then there can be no further question of a non-acceptance. I would therefore propose that Prince Hohenlohe, after Varzin, should meet the Minister Hofmann midway between Schillingsfürst and Strassburg. The taking up of his post by Prince Hohenlohe must not, in any case, be over-hurried, because I have granted to Field-Marshal von Manteuffel's surviving relatives the enjoyment of his income for three months — a sort of notice to quit, as the one possible way of helping them to security in their very bad financial position.

WILHELM.

Journal.

BADEN-BADEN, *July* 13, 1885.

At our conference in Munich about the Governorship, it turned out that the most important thing to learn was whether the Governorship would remain unchanged and what were the rules as to a pension. Völderndorff was of opinion that the Governorship was simply a function, and not an appointment, so that I should have to be something else, in order that a Lord Chamberlain, a general, or an actual Privy Councillor should be charged with the function. On my visit to Strassburg Mayr * said, however, that this might formerly have been correct, but that it was no longer so, as by a new regulation the Governorship had become an office. Since old Manteuffel's death all communications ran thus: "To the Governor." It is true that Mayr admitted that a pension could not be inferred from the representative character of the Governor, and agreed with Völderndorff that this must be remedied. The emoluments of the representative amount to 215,000 marks, free fire and light, a porter and a gardener at the public cost. The Governor's palace is handsome, the garden extensive, the rooms lofty and large. The fittings will be renewed at the public expense. Silver, linen, and china are lacking. The Governor is granted leave of absence by the Emperor if he goes away for several weeks. He may absent himself for a short time without leave. The duties of the Representative are not so onerous as they were depicted. Fräulein von Manteuffel's evening receptions, having been a bore to officials and officers, may be abandoned. Dinner parties, balls, and large receptions must naturally be given. As to the time for taking up the appointment, it will be well not to do so before October 1, as Manteuffel's heirs are to have the quarter's salary of the defunct, so that, if I assumed office sooner, the country would have to pay twice over. Mayr, however, considered that delay beyond October 1 was scarcely possible, as in October are held the discussions of laws in the Council of State, at which the Governor presides, and the transactions consequent upon the passing of Bills and Budget commence with Berlin, the Chancellor of the Empire, and the Federal Council.

When I returned here yesterday from Strassburg, I found a telegram from the Chancellor of the Empire saying the Emperor wished me to have a conference with Bismarck by word of mouth. He begged of me to desist from taking any further steps, and to wait for a letter. I telegraphed that I had already spoken to Hofmann; that now, however, I would wait, and not report to the Emperor before knowing more. The letter should be here to-morrow.

In a letter from Baden of July 14 the Prince explained to the Chancellor of the Empire the state of affairs, and stated at the same time that, judging from the information received at Strassburg, the task would undoubtedly be onerous, but he hoped not beyond his powers. Later on in this letter he says:

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* Under-Secretary of State, von Mayr, head of the Finance Division of the Ministry of Imperial domain.

In the next place I should wish to refer to the remark, in the letter received from your Highness 8th inst., to the effect that your Highness has been for the last five years an almost complete stranger to the condition of things in Strassburg. Though I know very well that your Highness, by the decree of July 4, 1879, removed the conduct of the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine from your sphere of jurisdiction, and after mature reflection held to the resolve thus taken, yet I frankly declare that I do not consider a favourable result of my activity as possible unless I can count on remaining in constant touch with your Highness and be assured that my decisions and administrative measures accord with the views of your Highness. I therefore beg of you not to withdraw from me the support which your Highness has hitherto granted me, and to which I am indebted, if during my active service in Paris I gained approval in the highest quarters and succeeded in carrying out your intentions.

Journal.

VARZIN, *July*, 1885.

Early yesterday I arrived in Berlin from Munich, wired to the marshal of the Crown Prince's household in Potsdam, and received the reply that I was to come to tea at the New Palace that evening. In the afternoon I received some interesting intelligence at the Foreign Office which threw a light for me on the latest crotchets of the Ministry, and afforded me the proof that my position in Paris could not have been permanently maintained against the youthful element in the Foreign Office. That lay in the nature of things. An old man cannot occupy a subordinate position towards young people whom he knew as mere children. The appointment as Governor is on this account a lucky chance. At 7.30 o'clock I was at the Crown Prince's. He received me most kindly, and quite approves of my appointment. Likewise the Crown Princess. They understand that I leave Paris with regret. I could not, indeed, tell them the reasons why I was leaving Paris. We then took a drive, and at ten o'clock I returned with Curtius to Berlin. Early to-day I left there. A very lively trainful of Berlin people travelling to the Baltic bathing places. A Herr von Drost, from Zoppot, near Danzig, related many things about distilleries and husbandry. At 5.30 I arrived at Hammermühle. Here I met the Chancellor of the Empire, who was meeting his daughter and grandchild at the station. They had come by the same train. I drove with them to Varzin. On the way he told me that the Emperor and Crown Prince were in favour of the marriage of the Princess Victoria with the King of Portugal; that, however, the Crown Princess and the Princess preferred the Prince of Bulgaria, and that there was skirmishing of all sorts over this business. We dined at six o'clock, and then sat in the garden in front of the house until nine o'clock. The Prince is of the opinion that I should retain Hofmann provisionally. Crailsheim, whom Völderndorff particularly recommended to me, he considers too stiff and not versatile enough. When I take up matters myself Hofmann will be an excellent executive officer. He possesses no initiative, but does not need it if I provide it myself. I mentioned that there was some talk of dividing the Governorship into a military and civil command. That, said the Prince, is not admissible. There is but one Governor. Then he asked: "How does the Princess take it?" I said: "She is agreeable, even though it is difficult for her now to begin something new. Besides, she does not wish to go to Paris in summer to pay farewell visits and to pack up. So the later I go the better she will like it." The Chancellor had no objection to this, but merely said that he feared the military might try again to dissuade the Emperor. On account of this the nomination must not be too long postponed. I said I would now go to Gastein and accept, so that the Emperor should be bound. I would also hand to the Prince a memoir in which I mentioned the acceptance of the post, but touched on certain points, such as the salary. The Prince knew nothing about it, and doubted if the Governor had any right to a salary, but simply to the costs of representation; declared himself, however, as willing that a pension should be secured to me. Then he said to Rantzau: "We must consult the Imperial Minister of Justice about it." I then asked what I should say in Paris. He replied that I could just quietly tell the truth, and declare the matter to be absolutely settled. In everything the dread cropped up that the matter might once more be broken off through intrigues. That the Emperor should wish to protract matters in order to grant Manteuffel's children a quarter's salary the Prince looked upon as a mistake on the Emperor's part. It was, however, not necessary on this account to delay the nomination. The heirs would receive the quarter's salary whether a new Governor was nominated or not. I then made a passing remark about the uniform, saying that the Crown Prince was not opposed to investing me with a military uniform. The Prince considered that the uniform of an ambassador would do. I will now see what the Emperor says. I also asked the Prince if he were anxious soon to fill the post in Paris with some one else, to which he gave a negative reply. So long as he has the certainty that my nomination will not be thwarted he cares little about anything else.

VARZIN, *July* 19, 1885. *Afternoon.*

Rantzau tells me that he has drawn up a pressing report to the Emperor in which the Prince proposes that the nomination should be delayed for some months. It will not come before the end of September, possibly only at the end of October.

As regards reports to the Emperor, the Governor sends these direct. Copies of specially important reports are sent to the Imperial Chancellor.

Concerning Paris, the Prince would like to transfer Münster there, but does not know yet, whether Münster has any desire to go there. He would have Hatzfeld go to London. But I must say next that I do not know who is to be my successor. I asked the Prince if he would like me to speak to Münster about it, and offered to go to London for that purpose. He did not accept this proposal, as he wishes still to wait.

In Strassburg gentlemen had counselled me to have an officer attached to me as Governor. I thought that a good thing, and spoke about it to the Prince. But I then remarked that he showed small inclination for it, and presently discovered the reason. He himself had already often expressed a wish to have an officer attached to him. That was, however, always refused him by the Military Cabinet Minister. If I should now succeed in this I should only arouse the jealousy of the Prince, which the matter was not worth, as I can just as well appoint a private secretary out of the funds at my disposal, who can serve as my marshal of the household. Should I appoint a retired cavalry officer he will render me the same services, and I shall avoid irritating Bismarck.

GASTEIN, *July* 25, 1885.

Yesterday I travelled from Aussee to Gastein with Marie. We arrived late, and are staying at the Villa Meran. I reported myself to-day through Lehndorff to the Emperor, who appointed twelve o'clock for me, and asked me to dinner at four. I went to the Emperor at twelve o'clock. He received me standing, and looking very strong. He told me that he regretted to lay this burden on me, and be obliged to take me away from Paris, but he had not been able to do anything else, "for there was no one but you to whom I could assign the post." I thanked him repeatedly for the trust reposed in me. Then the Emperor said: "I dare not show myself again to the Princess; she must have taken it very ill of me." Upon this we seated ourselves; and now the Emperor spoke about Manteuffel and of his good qualities, of the Alsace-Lorrainers and the difficulty of Germanising them. He remembered it was just the same in the Rhenish provinces even in 1839, when his father sent him there to inspect the troops. Only after the men of the Rhenish provinces had faced the foe with other Prussian troops did they become quite Prussianised. He hoped the case would be the same in Alsace. He mentioned with praise a certain Herr Schlumberger as a man resigned to the new order of things. Zorn von Bulach and his son had quite turned round, and were now in the Opposition. He then spoke of Heuduck and of the separation of the command of the troops from the Governorship, and he indicated this division as necessary. About the particular business questions, the time of assuming office, the pension, the form of reporting, &c., I could not get much out of him. I must talk it over with Wilmowski.

GASTEIN, *July* 26, 1885.

To-day I had a long conference with Wilmowski, who has worked up the whole subject of Alsace-Lorraine, and possesses accurate knowledge of it. About the characteristics of the officials there he said the following: Hofmann was an upright but weak man, and it was necessary to take care that he did not let himself be completely trodden on by Puttkamer and Mayr. Of initiative he had none; he did what he was told. Of Puttkamer he said that he did not believe him ambitious of having the position of Secretary of State. Mayr he considered dangerous on account of the influence he would seek to obtain. It would consequently be well to let everything pass through Hofmann's hands, even to the arrangements of the palace. About Manteuffel's government Wilmowski said he had in point of fact acquired far too great independence, and in order to favour prominent persons had reversed the judgments of the magistracy, which gave rise to discontent amongst the German officials. Among the persons of note he recommended Schlumberger and Klein. Zorn von Bulach and his son are *protégés* of the Empress, but affect Gallicism. With regard to assuming the post, the Emperor does not wish the nomination to take place before October 1. This, however, enables me to make preparations for arranging the palace. He then advised me as soon as the nomination was published to ask for leave of absence and quit Paris, and at the end of October travel to Paris, present my letter of recall, and go from there to Strassburg to enter upon office.

As far as leave of absence was concerned, I need no Imperial permission in order to travel in Alsace-Lorraine. If, however, I should wish even for a week to travel beyond that country he advised me to choose a means of notifying the Emperor that I was going away, and that I took it for granted that he gave me permission. For longer absences of several weeks it was necessary to obtain the Emperor's sanction. Wilmowski advised me to have a talk with Hofmann about what further privileges might perhaps be solicited, and this should no longer be delayed, as there was going to be, so to speak, a sort of wash-up. Regarding the uniform he will give no opinion.

PARIS, *August* 7, 1885.

When I take all the symptoms into consideration, I am sure that an intrigue against my remaining longer has been hatching for a year and a day. A multitude of various things contributed to it, which mutually perhaps had no connection, and yet all aimed at the same end. When any one has enjoyed such a position as that of ambassador in Paris for eleven years he becomes the *point de mire* for much covetousness and envy. The younger generation, people with a career, who eleven years ago were twenty-five, are now nearing their fortieth year, and begin to get impatient. In such a position as mine one cannot stand well with every one and with all one's subordinates, and whether one wills it or not, one makes enemies. Add to this that Bleichröder, Henckel, &c., have made use of the Press against me, and would so make use of it again. Here I was inconvenient to the Rothschilds and the Orléans party. If I had refused, they certainly would have been obliged to let me stay on here. That, however, would have put the Chancellor, who hitherto has held himself aloof from every intrigue, into a bad humour, and so have prepared the ground for active plots. Erlanger, with whom I talked of many things to-day, without telling him everything, shares my apprehensions, and thinks I have done very well to choose this kind of retreat instead of waiting to be turned off. He knows plenty which he does not tell me, and has good reasons of his own for heartily wishing me luck.

From a letter to PRINCESS AMALIE.

PARIS, *August* 18, 1885.

You ask me how I feel. I am not dazzled by the splendour of the appointment, and am sorry to leave here, where I am accustomed to be and have many friends. Besides, the French have always been congenial to me. Furthermore, I believe my labours here to have been useful. It is a strange fatality that during the course of my life I have only held posts long enough to overcome the initial difficulties and habituate myself to the place and feel happy. Then the inexorable hand of Providence intervenes and tears me away, and it seems to me I hear a voice saying: "Everything is going on too easily and pleasantly for you. Your inborn laziness will get the upper hand, so off you go to something new!" Then once more I must encounter the unaccustomed, the painful, the unknown, and put my whole strength into the struggle. That may be very useful for my spiritual welfare, but it is not agreeable.

KING LUDWIG OF BAVARIA *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

ELMAU, *August* 24, 1885.

MY DEAR PRINCE HOHENLOHE, — I received with pleasure your letter of 17th inst., in which you bring to my notice his Majesty the Emperor's intention of nominating you to the Governorship of Alsace-Lorraine, and hasten to acquaint you with my complete concurrence in this change of appointment in the Imperial service. In offering you my best congratulations on the trust reposed in you by his Majesty in appointing you to such an important and responsible post your well-proved discernment offers me a sure guarantee that you, my dear Prince, will perform distinguished and profitable services in the new and difficult position for which you have been chosen.

Your well-disposed King,
LUDWIG.

To the PRINCESS ELISE.

STRASSBURG, *September* 4, 1885.

I believe that we differ in our views in so far that you acknowledge no religion which is not founded on Scripture, and that I seek to keep my religious convictions without this basis. How can I do otherwise? You Protestants hold that faith and conviction are one and the same — identical. We Catholics look upon dogma as something standing outside ourselves, which we do not attack, but of the truth of which in our innermost hearts we are not convinced. Indeed, had I the faith of a Crusader, and were I convinced that the Christ was in the monstrance on the altar, I would never leave the church again, but remain the whole day through upon my knees before the Holy of Holies, and become a monk of the severest order. Of such believers there are no longer any nowadays. I am also lacking in adoration for "God's Word." When you quote to me portions of Holy Writ I rejoice in them. Then the uncomfortable thought assails me that the Gospel was first pronounced in Hebrew, then written down in Greek, then translated into Latin or German, and that originally much of its purport may have been different. In my soul I do believe and hope with a certain dull consciousness. Reason follows closely, and sometimes the former, sometimes the latter, gains the upper hand. I would be ready to let myself be converted. I envy those who have your faith, but I cannot achieve it for myself, and the great riddle of existence, whence we come and whither we are going, is still for me an unsolved problem.

Journal.

PARIS, *October*, 1885.

To-day I handed to Monsieur Grévy my letter of recall. It was not a State audience, but only a visit in a morning coat. What we had to say was said in the course of conversation without oratorical ceremony. I spoke of the Emperor's wish to maintain friendly relations with France. He thanked me. I then thanked him for his confidence and for the reception which I had met with here, and expressed my regret that I was now about to take my leave. He commended to me *nos anciens compatriotes*. I then paid a visit to Madame Grévy, where a few remarks were again exchanged. I was feeling so sad that the old couple affected me, and I was touched by General Pittié's kindly behaviour.

STRASSBURG

1885–1894

STRASSBURG

1885–1894

Prince Hohenlohe left Paris on the evening of October 11, 1885, and went first of all to Baden, where he took over the conduct of the business of the Governorship and received the report of the Minister of State, von Hofmann. After a short stay in Aussee, he arrived, on November 5, 1885, in Strassburg itself. On November 6 the students of the university gave him a public welcome. At the Kommers, which took place in the evening, the Prince replied as follows to the complimentary address presented to him: —

Gentlemen, — When, earlier in the day, I expressed my gratitude for the honour conferred on me in the shape of a public welcome by the University students, I could only tender my thanks to a limited number of your fraternity. Now that I have the good fortune to see assembled before me the whole body of Strassburg students, I reiterate my thanks in the heartiest manner. I confess that the honour you have done me has taken me by surprise; it has never yet been my privilege to merit the favours of this University. From the words, however, which your spokesman has addressed to me, I flatter myself that your appreciative welcome is not merely given to the newly appointed vice-gerent, but also to the political worker who during the last twenty years has taken an active part in the great movements and events in our Fatherland. And this, to me, is the most valuable part of your tribute. For, gentlemen, I prize the judgment of youth, above all of academic youth, very highly. The young judge from the standpoint of the ideal, and they judge with greater freedom, with less prejudice, and more sharply than does maturer age, which is often hampered by motives of discretion. I do not mean for a moment to say that we should esteem lightly the judgment of riper years; far be that from me. I know well how to value the opinion of experienced men. But nothing is so encouraging to me as the assenting glance, the enthusiastic acclamation of youth. Both have fallen to my share to-day, and for both I thank you. The memory of this evening, of these days, will accompany me through the work I have embarked upon, the work of furthering the welfare of this land. You, gentlemen, whom this land has hospitably received, you whose most delightful life-memories will be bound up with this country, you will, I am sure, respond warmly and eagerly when I call on you to give a hearty cheer for Alsace-Lorraine!

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

STRASSBURG, *November* 8, 1885.

Count Herbert has telegraphed to me that your Highness has commissioned him to tender to his Majesty the proposal that the military authorities should be instructed to allow the usual double sentry before the palace of the Governor to remain. I venture to express, your Highness, my most humble thanks for your action in this matter. It was not personal vanity, as I am sure your Highness will believe, which induced me to bring this matter under discussion. The affair, however, took a turn which appeared compromising to my position. When I arrived here I learned from a well-informed source that the Strassburg public was awaiting with great anxiety the settlement of the sentry question, and believed that on this was to rest the decision of the further question whether the new Statthalter was to be invested with the same attributes as the Field-Marshal, or whether he was to be simply "a sort of Chief President." The military authorities inclined to the second, the civil authorities to the first course. The reasoning was of course childish, seeing that the position of the Statthalter is determined by the provincial authority conferred upon him, and not by the placing of a double sentry before his palace.

The question, however, was put in that way, and it was, of course, to be expected, that the civil population, who were interested in the preservation of the double sentry, would see in its definite abolition a defeat of the Governor. I have endeavoured to ensure that this controversy shall not be carried on in the Press, and I hope I have succeeded.

The presence of the commanding general at the railway station on my arrival, and the demonstration of the whole body of generals and the military authorities yesterday, will also help to reassure the minds of the people and to convince them that there is no antagonism between me and the military. But that in the Royal Military Cabinet a certain coolness of feeling does exist towards me, I noticed even in Baden. There are some persons who maintain that General von Albedyll is annoyed because I, and not he, have got the post of Governor. This may be the reason of the difficulties which he has raised against the attachment of officers to the Governor. Meanwhile I have invited the assistance of Captain von Thaden, who, being at present unoccupied, is very kindly rendering me useful service.

With my reception here I am very well pleased. It is true that the ceremonials of welcome have chiefly been organised by the Germans who have come into the land. But native Alsatians also took part in the torchlight procession, and the attitude of the aloof-keeping, old-established population was a thoroughly dignified one, and no discordant note disturbed the harmony of the truly brilliant proceedings. I attach no great political value to all this; but the impression on the assembled populace was a good one.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *November* 14, 1885.

The days go by in wearisome monotony. The first thing in the morning proposals from Privy Councillor Jordan. Then luncheon, and at three o'clock the audiences begin. Yesterday the Government officials, then the officers of justice; to-day the University, a number of gymnasial teachers, and finally the Chamber of Commerce, the *prud'hommes*. At 6.30 there was a great dinner for the grandees and the generals. It was all splendidly got up with flowers and silver, and looked mighty imposing. The servants were in white livery. At nine a ball in the Casino, where I made the acquaintance of a number of ladies. The toilettes were not very smart. The dancing was pretty fair. I saw no end of company, and I find that the *mêtier de roi* is a *fichu mêtier.*

To-day I received my two sentries, which will contribute to the quieting of the civilians, who were already beginning to be annoyed because their Governor was so badly treated.

METZ, *November* 17, 1885.

Yesterday I arrived at Metz. The chief authorities at the railway station. Drove amid some cheering and ringing of bells to the Hôtel de l'Europe, where I was received by the landlord's daughter with a bouquet and a German address, which the young lady, although French, had learnt by heart, and repeated quite nicely.

Then getting into a dress-coat and driving to the District Presidential Hall, an elegant prefecture, where the reception of the numerous officials and the Bishop took place. I made a speech, and then, turning to a bishop of eighty-one, a Legitimist, said to him: "*Que j'étais heureux de lui témoigner le respect que m'inspiraient son grand âge, sa dignité ecclésiastique et les grandes qualités qui le distinguent.*" This pleased him very much. Then presentation and reception. Afterwards a drive on the fine esplanade, with the view of the Mosethal, and a round of visits. At six o'clock dinner at the President von Hammerstein's, and at eight a torchlight procession. Very beautiful. The square brilliantly lighted by the lamps and torches and Bengal light, and in the background the huge cathedral. To-day, November 17, the first thing in the morning the music of two military bands. At eleven o'clock a visit to the cathedral, where I was taken round by the cathedral architect, Tornow, and a few of the clergy. The cathedral is imposing, and larger than that of Strassburg. From there to the town museum; then to the Hospice of St. Nicholas, a large prebendary house, managed by Sisters of St. Vincent. In the school of the Hospice there was singing and recitation by the children, presentation of bouquets, and so on. From there to the Lyceum, where I was expected to look at everything, and was also present at two hours' instruction of the Prima. At 3.30 home, and reception of the generals and the commanders of regiments. At five o'clock I gave a dinner in the hotel. Sixty guests — generals, officials, and Common Council. Very well served. I began by proposing the health of the Emperor, which met with all the more approval as Manteuffel, out of respect for the feelings of the French, had always omitted this toast. Then I made my speech, and I think I spoke well. At any rate, I was rewarded with great applause. Towards the end of dinner a member of the Common Council came up to me and gave a friendly address in French. I answered in French, and concluded with three cheers for the *Conseil Municipal.* After dinner many flattering things were said to me all round. The officials seemed all very proud of their new Governor, and the French members of the Municipal Council were somewhat tipsy and maudlin. Then to the theatre, which was already festively illuminated outside. I was received by the committee of the theatre, conducted into the beautiful foyer, and I took possession of the central stall and was greeted with a flourish by the orchestra. All the people rose as I entered, and I greeted them with bows in all directions, and then took my seat on a *fauteuil* in the centre, where I was the object of general contemplation. The opera *Lohengrin* was quite decently performed. I stayed through two acts, and then went home.

The next day a morning drive to the fortress of St. Quentin, and at midday back to Strassburg. I am glad that it all went off so well. I am beginning to get accustomed to playing the sovereign, although it seems rather a wearisome trade.

The EMPEROR *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *November* 22, 1885.

Accept my best thanks for your letter of the 19th inst. With pleasure and delight I learn that your impression of the reception that was given you is so gratifying and gives you confidence in your post. But I must also express my deep appreciation of your answers to the speeches addressed to you, of your short but weighty words. Your predecessor also spoke well and significantly, but he did not spoil his hearers by brevity. — Your good friend

WILHELM.

Telegram from the EMPEROR.

November 27, 1885.

The mission, as sad as it is unexpected, with which I have entrusted you* furnishes me the occasion (to ask you) to mention to the Queen-Regent, and wherever you have the opportunity, how shocked I am by the death of the King of Spain,

* *See* the following entry in the journal. King Alphonso XII. of Spain had died on November 5.

with whom, since we made acquaintance in Homburg, I have enjoyed true friendship. With all his amiability I recognised a young man ripe beyond his years, clearly comprehending his difficult task and possessing an energy that promised a long reign.

Journal.

MADRID, *December* 8, 1885.

On the evening of November 27 I found a telegram from Bismarck, informing me that the Emperor had chosen me as his representative at the funeral solemnities in Madrid, and that I must start off at once. Soon afterwards I received another telegram from the Emperor telling me what I was to say to the Queen. I went at once to Hofmann, to confer with him about taking my duty, and then packed my things. On the 28th at 9 A.M. I set off in the Orient express train. At 6 P.M. I was met in Paris by Kiderlen with the news that the funeral was put off till the 3rd, and that I could therefore stay twenty-four hours in Paris, which I was glad to do. I installed myself in the Hotel Meurice. The next day came the news that the funeral was further postponed till the 10th. So I stayed a week in Paris. On Sunday evening I started for Madrid. In the sleeping compartment there was only the Roumanian Ambassador besides myself, and he too was going on an extraordinary embassy to Madrid. The night passed comfortably, except that it was very hot. At Bordeaux we had coffee, when the Roumanian introduced himself to me. The unlucky man was jammed into a compartment with two Englishmen and a Spanish lady, but he did not thereby lose his dignity or his loquacity. The stout Marchioness of Bedmar, with her lady's maid, took the compartment next to me, which had been destined for General Pittié. Pittié had not turned up. After daybreak we travelled through the so-called "Landes" which extend between Bordeaux and Biarritz. Nothing but young pinewood. One might be travelling in Upper Silesia or near Biala. At Biarritz the weather was glorious — as hot as summer. Sunshine and blue sea. At Hendaye the German Consul of San Sebastian got in, introduced himself to me, looked after my luggage at Irun, and went with me as far as San Sebastian. San Sebastian is very finely situated. One sees the spurs of the Pyrenees, whose slopes reach down to the sea. After this our way lay through mountains. At the stations men with clean-shaved faces, enveloped in mantles, gendarmes in black gaiters, mantles, and three-cornered hats. Now and then a beautiful peep into the mountains, as in the Ennstal. At Miranda a grand *table d'hôte.* When it became dark, and there was nothing more to see, I played piquet with the Roumanian, and then lay down to sleep. At seven o'clock I got up. At 7.30 we arrived at Madrid, where Solms and Gutschmidt and the Introducer of the Ambassadors received me. I have comfortable quarters in the Hôtel de Rome.

December 8, 1885.

After arriving at the hotel I did some writing. Then I lay down in bed to get warm, but soon got up again, and took a walk on the Puerta del Sol and in the Alcala Street. As it was a great festival day everybody was up. I went into a church, where preaching was going on; but the crowd was so great I could not stay there. In the streets I saw the men in their mantles and the women in their veils. The better classes, however, wore European dress. At 12.30 I breakfasted with Gutschmidt and the other gentlemen. Afterwards Solms fetched me to pay visits to Sagasta, to the Nuncia, and others. Afterwards I drove to the Retiro, a sort of Bois de Boulogne or Allée des Acacias. At the end of it there is a magnificent view.

December 9.

Yesterday evening we dined at the hotel. I had invited Solms and Gutschmidt. To-day I visited the picture gallery of the Royal Museum. Certainly the grandest picture gallery in the world. A quantity of Murillos, Velasquezes, Rubenses, Van Dycks, Rembrandts; also a number by J. Breughel, Teniers, Wouwerman, and Snyder. The two Raphaels which I saw to-day did not appeal to me much. To-morrow I shall see other pictures — Goya and the Italian school. Everywhere there are masterpieces. One becomes quite dizzy after a time, there is so much to admire. It's impossible to go through these galleries quickly, for everything is so extraordinarily fine. Fortunately Gutschmidt was with us, and he pointed out the most famous pictures. I will only mention *Charles V. on Horseback*, by Titian; *The Smithy* by Velasquez; the different Madonnas by Murillo; *Rebecca at the Well*, by the same; portraits of the Kings of Spain; Ribera's *Jacob's Ladder*, and so forth. The portraits of the Dutch painter Moro are very fine, in the style of Van Dyck. This afternoon I shall drive to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We have bright, warm weather.

MADRID, *December* 10, 1885.

Yesterday afternoon at 3.30 I drove with Solms to see the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Moret, in order to hand to him the copy of my despatches. We exchanged polite speeches, and I had an opportunity of conveying to the Minister the contents of the Imperial telegram. The Minister said it was a great misfortune for Spain, but what comforted him and gave him hope for the future was the character of the Queen, who had entered on her new task with great strength of character. After a drive on the Prado I dined at Solms's with the gentlemen of the Embassy with those of my own suite, and with Vega de Armijo and Dubsky. The first-named told many tales of the journeys of the King to Germany and of scenes in Paris. After he had gone we talked about Spanish affairs. It appears that here everything depends on satisfying some hundred thousand Spaniards of the cultivated classes on providing them with places and opportunities of making money. The people seem indifferent. The proof is that the present Government has all the votes in its own hands, and will itself take care that a certain number of opposition members are also elected. The whole thing is a system of exploitation of the most abominable kind, a caricature of constitutionalism phrases and thieving. To-day I spent the forenoon in the picture gallery, and saw for the first time Raphael's famous pictures, *The Pearl* and *The Cardinal* and several others. Afterwards we went to the Academy buildings, where hang two remarkable Murillos (*The Dream*). One of these especially makes a profound impression.

At three o'clock the Introducer of the Ambassadors, Zarco del Valle, came to fetch me. We mounted a chariot and six of the time of Louis XVI. I with the Introducer, Kanitz and Schlippenbach * in another coach. The King's equerry and a Colonel of the Guides rode by the side of my carriage. Running footmen also kept pace with the horses. Cavalry accompanied us. In the courtyard of the palace there was stationed a guard of honour, which presented arms. The band played the King's march. On the steps of the building I was received by six chamberlains, who conducted me up. The whole flight was lined with halberdiers. On the bottom step six more chamberlains came forward. While we were going up the band played the "Brabançonne." At the top I found the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the courtiers on duty.

On account of her mourning the Queen did not receive us in the throne room, but in a small saloon, to which the Minister led me. The Queen stood by the window and waited for my speech, which I delivered in French, and in which I spoke of the Emperor's grief at the death of the King, and repeated his remarks on the personality of the deceased sovereign, and assured her Majesty that the Emperor extended to the Queen-Regent the sympathetic regard which he had for the King. The Queen thanked me in French, and begged me to tell his Majesty how much she was touched, and how grateful she was for all the many tokens of sympathy which she had received from his Majesty and from the Imperial family. Then she said in German: "I think we have already known each other a long time," to which I answered in the affirmative, recalling her stay in Aussee. She then gave me an account of the King's illness, and I was surprised to hear that the Queen did not consider consumption to have been the cause of his death, but anæmia and general weakness. It was her opinion that the King had not been strong enough to throw up the phlegm, and that this had brought on pulmonary disease. Others say that the lungs were both completely destroyed. As, however, there was no post-mortem examination, no definite conclusion was arrived at. According to the intelligence received by Solms, it was "galloping" consumption. The Queen then spoke of other things, inquired after my family, and then dismissed me, whereupon I introduced Count Kanitz and Count Schlippenbach to her. The Queen makes a very favourable impression. She looks sad and resigned, but resolute; and when I told her that here people were quite satisfied with her attitude, and with the way in which she conducted affairs, she took it all as a matter of course, and answered, "I shall know how to fulfil my duty towards my children." Hers is a calm, dignified nature which cannot fail to impress the Spaniards.

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* Court Marshal Count Kanitz and Kammerjunker Count Schlippenbach were deputed to attend the Prince on his embassy to Madrid.

After I had greeted the lords and ladies in the first saloon I went down the steps again, escorted in the same manner. The band played again, the halberdiers presented their halberds, the chamberlains sauntered silently down the steps, and at the bottom we got back into our carriages and drove at a foot pace through the gaping crowd back to the Hôtel de Rome.

At 6.30 I had an audience with the Archdukes and the Prince and Princess * Ludwig Ferdinand. I had some difficulty in finding my way about the palace, but went first to the Archdukes, and then at 7.30 to the Bavarian Princes. That the Archdukes were not much bowed down with grief I had already noticed on the way from Strassburg, where I drove with them. The Princess Paz † did not put on a sad face when I spoke of the King, and passed on very soon to indifferent topics. The Princess Eulalie ‡ then came in, looking quite happy, and she too talked as if nothing special had happened. As I drove back home through the streets of Madrid with this impression on my mind, and through the happy, loafing crowds, Platen's poem came into my mind:

> But small regard has human pain
> And wounded men unheeded fall
> A sick man's suffering ne'er was known
> To hurt a healthy man at all.

There lies the King, who, a fortnight ago, if not in robust health, was at any rate alive, active, and the centre of attention, alone now in a dark room in the Escorial, where he must decay and moulder before he is laid in the royal vault; and here everything is going on in the accustomed way, and even those who were nearest to him scarcely think of him any more.

> And each one thinks himself an "all,"
> And each in verity is nought.

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* *Née* Infanta of Spain.

† Wife of Prince Ludwig Ferdinand of Bavaria.

‡ Wife of the Prince of Orleans-Bourbon.

December 11, 1885.

This morning purchase of fans and other things. In the afternoon an audience with Queen Isabella, and afterwards with the Infanta Isabella. Both seemed still very sorrowful, but after a while they began to talk of our sojourn together in Paris. The Queen said that Strassburg must be very dull.

At three o'clock I drove to see Sagasta, to the Premier, a small, Jewish-looking, vivacious man, with whom I found a few bishops, who, however, soon took their departure. Sagasta said that the death of the King was a great misfortune, but he hoped that the Queen-Regent would hold on. Force would certainly be used against the projects of the Carlists or the revolutionists. The Conservatives were in favour of the Regency, and would make no difficulties.

December 12, 1885.

To-day at ten o'clock the great funeral ceremony took place in the church of San Francisco el Grande. We drove there at 9.30, took our places, and stayed all through this very beautifully ordered funeral service. In front of the altar, on the right, sat three cardinals, and we ambassadors on the left side. I was between Des-Michels and Schuwalow; opposite us were the Infant of Portugal, the Duke of Coimbra, the Archdukes, and Prince Ludwig Ferdinand of Bavaria. I also made the acquaintance of the nuncio, who asked me how I like the clergy in Alsace-Lorraine. On my answering that I had nothing but good to say of them, he remarked, "If only they could come to peace in Prussia!" I said I had no doubts of the good intentions of his Holiness — as little as I had of my own Government; but the difficulty lay in the Centre, which did not wish for peace.

What had already struck me here before was the happy-mindedness of the Spaniards. They treated the funeral service like a festival; all the Ministers and Church dignitaries greeted us with smiling faces, talked and chattered, and seemed quite to forget that we were taking part in funeral obsequies. This is the character of the people. Death to them is something gloomy and uncanny, over which they pass as quickly as possible. In this respect they are naïve and childlike, and free from all hypocrisy. To put on sad faces when their hearts are not concerned is an impossibility for them.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

MADRID, *December* 12, 1885.

I have the pleasure of communicating to your Highness herewith the purport of some conversations which I have had with Spanish statesmen. Señor Canovas del Castillo, who called on me immediately after my arrival, began his talk with a detailed account of the late King's illness. He said that from infancy the

King had had a weak constitution, and that he had put more strain on it than it could bear. Up to his twenty-fifth year no serious results had followed. From that time onwards, however, he had had frequent attacks of fever, which had enfeebled him and had brought on an anæmic condition, and which had led, in the last few years especially, to a state of general weakness, so that in his last sufferings he had not had the necessary power of resistance, and had finally succumbed to paralysis of the heart. That the King had been the victim of a dissolute life, as was here and there asserted, was untrue. Canovas also denied that the cause of death had been consumption. Concerning the position of the country, Canovas spoke very hopefully. His retirement had been a necessity, and the Conservative majority in the present Chamber, which was entirely under his influence, would prepare no difficulties for the present Government; the Government, therefore, need not proceed to a new election before a year's time, and could go on acting with the Conservatives and the Liberals. There was no reason to fear the Republicans, and the Carlists as little. The sole danger for the future lay in the long minority of the future King or the future Queen. Meanwhile he could see well that the Queen-Regent was fully equal to her task. Don Manuel Silvela, whom I have known since the time when he was ambassador in Paris, spoke also in the same strain. He too assured me that the Conservatives would support the present Government. Señor Sagasta expressed his satisfaction with the attitude of the Spanish episcopate, whereby the danger of a Carlist movement was diminished. At any rate, the Government was resolved on energetic suppression of any and every revolutionary attempt, from what quarter soever it might proceed. Señor Castelar is of a different opinion. Needless to say that I have not talked with him myself, but he assured the Roumanian Ambassador, Plagino, that the republic is making continuous progress in Spain, and that its ultimate victory is undoubted, even though the Republicans are determined to avoid all revolutionary agitation. The republic, he believes, will triumph in a peaceful manner, and then all the Latin peoples will become united.

Speech at a dinner for the Provincial Militia, January 30, 1886.

Gentlemen, — I was almost tempted to address you as "my honoured colleagues." Such is the force of recollection and of old associations that whenever I see before me an assembly of delegates I easily yield to the illusion that I am one of their number. That, however, which is no illusion, but which I treasure as a very real gain from the experience of my parliamentary life, is the excellent opinion which, on the whole, I have formed of members of parliamentary bodies. And well do I know what it means to secure the confidence of one's fellow-citizens, and to retain it in such a measure that they will entrust to us the representation of their collective interests. In means no less than the best part of the work of a man's life.

In this spirit I come before you now, gentlemen of the Provincial Militia; and because this is so, and because I have full confidence in your sound good sense and your political experience, I abstain to-day from inflicting on you a political speech, and from laying a programme before you.

The young Baron von Bulach has lately said with truth that promises are dangerous things. Yes, even the statesman who has the power to fulfil his promises will do well to be sparing of them, for he cannot tell whether circumstances will allow him to carry out his programme thoroughly. But one who, like myself, has to reckon with factors which are above and beyond the sphere of his influence must be doubly prudent. One of your countrymen, a prominent politician of the country, with whom I was speaking about the perpetual clamour for a programme of government, said to me: "What do we want with a programme? The best programme is a good administration." Yes, gentlemen, this is how I look upon my task. I shall endeavour to accomplish it conscientiously and dutifully, and in the spirit of sincere gratitude for the confidence with which I have been welcomed in this country. . . .

Journal.

February 21.

To-day dined with Zorn von Bulach at Osthausen. A lovely old castle. Friendly reception. Plentiful dinner. At eleven o'clock, home. The old Zorn von Bulach talked about the Strassburg Municipal Council and advised that the elections should be proceeded with. He could not guarantee that this course would succeed, but the thing was worth an attempt anyhow. It seems that there is a general wish for a Municipal Council.

In the Ministerial Council yesterday it was decided that Hofmann should proceed cautiously to negotiations.*

STRASSBURG, *March* 17, 1886.

General Heuduck communicated to me yesterday the contents of a despatch from the Minister of War, by which he was informed that the Imperial manœuvres would actually take place this autumn in Alsace-Lorraine. The Minister of War leaves it still open whether the Emperor's headquarters shall be at Metz or at Strassburg, and asks Heuduck for his opinion. Heuduck and Lieutenant-Colonel Bock are in favour of Strassburg, because, they say, there would be difficulties in the way of accommodating the troops in the country and the Imperial suite in Metz.

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* The Strassburg Municipal Council had been suspended in the year 1873 in consequence of a conflict with the Government. In April 1874 it was dissolved. The authority of the Municipal Council had been transferred, in virtue of the law of February 24, 1872, to the administrator of the Burgomaster's office, Back. In view of the approaching re-election of all the municipal councils of the land in 1886, the question arose whether now was the time to issue writs for re-election of the Strassburg council also, and in this way to attempt the restoration of a normal municipal administration.

Both of them, however, recognise that the cost of the manœuvres in Alsace would be much greater — about five hundred thousand marks more. To the question put to me whether I had any political reasons against choosing Strassburg, I could only answer, No. My opinion certainly is that it would have been better to wait for the manœuvres till the Emperor's palace is ready. It would not be a cheering spectacle for the Emperor to see before him the beginnings of a palace, which he is not likely ever to occupy. I think, also, that it would not make a very favourable impression on the people to see an old man of ninety following the manœuvres in a carriage. Besides this, we do not yet know how the municipal council elections will go. It would certainly have been better to postpone the matter till the following year, and to finish the palace first.

STRASSBURG, *May* 29, 1886.

The superior of the priests' seminary, Herr Dacheux, came to me to-day to present me with some of the books which he has written. We talked first about the seminarists who have been called in for military service, and whom he would like to see freed from this obligation. I advised him to send me a memorandum, which I would send with my recommendation to the commander of the Eleventh Army Corps, General von Schlotheim, at Cassel. I advised him also to make the seminarists go through the examination for the one year's voluntary service, and he then complained that the boys' seminary at Zillisheim was badly organised, that the young people came into the seminary badly prepared, and that, in his opinion, each seminarist before being admitted should have passed the *Abiturienten* (school-leaving certificate) examination. He came next to the subject of the coadjutor, of whom he complained that he had not yet made him a Canonicus, although the superior of the seminary ought by rights always to be a Canonicus. He spoke altogether very freely, and complained of the low level of culture on which the Alsatian clergy stood. He protested that he had no ambition for himself personally, and was not striving for anything, least of all a bishopric. He was altogether disgusted, and so forth. On the whole he impressed me with the idea that he wanted to recommend himself to me as confidential friend and adviser in spiritual matters. I may be glad to make use of him thus, but must use discretion.

ZABERN, *June* 5, 1886.

The first day of the journey to Zabern is behind us. It was rather tiring. We started — Thaden and Sommer * were with me — at nine o'clock from Strassburg in the Orient express train, and were received at Zabern by the Kreisdirektor [Director of the District], the burgomaster, the chief lieutenant Messow, President Munzinger, and other dignitaries. After the first greetings, which the international travellers by the Orient express watched with lively interest, I was conducted to the public place in front of the railway station, where the school children were drawn up. First of all I was presented with a bouquet by a little maiden dressed in white, a pupil of the girls' high school; and the same little girl afterwards recited a poem which she had learnt by heart, and repeated extremely well. Then the school of the school-sisters also greeted me with a poem and a bouquet. Then came other schools and a reception of teachers was held.

Then we entered our carriages again, and drove through the town, which was decked with triumphal arches and flags, to the Office of the Director of the District, where I was greeted by Frau Bickell. Soon afterwards we proceeded to the Catholic church, where the pastor made me a speech, in which he expressed his pleasure at the sight of a Catholic Governor, and recalled the members of my family who had obtained and are still obtaining high posts in the Church. Of Uncle Alexander † he said this wonderful man deserved to be canonised; and then he spoke of the Cardinal "who stood by the side of Leo XIII." Hereupon I went processionally into the church, took my place before the altar, and listened to the singing. Then the pastor showed me over the church. From here we went to the Catholic Franciscan church, which looks exactly like the church of the Schillingsfürster. I have forgotten to mention that I answered the priest's speech, thanked him for his friendly greeting, and said that I was convinced from what he had said that the clergy of Alsace-Lorraine would receive me with confidence. I also thanked him for his kind recollections of the members of my family, and promised to tell the Cardinal all he had said.

In the Protestant church the reception was simpler. Finally we went to the synagogue, where the cantor started a long Hebrew song, after which the rabbi made a speech, which I answered. At 12.30 there was breakfast at the District Office; after which presentation of officials, of the Municipal Council, of the members of the District Assembly, and so forth. At 2.30 came the officers of the Jägerbataillon. Then to the gymnasium, where I was greeted in the Aula with an address from the director, which I answered with some recognition of the merits of the excellent Director Pelzer. Then to the hospital, where I questioned some of the patients about their condition, and talked with the lady superintendent. In a neighbouring building the orphan children were mustered. Here again we had bouquets and poems. The visits terminated with the museum, where I found amongst other things, an interesting engraving on copper representing Cagliostro, who in his day had stayed here with the Cardinal Rohan. At five a drive to the Castles of Hohbarr and Gross-Geroldseck. Then a beautiful drive through the forest, but little view owing to the foggy weather. At 7.30 P.M. dinner at the Sonne — thirty-three persons. I began with drinking the Emperor's health, then the burgomaster toasted me; after which I drank to the health and prosperity of the town of Zabern. After dinner came the Marksmen's Union, the German Singing Union, and others. First a torchlight procession, then singing of songs. I sent for the leaders of the unions to come upstairs, thanked them, and gave them champagne to drink. At 10.30 I drove back to the District Office, where I had excellent night-quarters.

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* At that time Government assessor in the Governor's Office.

† Prince Alexander zu Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst (1794 to 1849), cleric, suffragan bishop in Grosswardein, famous for his gift of healing by prayer.

June 6, 1886.

In accordance with the programme, I started yesterday at 9 A.M. with the Director of the District, Thaden, and Sommer for the different places which the Director had proposed that I should visit. We stopped first at a village near Zabern, Monsweiler by name. Here the school children were drawn up, accompanied by their masters and mistresses. One of the children handed me a bunch of flowers and made a speech of welcome. After I had chatted a little with the assembled company we proceeded on our way. The next large village where we halted was Ernolsheim. Here again school children, verses, speechifying. The singing union of the place, which was managed by the schoolmaster, sang quite respectably; a number of peasant lads. The Protestant pastor seems an excellent fellow. I was much struck by him, with his big, fair beard. The place is wealthy, the Protestant population an industrious and model one. At Dossenheim the same ceremony and a visit to the church, which is built on the walls of an old Knight Templar's castle. At last we reached Neuweiler, a great market hamlet. Here there were two rows of school children drawn up, school-sisters, governesses, and masters. Again the customary poem recited by a white-robed maiden. A stout girl with a rich display of lace delivered the speech. Then set out to visit the churches. At the head a brass band; after them school children, with the school-sisters and the female teachers; in front of me three white-robed maidens; behind me Thaden and Sommer and the Town Council; at my side the burgomaster with his scarf. In this way we proceeded amid salvos of artillery to the great and famous church. Here the Catholic priest received me with a very loyal speech, in which he emphasised his own and his congregation's attachment to the Emperor, and spoke of my Catholic forebears, as well as of the clerical members of the family. I answered with thanks. The church is built partly in Romanesque style; it is one of the interesting buildings of Alsace. The priest showed me the tapestries, which represent the life of St. Adelphus and date from the fifteenth century. They come down from a Countess Lichtenberg, who was a Countess of Hohenlohe. The leopards were introduced into every piece. Then we went to the Franciscan church, and thence to the synagogue, from which we drove to the former fortress Lützelstein, along a beautiful road through a splendid forest. At Lützelstein dinner with the notables and the officials; then a drive in the rain to Zabern, where we arrived at 6.30, and whence we reached Strassburg again at 8.30.

STRASSBURG, *June* 20, 1886.

When at the beginning of June I was in Munich for a few days I received intelligence of the steps about to be taken for depriving the King of the government and setting up a regency instead. I talked with Gustav Castell about the plan for sending a commission to Hohenschwangau to inform the King of the decision. When I left Munich to go to Schillingsfürst, the Commission had started for Hohenschwangau, and I learnt at Schillingsfürst of its negative result. On Sunday I went back to Strassburg. Early on Monday, just as I was preparing to start for the race at Weissenburg, the news came of the horrible end of the King and of the death of Dr. Gudden. I could not postpone the journey, so I went to the festival, and at Weissenburg I received the official confirmation of the catastrophe. Thereupon I went back to Strassburg at 4.30, and took train at 9 P.M. for Munich. At Munich I went to the sitting of the Upper House fixed for twelve o'clock, and was elected one of the Committee appointed to investigate matters and to express an opinion on the Regency. At noon on Wednesday the first meeting of the commission took place. The Minister Lutz began with a report of the circumstances, and said that it was in the spring of this year that the Ministry had first become convinced that the King was suffering from a mental malady. He explained why they had proceeded as they had, and then read out the documents which gave information concerning the King's condition. The report of the former Cabinet Councillor Ziegler was of no importance, and its details all known beforehand. The Cabinet Councillor Müller had some new information to give — as, for instance, the wish of the King to find another country where he could rule without chambers, his gloomy disposition, his disgust with life, and a collection of letters, in some of which he made protestations of romantic friendship to this Cabinet Councillor. The report of Hornig told of the King's mania for sentencing people to the Bastille, also of the orders which he gave people to get money by breaking into the banks, of the King's outbursts of rage, of his ill-usage of servants, of the orders to seize the Crown Prince of Italy, to incarcerate him and torture him, of the King's insomnia, of his continual headaches, and so forth.

In like manner the Butler Wilker, who described the ceremonials which the servants were obliged to observe, testified to the setting up of a castle keep, to the King's aversion to Munich, his worship of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. He, as well as the Valet Mayer, who was heard later on, spoke of the King's uncleanliness, and similar matters. Mayer told how for a whole year he had been obliged to wait on the King in a black mask, because his Majesty, as he put it, could not bear to see his criminal's countenance. Then came the opinions of the alienists, who considered the mental derangement an undoubted fact. In the evening the meeting was resumed, and in conclusion came the evidence of Dr. Grashey, who gave an exhaustive account in the same sense. Another sitting was held the next day, and the last sitting was fixed for Friday. In the debate that now arose the question was discussed whether and why it was necessary to proceed in this particular manner and not in any other — whether the King's abdication ought not first to have been solicited. Frankenstein spoke in favour of accepting the Government's proposal, but blamed the long delay and the procedure followed. Orttenburg spoke in the same sense. I defended the Government, pointed out that there might well be doubts as to the King's insanity, as even Dr. Grashey had explained how in this kind of madness two personalities could be united, the one crazy and the other reasonable. I then stated that the alleged dealings of the King with the Princes of Orleans, which were represented as felony, according to the tenour of the documents, consisted in nothing more than a letter of an obscure Paris agent, who, on his part, had proposed conditions of neutrality to which no answer had ever been returned.

With regard to the new King Otto, Pranckh, who was one of the curators, stated that his illness had gained such ground during the last few years that he was no longer able to talk coherently, and that there could be no doubt as to his condition. Then finally the Chairman spoke; an agreement was arrived at regarding the Report at the public sitting; and after all the members of the commission had declared in favour of the Government proposal the sitting came to an end.

On Saturday the 19th the funeral took place. I was induced by Castell to go into the princes' room, where I had the opportunity of introducing myself to the highest personages, such as the Austrian Crown Prince, Prince George of Saxony, and others. The Grand Duke of Baden was also there, and many other princely celebrities. In the procession I, as a Crown official, paired with Oetlingen. The weather was, fortunately, very fine during the procession. Afterwards a storm came on. At 12.30 I started in the Orient express to return to Strassburg, where I arrived punctually at nine o'clock. I may supplement that at the inquest on the King it was established that his brain had degenerated, while his body was found to be, on the whole, perfectly healthy.

The excitement in Munich was intense, and all sorts of preposterous reports circulated in the town. It was said that the King had been murdered, and so forth. This will evaporate when the things which have been communicated to us become known. On the whole, there appeared to be a feeling that it was a good thing that this reign had come to an end.

EMS, *June* 27, 1886.

To-day a walk to the Spring with Lippe and Reischach, Lehndorff and others. At nine o'clock the Emperor sent for me, and I had a walk with him. The Emperor began by talking of the death of the King, and afterwards we conversed on indifferent subjects. Then I went back home, and waited there, as the Emperor had said that he should want me to come to him again. The quartermaster fetched me to him at about eleven o'clock. I remained with the Emperor a long time, but spoke very little about business, and only of the most urgent matters, so as not to tire him. I mentioned, however, the nomination to the Council of State for Bulach, of which he seemed to approve, the residence of the Empress at the Mairie, and various events from Strassburg.

At four o'clock dinner with the Emperor. I sat on his right, Loë on his left. Keller and Königsmarck were also there. I talked with Perponcher about the question of accommodation at Strassburg. He said if the Empress did not reside in the Governor's building it would be very inconvenient for the Court retinue as regards attendance. I said it would not be very difficult to arrange. The Emperor and Empress had no objection to the plan, and the latter had said to me: "*Au revoir* at the Mairie!" After dinner I went to call on the Princess Olympe Bariatinsky, who had sent me a card, but did not find her at home. The Emperor had bidden me go to the theatre, but afterwards sent Lehndorff to tell me that he had forgotten the public mourning and that he would let me off going. The Emperor is always full of consideration.

STRASSBURG, *August* 13, 1886.

A letter from Berlin informs me that there is agitation among the military in Alsace-Lorraine about the military insecurity which is said to prevail through the whole Imperial lands. They are urging on General Heuduck to bring the case before the superior (presumably the military) courts. My correspondent has been collecting information for the last few weeks, and he has sent me a *résumé* of what he has learnt. Whether it had been decided to take steps with the superior courts he could not ascertain. I received these communications in Aussee. As regards the question of the expulsion of the French reserve officers, such a step could not be taken without first obtaining the opinion of the Imperial Chancellor. For it would certainly lead to reprisals against the German reserve officers living in France. As regards the fire brigades, it will not be possible to avoid a reorganisation. The question of the foreign police must be carefully looked into, especially now that the arrival of the Emperor is at hand, and slackness in the executive can be easily corrected.

In order, on my part, to see clearly into the matter, and at once to nip in the bud any grievances of the military, it will be necessary that no expulsion is allowed to become ineffective without a report to me in each particular case, and especially that expulsions ordered by the inferior courts are enforced without exception.

STRASSBURG, *September* 18, 1886.

The day has gone off well. At twelve I was with Thaden at the railway station, received the King of Saxony, and then went back again. At 2.30 we drove to the station. Numbers of courtiers, grand dukes, princes, generals. When the train came in I went forward to meet the Emperor. He gave me his hand, and then took the Report from Heuduck, and then I went across to the other side to greet the Empress. We then drove straight home again to await the Emperor. The town was richly decorated. When the Emperor came I was standing with the Grand Duke and the generals before the gate of the palace; Marie and Elizabeth above in the entrance hall. The Emperor first of all greeted them and then inspected the guard of honour. Then he greeted the King of Saxony and Prince Charles of Sweden, who were waiting in the saloon.

They then took their departure, and the Emperor forthwith returned their visit. I waited till he came back, and then conducted him to the room destined for him on the first floor. At five o'clock there was a great dinner in the Governor's palace. In the evening tea and a tattoo. I was informed that I was to drive to the parade with Countess Hacke and Marie, and, moreover, in undress uniform — *i.e.*, a blue dress-coat. I should have had, therefore, to sit on the back seat of the carriage. That would have injured my prestige. I therefore begged the Emperor that I might be allowed to drive in my own carriage and in state uniform, which he granted.

To-day at eleven the parade. I drove behind the Emperor, who drove with Radziwill. From the palace to the Polygon there were densely packed crowds shouting, hurrahing, and waving handkerchiefs. It was a remarkable sight. On the drill-ground we drove first along the front of the troops that were drawn up, then took up our position in front of the Tribune and watched the march past of the troops, which was very imposing. I think there were 30,000 men assembled. As the Emperor was rather tired there was only one march past. This lasted till one o'clock. Fortunately the sky was overcast nearly the whole time, so that nobody suffered from the sun. After my return I paid a few more visits. At five o'clock there was a great gala dinner in the Casino. The Emperor did not take part in it. The Crown Prince delivered the speech to the Army Corps. At 6.30 the dinner ended. At 7.30 a performance for the military at the theatre, where, however, owing to some confusion, a great many seats remained unoccupied. At 8.30 tea in the Empress's apartments with the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden, Hofmann, Loë, and the Empress's suite. At ten o'clock home.

September 12, 1886.

Early this morning I had to write several hurried notes to inform those concerned that the Emperor could not hold the reception of the officials, which must be put off till Tuesday. Afterwards to the races. At five o'clock a family dinner with Marie and Elizabeth. In the evening tea with the Empress, which, however, was soon over. The tea party also included the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden, the hereditary Prince of Weimar, Loë, Bulach, Goltz, and the Court retinue. It was all so dull that the party soon broke up.

Monday the 13th, with the Emperor and the Grand Duchess at ten o'clock by train to Stephansfeld. There we took carriages, the Emperor with his adjutants, Marie and I with the Grand Duchess, Elizabeth with Fräulein von Schönau. We drove through several profusely decorated villages, amongst others Brumath, and then came to an elevated place whence we could look down at the manœuvres. Much firing of guns, thunder of cannon, cavalry onslaughts, dust, and confusion. The heat was stifling. At one o'clock all was over, and we drove back to Brumath, where we got into the train. In the afternoon I paid visits. At 5.30 dinner with the Emperor; a hundred covers. His Majesty was present, but left the table before the end. In the evening a gala performance in the Town Theatre. The prologue and the *tableaux vivants* were not particularly clever. Between the acts we collected in the foyer, where the Empress also appeared and caused several people to be presented. The Crown Prince was besieged by a large number of ladies. The Emperor soon left. I stayed on till the Crown Prince went.

On the 14th, at eleven o'clock, with the Emperor and Empress to the cathedral. I drove with the Emperor. The Bishop and the cathedral chapter received the Emperor. Then we went over the cathedral. In the aisle the good Stumpf had placed a brass band, which greeted us with diabolic music, so that one could not speak a word. I begged the Prebendary Straub, who was standing by me, to stop the fellows making such a noise, which he did. The going over the cathedral took a quarter of an hour. At 11.30 there was the reception of the magistrates, the Council of State, the provincial militia, and the Municipal Council. I presented the gentlemen to the Emperor, Hofmann presented them to the Empress. At one o'clock came the processions of peasants, who looked very nice. We stood in the garden by the balustrade. The Emperor was much entertained by the expedition, which on the whole was very successful. Afterwards the burgomasters and a number of girls and children came into the central saloon, and were regaled with champagne and cake. Some of the girls repeated poetry and presented bouquets to the Emperor.

At 5.30 a great municipal gala dinner in the military casino. I sat opposite the Empress and the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince made a speech, which was friendly to Alsace; I replied to it, and then proposed cheers for the Emperor. In the evening, I took leave of the Empress, who went off very much pleased with everything, and said many friendly things to me. She gave Marie her portrait. We finished the evening at the *Trompeter von Säkkingen.*

Thursday, September 15.

The Emperor did not go to the manœuvres to-day, as he was feeling too weak. In the course of the morning I had a talk with Perponcher, who said it became more and more evident that the Emperor could not follow out the programme. It must therefore be modified. The Emperor must not take part in great dinners, but must only dine quietly upstairs with the princes, and then send for the gentlemen to whom he wished to speak to come up to him from the great dinner below.

Perponcher also begged me to advise the Emperor to give up Metz for the present, and to go there in October, when it had become cool, from Baden. During the day there was a thunderstorm, which cooled the air, so that in the evening at dinner I saw no occasion to give the suggested advice. After dinner we went to the play, and saw a rather stupid comedy. I am coming more and more to the conclusion that it is entirely the fault of Perponcher, Albedyll, and Lehndorff that the whole manœuvre journey was undertaken. Now they are afraid that it will turn out badly, and so I am to come to the rescue!

The 16th.

Early this morning came news that the Emperor had been taken ill in the night. Consequently the Crown Prince was informed that he would have to pay the visit to the University instead of the Emperor. I found the Crown Prince with the Grand Duchess of Baden, and informed him of this decision. First of all he would not hear of it, and said the function must be put off to another day. I pointed out to him, however, that this was impossible, as the 800 people who had been invited to the University could not be put off. On the Crown Prince complaining that he could not improvise a speech, I said that he had already often given proof of his oratorical power, and that it was sure to be all right. Then the Prince decided to submit to the paternal command. At 11.30 we drove to the University, and all went off well, and everybody was satisfied.

In the evening after dinner there was a great consultation as to whether the Emperor should go to Metz. Albedyll, Perponcher, Eulenburg, and the Crown Prince were against his going. The Grand Duke of Baden and the Grand Duchess were anxious that the Crown Prince should go instead of the Emperor. These three then went in to speak with the Emperor, and the latter decided to give up the journey, but did not touch upon the question of a representative.

September 18.

Yesterday, early, I hastened to inquire after the Emperor, and heard that he had slept well. This is the most important point in his present state, and let us hope that the "Kaiser days" will go by well. Metz is given up; this the Emperor could not have stood. The question, however, of whether the Crown Prince shall go in his place has not even been raised before the Emperor. I did not see him on the evening of the day before yesterday, and yesterday again I could not see him. Opinions are divided. Albedyll, Perponcher, and Lehndorff are strongly against the journey of the Crown Prince. My own opinion is that it would be very useful, but I do not consider it imperative. The reception might be a brilliant one, and it appears that the gentlemen of the suite grudge the Crown Prince the benefit of it.

To-day we drive with the Grand Duchess to the manœuvres. The Emperor goes also.

At Mommenheim there was a state reception, and then we drove up a hill from which we looked down on the manœuvres. Much thunder of cannon and musketry, a brilliant *cortège*, infantry marching past, &c. &c. The whole thing gave me an impression of great confusion. Possibly, however, it was all right. Then home by train. I must add here that at nine this morning Perponcher came to me, bringing me, by command of the Emperor, his Majesty's portrait in life-size, with a very gracious letter. When I greeted the Emperor at the railway station, and expressed my thanks, he embraced me, whereupon I endeavoured to kiss his hand. The friendliness of the old gentleman affected me deeply.

In the evening dinner. The Metz deputation again raised the question of the Crown Prince's journey, whereupon the Emperor commissioned the Crown Prince to go to Metz instead of himself. I supported the idea, and all the more gladly as rumour had said that I was opposed to it. Perponcher was put out, but all the others were delighted. The Crown Prince especially seemed very pleased, and I am glad that the matter was settled thus. In the evening, tea with the Emperor while the torchlight procession went by; it was very brilliant, and the Emperor was much pleased and amused. I then sent for the deputation to come upstairs, and Bock presented them to the Emperor.

September 19.

To-day the Emperor goes to church, and at one o'clock he starts for Baden. To-morrow we go with the Crown Prince to Metz.

September 21.

Yesterday at eight o'clock I started with the Crown Prince in the special train for Metz. The Grand Duke of Baden and General Heuduck had already gone off by an earlier train. We were accompanied by Hofmann, Thaden, Jordan, Count Schlieffen, Perponcher, Reischach, and a few officers. Prince Wilhelm and I were in the Crown Prince's carriage. Later on Hofmann also, and Hammerstein, after leaving Saarburg. At Zabern and Saarburg an enthusiastic reception at the station. At Metz we were greeted by the Grand Duke, Prince Albrecht, the burgomaster, and so on. I drove in the Crown Prince's carriage through the excited and enthusiastic crowds. There was more life and movement than at Strassburg. At the residence of the president of the district we alighted. Then a march past of the guard of honour. After this a reception in the courtyard; the Bishop, the officials, and the Municipal Council. At twelve this was over, and each hurried back to his own quarters. Mine were with Dr. Zartmann, in a most beautifully-appointed Renaissance house. The family received me at the door. At one o'clock to the cathedral, where the Crown Prince soon came in. We went round to see everything, and admired the beautiful glass windows and the splendid building. After this to the synagogue; then to lay the foundation-stone of the Mathildenstift. The next thing was to have been a promenade on the esplanade. I, however, stayed in the carriage, as it was raining hard. The Crown Prince, who drove with the Grand Duke, received the homage of the country people on the esplanade, where there was a great deal of rejoicing and cheering. There were even cries of

"*Vive l'Empereur!*" and "*Vive le Prince Impérial!*" At five o'clock came the dinner given by the Crown Prince at the Presidency. Then the theatre, with presentations of the ladies in the foyer. At nine we left the theatre to drive to the Presidency and see the torchlight procession. At ten o'clock home.

Early this morning I visited my hosts, and then went to the museum, where I met the Crown Prince. After inspecting some MSS., books, and so forth, on to the railway station, where again bouquets were presented. On the way the Crown Prince talked to me about the Prince of Bulgaria. The Russian Government —*i.e.*, the Ministry — wanted to leave the Prince there. Blangali (who takes the place of Giers) had prepared a very proper answer to the Prince's telegram, which he submitted to the Emperor. The Emperor rejected it, and wrote himself the rude despatch. The Crown Prince does not believe that the Prince of Bulgaria does not speak the truth. Radowitz, he said, worked hard against the Prince. The Crown Prince had said lately to Bismarck that it would be a good thing if the Balkan States combined together to hinder Russia's overflow. Bismarck disputed this, and said it would be a fortunate thing if Russia obtained Constantinople and the Balkan peninsula, for then she would be weakened.

From a letter of the PRINCE *to a confidential person in Berlin.*

October, 1886.

. . . One more question. Is it right that in influential circles the idea should be entertained of letting the Jesuits come back into Germany? Personally, apart from all else, I should lament such a contingency for Alsace-Lorraine. If the order regains entrance to Germany it will establish itself by preference in the Imperial lands. In such an event the Germanising of Alsace-Lorraine would become much more difficult. The words uttered by a Jesuit Father at Innsbruck, that the German language was the language of Luther and of the devil, would fall here on fruitful soil. The order would have on its side the young, the women, and all those who stand in hostility to the German element. Despondency would creep over the Germans, and everything French would be fostered and cultivated with renewed energy. If, as would not be difficult, by the coalition of the Central party and the Progressives the law against the Jesuits were abolished, I am convinced that a large part of the National Liberals would go over to the Opposition, and therewith the remainder of the Moderates would disappear.

Journal.

BADEN, *October* 5, 1886.

After spending a day in Strassburg on my return from Aussee I travelled here yesterday to present myself to their Majesties. I arrived at ten o'clock, and went straight to the Mesmer house; found Radziwill, Lehndorff, and others, who promised to bring me news. At twelve o'clock I was summoned to the Emperor, who, in spite of his previous indisposition, looked well. He talked first about Metz and Strassburg, spoke once more of his pleasure at the reception given him there, and then came to the Bulgarian question, which troubled him. In like manner he is dissatisfied with the presence in Germany of Prince Alexander, who, as the Emperor remarked with vexation, always goes about now in a Prussian general's uniform. This proves clearly that he is trying to create embarrassments. It would have been better if he had taken advice and accepted the invitation of the Queen of England and gone to England, not to come back again. Now the newspapers are actually saying that he is to be Governor of Alsace-Lorraine!

The Emperor has been informed to this effect by the Imperial Chancellor. The Emperor also spoke with some bitterness of the Crown Princess and Princess Victoria, who still firmly entertained the idea of an alliance with Prince Alexander. He said he had questioned the Crown Prince, who denied it, but did not express himself very clearly. In politics he was ruled by his wife. And, generally, he complained that the Crown Prince was so reserved towards him. Happily his Liberal ideas had become modified.

Then the Emperor gave me a detailed account of the disaster which happened to Prince Henry of Prussia during the chase, when he shot a Baden forester. After this we talked about Prince Luitpold, whose conciliatory disposition he praised. The Prince had proposed at Versailles that the Imperial dignity should be held alternately, and Bismarck thought at the time that this had come from the Prince's own initiative. It had now, however, transpired that he was then acting under command of King Ludwig. Berchem had told him that he had at the time actually read the King's despatch.

I then delivered the letter in which I begged that Philipp Ernst might be placed *à la suite* of the Army. The Emperor recognised the reasons which had led to this desire, and remarked in conclusion that when once he had got his dismissal another starlet might be placed on his epaulettes.

At 12.15 I went to the Empress, who received me in her private apartment — making an exception in my favour, as she said; spoke some very kind words about my administration in Alsace-Lorraine, and sent her love to Marie. From her presence I was again summoned to the Emperor, where I remained another quarter of an hour.

At 6.30 dinner with the Grand Duke. The hereditary Grand Duke and the hereditary Grand Duchess were present. The latter is very pretty and very friendly. In the evening went to the promenade, and then to call on Karl Fürstenberg, who had arrived in the afternoon.

Wilmowski, whom I visited to-day, says that what the Emperor told me respecting Battenberg is based on reports of the Imperial Chancellor, who has a monomania on this point. He said things were not so bad.

Speech at the dinner in honour of the Municipal Council of Strassburg, October 14, 1886.

Gentlemen, — I have invited you here as my guests to-day because with the present day the first year of my official labours as Governor of Alsace-Lorraine comes to an end, and I thought I could not better celebrate the day than in the company of the first dignitaries of the land, my true and faithful fellow-workers — in the company, also, of the representatives of the town of Strassburg. And if I lay special value on having the Municipal Council of Strassburg gathered round me, it is because I long to say a friendly, grateful word to the representatives of the town in which I am called upon to live.

And, in fact, when I look back on this past year, which has been so rich both in happy and in serious events, I am forced to acknowledge that much of all the pleasantest — I may say, indeed, of the best — that has fallen to my lot in this year may be traced back to the town of Strassburg and its inhabitants.

I may put my thoughts before you by referring to three sections of this year. When I arrived here in November last, not wholly free from anxiety about the difficulty of the task entrusted to me, the joyous acclamations of the people of this town filled me with that spirit of self-confidence which is indispensable to the statesman who sees difficult work before him. And when, in the course of the summer, in accordance with the unanimous wish of the provincial representatives, and untroubled by doubts which now and then emerged, I issued writs for the elections of the Strassburg Municipal Council, the town responded by electing a council composed of its best men — a council which does not consider that its business is to turn the Council hall into an arena for political discussions, but which loyally and conscientiously seeks only the well-being of the town. And when in the autumn the venerable Imperial couple honoured the city of Strassburg with a visit, their Majesties were received by some with dignity, by others with stormy enthusiasm, but by all with reverence and joy; and this reception filled me personally with all the greater gladness, on account of the depth of the loyal devotion and veneration which I have now for half a century nourished in my heart towards my Imperial master. In view of experiences and facts such as these, it is but natural that, in spite of the comparatively short time during which I have been among you, I should already have accustomed myself to look upon Strassburg as my home. And so it is that when, after a temporary absence, I return here the cathedral tower already seems to me from the distance a greeting from home, and I feel a warm glow in my heart when in the evening the cathedral bell reminds me that in my old age I have become a good Strassburger. As such I raise my glass and drink to the town of Strassburg and its representatives.

Journal.

BADEN, *October* 18, 1886.

In order to pay the Emperor a farewell visit before his departure for Berlin I came here early yesterday from Strassburg and went to present myself at the Mesmer House. The weather was cold and rainy. I found nobody there, but soon after received an invitation to the family dinner at five o'clock. On the terrace in front of the Kursaal I found Maxime Ducamp, with whom I talked for a long time. He said he heard nothing but good from Alsace-Lorraine; that they had felt some anxiety when I first arrived, but that they were now reassured. He then talked about France, and said that among the Orleans family there was nobody who was fit to undertake the government or make a *coup d'état*, and he took a gloomy view of things.

He then told me that he had heard that in the Grand Orient in Paris it had been resolved to assume a better attitude towards Germany and definitely to give up Alsace-Lorraine. He came next to the Jews, and said he had once made the acquaintance of Karl Marx, who had told him that the *Internationale* and its party recognised no separate nations, but only mankind. To which he had answered it was true that nationality was but a matter of the second rank, but that with first principles of the second rank great things had been accomplished.

Whereupon Marx had answered angrily: "*Comment voulez-vous que nous ayons du patriotisme, nous, qui depuis Titus n'avons plus de patrie!*" This, in Maxime Ducamp's opinion, is the *raison d'être* of the *Internationale*, which really owes its origin to the Jews. He believes that the Jews are striving after universal dominion — *la monarchie juive universelle*. The kings of France had acted on the principle of tolerating no subject who was richer than the king. When this rule was transgressed by any subject the overwealthy person was hung and his fortune taken from him. He confirmed this with examples. And this is what would be done by the French nation which was now the ruling one. The moment would not be long delayed, for the Rothschilds had already six millions.

With Wilmowski — this is again supplementary — I talked about the distinct presidents (*Bezirkspräsidenten*). The nomination of Schlumberger to be president in Colmar he regards in the same light as I do, and sees in the idea suggested by Ledderhose and Puttkamer great weakness, and a superfluous, dangerous concession to the Alsatians. On the other hand, he approves highly of the idea of making Stichaner president in

Strassburg, and he thinks that any want of bureaucratic zeal in the latter might be supplemented by a good Oberregierungsrat.

At five o'clock dinner with their Majesties. The most complimentary remarks were made to me about my speech. The Empress had at once, as she put it, had herself trundled over to the Emperor to take the speech to him. The Grand Duchess said with emotion that she had never read anything so touching and beautiful. When I told all this to Wilmowski this evening on the promenade, he said: "Yes, you did that very well, like everything else that you do." At 8.30, tea with the Empress. I sat by the Grand Duke and the young Countess Fürstenberg. There was a great deal of talk about the King of Bavaria and Prince Luitpold, and so forth. After the *soirée* Countess Fürstenberg persuaded me to accompany her to the Countess Andrássy, who showed us Cumberland thought-reading tricks.

BADEN, *October* 18, 1886.

Early this morning I was with Bülow, the ambassador, who told me all sorts of things about foreign politics. On my asking him how we stood with France, he said it was true that they were becoming conciliatory towards us there, and that Herbette's embassy * also had this object. The meaning of it was, however, to win us over to the Egyptian question and other questions in which the French wanted to make use of us against England. The Imperial Chancellor was of opinion that France was too uncertain an ally to risk losing England's friendship for her sake. Their policy would therefore be, not to reject the advances of France brusquely, but to act dilatorily. With regard to the Bulgarian question, he said that the Russians no longer knew how to get out of the fatal situation into which they had been brought by the clumsy instructions given by the Emperor personally to Kaulbars. Bismarck proposed that Russia should come to an understanding with Austria, and fix a theoretical line of demarcation, by which the western part of the Balkan peninsula would remain under Austrian and the eastern part under Russian influence. Austria had not accepted the idea, but this was on account of Hungary. It was still the aim and endeavour of Bismarck to hinder a conflict between Austria and Russia. Kalnoky had wavered for a time, but was now firm again.

The Empress received me at eleven o'clock. Then the Empress said she wished Prince Luitpold were not going to Berlin until she was back there herself. Further, she bade me keep a watchful eye on the French tendencies of the Alsace clergy. I told her that that was also my aim.

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* The Ambassador de Courcel had been recalled on August 24. On October 23 Herbette, till then head of the Foreign Office, had been appointed Ambassador at Berlin.

At five o'clock I was invited to a small family dinner. Besides their Majesties, only the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden were present. The other mortals ate down below, and only came upstairs after dinner. I then came across the Minister Solms, who remarked to me that in the Foreign Office they were somewhat *en l'air* because things were not going right with the ambassadors. Keudell did not report the most important things, Münster was weak, Reuss out of health and wanting to get away. On parting the Emperor pressed my hand, and in very gracious words expressed his satisfaction with my services and the hope that I should go on in the same way.

STRASSBURG, *October* 20, 1886.

Yesterday a drive to Markolsheim. To-day numerous audiences. At three o'clock I went by appointment to the great seminary to be shown over the buildings by the superior, Dacheux. He took me first into his own room, where I looked at his copper engravings. Then we went through the whole spacious building, where two hundred seminarists are now lodged. To-day it was still empty, as the pupils were not coming back for several days. After we had gone the round Dacheux poured out all that he had at heart. In the first place he charged me to take care that, if the Jesuits were coming back to Germany, the condition was made that Alsace-Lorraine should belong to the German province of the order, and not to the French one, so that the French Jesuits should not obtain influence here. I answered that the Jesuit belonged to no nationality, and that it was therefore a matter of indifference whether the French or the German Jesuits carried on their work here, but anyhow I would remember his advice. Further, he spoke of Zillisheim, where the boys were not, as at Montigny, prepared for the *abiturienten* examination. This was necessary, and he advised me to urge on the Bishop that the boys' seminary should be reformed in this matter. At the least Zillisheim ought to have an Oberprima. A theological faculty in the University he also considered a desideratum, but in Rome they had declared themselves against it, and now Stumpf had given up the idea and was thinking of instituting a Catholic faculty on his own account. The *Bulletin Catholique* had contained information on the subject in one of its last numbers. He recommended me the *Revue Catholique d'Alsace.* Then he complained that in Stephansfeld and in the reformatory at Hagenau there had been proceedings against the sisters. I ought to inform myself about the matter, he said. He advised me to read the documents of the foundation of St. Thomas on account of the injury done to the Catholics by the confiscation of the endowment of St. Thomas by the Protestants. But there was nothing to be done. Finally he advised me to institute a search among the archives for the ordinances of Louis XIV.

for the Frenchifying of Alsace. These might be followed now in the opposite sense.

Dacheux attaches importance to our attending High Mass on Sunday, so that the seminarists may see us! But he says we must insist that the heating apparatus is in proper gear.

EMPEROR WILHELM *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *October* 22, 1886.

I very gladly grant you the three weeks' leave of absence with the different arrangements and conditions.

WILHELM.

Journal.

PARIS, *November* 10, 1886.

What has struck me most during my present stay is the change which has taken place in the position of General Boulanger. Only last spring Boulanger was still looked upon as a *farceur*, by no means as a man who had to be reckoned with, but as an adventurer who followed merely personal aims, and so forth. Now I am assured by people capable of judging that his position has become quite different. Whilst formerly he stood in a certain sort of dependence on Clémenceau, now Clémenceau is dependent on him. Boulanger, they say, has not only the Extreme and Radical Left on his side, but also the Opportunists, which means the majority in the Chamber. Freycinet would not dare now to rid himself of Boulanger: and even Ferry, were he to come to the helm, would have difficulty in getting a ministry together without Boulanger. Boulanger is a man who knows how to win over others, who knows how to impose upon and blind the masses. If he remains two years longer in office the conviction will have become general that Boulanger is the man who can conquer Germany and recover Alsace-Lorraine, and as Boulanger is a man without any scruples, whose ambition soars very high, he will drag the masses into war. Blowitz and Villaume share this opinion. Their utterances agreed. Blowitz added that if Germany considered war unavoidable she had only to let Boulanger have his way, and war would come in 1888. If, on the other hand, Germany did not want war, she must overthrow Boulanger. Boulanger's fall was a certainty if only the country came to see — and that, indeed, before the military enthusiasm had spread in wider circles — whither it was about to be led by Boulanger. Then he would be cleared out of the way; for just now the country was pacific and should shun war. In a year things would be different.

There is no doubt that Grévy desires peace. He knows that a victorious general would drive him out of the Elysée without delay, and he is equally well aware that a war begun under his administration and ending in a defeat would cost him his position, if nothing more. The advocate Reitlinger, who has Grévy's confidence, and with whom I had some dealings on a legal matter, offered to discuss with me the conditions of a *rapprochement* or an alliance between France and Germany. I declined, as such negotiations were out of my competency. I also told him that I was well aware that the French were anxious for an alliance with Germany, under conditions which Germany could never grant. Thereupon he withdrew, but I saw from his manner that my observation had hit the mark. I cannot venture upon a decision as to whether it is possible, by means of discussions in the German press, by a serious practical exposition of the consequences which will follow Boulanger's course of action, to enlighten public opinion in France as to the danger threatening the country and thus induce it to put pressure on the Chamber and bring about his fall. The commotion which such discussions would produce on the Stock Exchange, which is very sensitive to the action of French politicians, might perhaps produce a favourable effect.

Herbette is a man who has a certain thirst for diplomatic action. He is said to have gone to Berlin in the conviction that he will succeed in representing the *rapprochement* between Russia and France as a harmless and acceptable arrangement. The Orleans party are further from their object than ever. The Duc d'Aumale will not provide the Comte de Paris with the sinews of war, and the latter's means are insufficient for him to act independently. D'Aumale wishes to become President of the Republic himself, and has, moreover, had a quarrel with his nephew from the time that Madame de Clinchant — whom he is said to have married — has not been recognised by the Comtesse de Paris as the lady of her uncle's house. This feminine quarrel is said to have decided the question of the presentation of Chantilly, which is regarded as a *mauvais tour qu'il a joué à ses neveux*. Nobody believes that the Duc d'Aumale has any prospect whatever of becoming President of the Republic. If the shattered *bourgeoisie* ever required a strong man to maintain law and order, a young general would be chosen, and not this gouty old academician. Count Münster, who has judged the question calmly and examined it closely in all its bearings, does not share the apprehensions of the above-mentioned persons. It is impossible for me in a week to form a competent judgment, and I therefore confine myself to stating what I have heard.

The EMPEROR *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *November* 18, 1886.

Yesterday I received from the new Prince of Hohenlohe, your nephew,* the official announcement of his entry into the public service.

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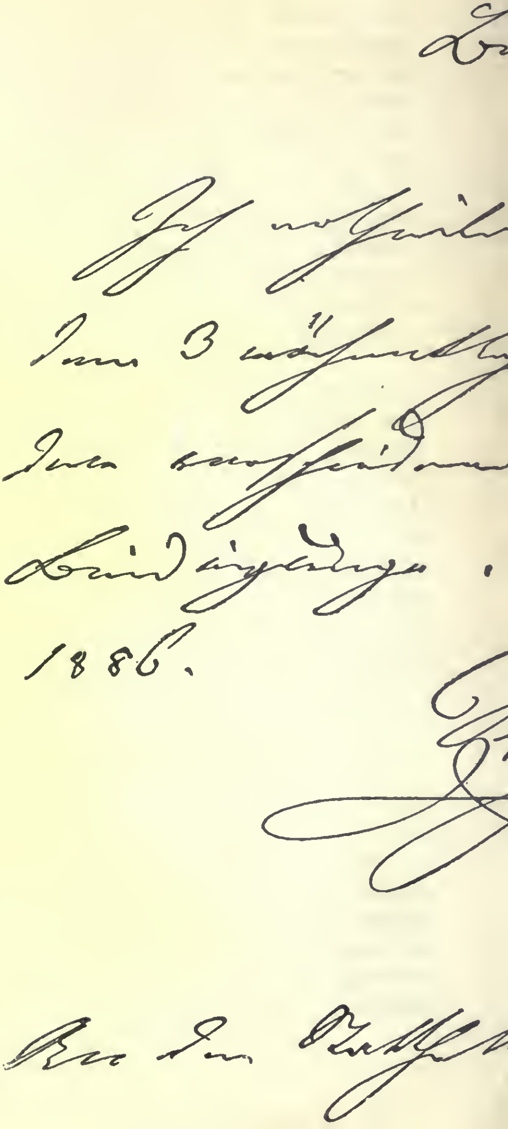
* Prince Friedrich Karl of Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfurst, son of Princess Therese, the eldest sister of Prince Chlodwig, succeeded his brother, Prince Nikolaus, on October 23, 1886. The father, Prince Friedrich Karl, died on December 21, 1884.



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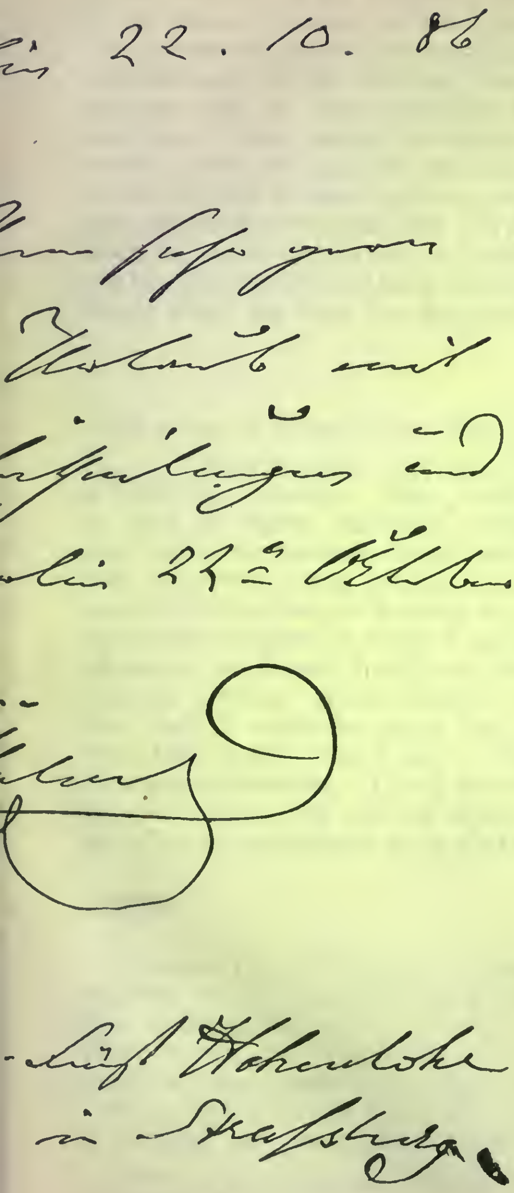

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… Hohenlohe
in Straßburg.

How much is implied by this event! Four deaths in one family within two years! You are already aware that the widowed Princess, whom I deeply respect, when communicating the death of her husband to my daughter, the Grand Duchess, requested her to inform me of the sad news, knowing my intimacy with the Prince from the time of our constant meetings in Russia. I have communicated to the Princess, your sister, my hearty thanks, together with my deep sympathy for this news, through my daughter. I was unable to express my thanks immediately to yourself when you gave me the same information. In any case, I have enjoyed a close intimacy with your deceased brother-in-law, and have ever found him a true German, even at the time when he was in high favour at St. Petersburg.* May God, who has brought this affliction upon them, grant His help to the princely family which has been thus heavily afflicted.

Your good friend,
WILHELM.

From a letter of November 21, 1886.†

. . . I have no right to act as a constitutional monarch, but am a responsible Minister. What I must avoid is the enforcement of *actes de rigeur*, instituted without full knowledge of persons and circumstances, which may afterwards appear a mistake, and which bring greater discredit than the complaints of district commanders on account of excessive caution. Whether Puttkamer is a man on whom I can assuredly reckon against the friends of the French I will not decide to-day. If Hofmann is *à tort ou à raison* "*persona ingrata*," that is indeed serious. Yet how shall I otherwise place him, or get rid of him, provided that he does what I wish? People have often said of me, *Il se presse lentement.* This I am doing now, am very grateful for good advice, will not lose sight of my object, but also will not allow my equanimity to be shaken. . . .

Journal.

BERLIN, *January* 18, 1887.

I started from Strassburg on January 17, at half-past twelve at night. It was very cold, and we had a good compartment. I slept as far as Frankfort. There a wait of an hour and a half. Then on in a badly-heated *coupé.* I read all day, and when it was dark played *piquet* with Thaden until close to Berlin. There I put up with Viktor in the Moltke Strasse. On the 18th I made a morning call upon the Emperor and the Crown Prince.

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* Prince Friedrich Karl was a Russian general and adjutant-general under the Emperor Nicholas.

† The Prince had been advised to break with the Minister Hofmann in order to meet the opposition which was working against him, and to set in force certain *actes de rigeur* in order to meet the attacks upon his policy which proceeded from military circles.

At one o'clock there was a long chapter ceremony with red cloaks. In the afternoon I paid calls. At three o'clock dinner with the Emperor along with the other knights of the order of the Black Eagle. In the evening *Nathan der Weise* in the German theatre — an interesting performance. Paid calls this morning. I hear that relations between the Crown Prince and Bismarck have again become strained over Battenberg. The Crown Prince objects to the dissolution.* His Liberal advisers are agitating against Bismarck. There is general mistrust of France. In the afternoon I saw Bleichröder; he does not share the mistrust of France, and does not believe that war will break out now. On the other hand, he thinks there is every prospect of war between England and Russia, which may end in a general European war, in the year 1888. England intends to keep Egypt, and the French say they will not stand this. Freycinet told this to Bleichröder. Bismarck holds firmly to Russia. The Austrians are incensed at Bismarck's speech.† If Austria begins war with Russia, we shall take no share, though we shall not allow Austria to be weakened. This intention might none the less lead to war. Bleichröder confirms the statement that relations between the Crown Prince and Bismarck are strained. It is said that at the Court of the Crown Prince there is a desire to make the Prince of Bulgaria Statthalter of Alsace-Lorraine, in order that he may be able to marry Princess Victoria, or to make him Imperial Chancellor! There is general satisfaction here with my regulation concerning the French officers. There is, moreover, no one who has so many envious rivals especially among the generals, as myself.

BERLIN, *January* 22, 1887.

At two o'clock I went to Prince Bismarck, who received me very kindly. I asked after his health, when he complained of weariness, and proceeded to speak of the latest political struggles, and said he was tired of dealing with double-faced scoundrels. He then emitted some bitter observations upon Windthorst, who, he said, was merely a cunning, selfish advocate. What astonished him was that the Rhenish, Westphalian, Silesian, and Bavarian nobility followed his orders. He then sent for the Pope's letter to the nuncio in Munich, *i.e.*, the letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State, in which the Pope earnestly recommends the deputies of the Centre to vote for the Septennate. The expression "Septennate" occurs twice. I could not conceal my astonishment at the fact that the Centre had none the less voted against the Government. Bismarck said: "Oh, the Holy Father's letter doesn't go down with Windthorst." There is no doubt that he knew of it. Bismarck says Windthorst and Franckenstein hate the Pope — Windthorst because the Pope negotiated with the Prussian Government without asking him, and Franckenstein because the Pope spoiled his chance of becoming Minister by the testimonial which he gave to Lutz.

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* The dissolution of the Reichstag in consequence of the rejection of the military proposals took place on January 14.

† On January 12 the Chancellor had declared that Germany would not wage any war with Russia on account of the East.

I then asked Bismarck if he approved of my proceeding against the French officers. He replied that he quite approved, only he thought it would be necessary to reintroduce the system of compulsory passes. This would emphasise the existing separation and alienation. Bismarck thinks it likely that war will break out at no distant date. He says that Boulanger may make a *coup d'état* at any moment, and then cause a rupture, while the concentration of troops on the frontier and the mobilisation oblige us to take similar measures. (At the Foreign Office I learned that a despatch had been sent to Paris calling attention to the results which this action on the frontier would produce. Things are becoming more serious.) Bismarck had little to say about the elections, as he does not know the candidates. He was also very reserved about the admission of Alsatians to the administration, though upon the whole he considered it desirable that Alsatians should enter the service.

Speech at the dinner given in honour of the Provincial Board. February 9, 1887.

GENTLEMEN, — Last summer when I wandered through the plains of this province, or looked down upon the smiling valleys from the heights of the Vosges, I was constantly reminded of the words of our great German poet, who describes the impression he received when, for the first time, he looked down from the tower of the cathedral upon the town of Strassburg and its surroundings; I mean that passage in the youthful recollections of the poet where in living colours he depicts the landscape, the wooded banks of the Rhine, the green meadows, the fertile plains, which he describes as a very paradise and in which he counts himself happy in that he has been permitted to live for a time in this fair land. If the prospect of a temporary visit could inspire the youthful poet to such enthusiasm, then I have even greater reason to count myself fortunate, seeing that I have been permitted to assume the government of this province, which has once more become German, and to regard the furtherance of its prosperity as my life's work. And as the sense of my connection with this country increases within me, so also increases the desire that God may spare this province from any affliction, and that in particular He may protect it from the horrors of a new and bloody war. If to-day I pronounce this ominous word, it is not because I have any reason to apprehend the imminence of war; but the danger exists — we cannot close our eyes to it — and will continue to exist until our western neighbour has lived to realise that the constitutional position created by the treaty of peace is final and definite.

With this danger we shall be confronted the moment that a turbulent minority may succeed in rousing the usually peaceful and laborious population of France to determinations which would oblige us to enter the lists in defence of our just rights with all the energy and strength of our Empire. Such being the case, every public announcement of opinion on this side of the Vosges, and the elections in particular, become of increased importance, inasmuch as by this means an opportunity is offered to the population of Alsace-Lorraine to confirm their pacific intentions and to co-operate in the work of the maintenance of peace. Nothing, indeed, would be more calculated to endanger peace and to inflame the militarism of the minority to which I have referred than the election of men who doubt the permanence of our constitutional position — of men who hesitate to provide the German Empire with the means for the permanent maintenance of a strong army. On the contrary, the election of peaceful and reasonable candidates would contribute to improve the situation, to calm public opinion, and thereby to secure peace.

There is yet another reason which induces me, in the interests of the province, to express a hope that the pacific element will be preponderant in the approaching elections. Gentlemen, in every session of the Provincial Board the wish is expressed that Alsace-Lorraine may be placed upon a constitutional equality with the other German States. Only recently was this wish expressed in a session of the Provincial Board. I understand this wish, and I share it. I believe, too, that the time will come when it can be fulfilled — the time when the German Empire (by this I mean not merely the federal governments, but also the German nation) will become convinced that Alsace-Lorraine entirely accepts its constitutional position, and protests disappear.

In such an event the Empire would no longer have any reason to withhold equality of rights from Alsace-Lorraine.

In this work the co-operation of the province is necessary, and the approaching elections will provide you with an opportunity of removing the obstacles which prevent your attainment of this desired object.

Gentlemen, I have to-day repeated what has been already said and heard. I thought, however, that upon so serious an occasion it was the duty of the Statthalter to speak out his mind. I have given you my opinion, and I ask you to receive it as the advice of a true friend; and as a true friend of this land I drink to the welfare of Alsace-Lorraine and its representatives.

To PRINCE BISMARCK.

STRASSBURG, *February* 11, 1887.

The discussions which have recently proceeded between the Ministry of Alsace-Lorraine and the General Staff concerning the draft of his Majesty's Order, respecting the declaration of a state of war in the event of a mobilisation, the result of which will reach your Highness through the Prussian Ministry, have induced me to consider the question what may be the position of the Imperial Governor in such an event. According to paragraph 4 of the law of June 4, 1851, the executive power passes to the military commander upon the declaration of a state of siege. The authorities are bound to obey this order. The question now is whether the position of the Governor is compatible with subordination of this nature. If this question is answered in the negative I shall be condemned to inactivity in a moment of danger, which would be an extremely painful position to myself. Hence I venture to appeal to the kindness of your Highness, which I have so often experienced, and to request you to consider in what way I could be employed in the case of war. In my opinion, my employment would be possible if the Statthalter assumed the functions of general Governor of Alsace-Lorraine during the continuation of the war, or, if this is not feasible, that his Majesty may be pleased to summon me to headquarters. The question of my not at the moment possessing military rank is a detail that could be easily overcome, though naturally only upon the assumption that your Highness is inclined to support my wishes. In view of the opposition to me which prevails in the Military Cabinet, there is little prospect that my desires would be fulfilled without some such powerful support.

With reference to the elections in Alsace-Lorraine, I informed your Highness during my stay in Berlin that M. Kablé would not appear again as a candidate in Strassburg. This information was correct at the time, but since then the French friends of Kablé have succeeded in inducing this man who is mortally ill at Nice to persevere in his candidature. In consequence the Moderate Alsatians and the Germans in Strassburg have little prospect of electing their candidate, who has not even been selected yet. Moreover, the apprehensions of war, which exert a favourable influence upon the elections in Germany, have a contrary effect here, as the people of Alsace-Lorraine consider that it is impossible to say how the matter may turn out, that it will be better not to compromise themselves, and wiser to re-elect the former deputies. We are doing all that is possible to dispute the ground with our adversaries.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *February* 15, 1887.

Monsieur de Lefébvre called upon me to-day, after previously making an appointment. He is on his way to Rome, and informed Messieurs Flourens and Goblet that he would call upon me here. Both have commissioned Lefébvre to inform me that there is no statesman in France who desires war. Goblet in particular commissioned Lefébvre to tell me "*qu'un ministre qui* *voudrait faire la guerre serait lapidé.*" I replied that I had no doubt of it, and that the Emperor and Prince Bismarck were also convinced of the pacific intentions of the present Government. None the less, a certain feeling of uneasiness was prevalent, connected with the ideas of revenge which were cherished in France. I went on to say that I had never yet met a Frenchman who had entirely given up the idea of revenge — in other words, the project of recovering Alsace-Lorraine. It was this idea that was dangerous. Lefébvre then said that the French Government had conscientiously observed the Treaty of Frankfurt, and would continue to observe it. In course of time people would get accustomed to it. Lefébvre's ideal is a Franco-German alliance, and he is convinced that Prince Bismarck could bring this to pass. I omitted to ask him upon what conditions he had projected an alliance. The disturbing rumours and the incitements proceed from England and Italy, according to Lefébvre's view. In December he said that Waddington had reported most disturbing news from London. He observed that it was only natural that Italy should urge on war, as she desired possession of Nice, Savoy, and Provence, and that things had gone so far that they had been informed in Rome that France should be careful to avoid falling into a second Ems, such a case as in 1870.

As regards the Franco-Russian alliance, it is said that no one in France is inclined to it; nor is there any serious talk of the project, though it must be admitted that in St. Petersburg certain leanings towards France have been manifest. Goblet and Flourens requested me to call upon them on my next visit to Paris, and as soon as possible, in order that they may give me personal assurance of this fact. I replied that I had no immediate intention of coming to Paris, and that I had always avoided visits to Paris statesmen that I might not expose myself to the suspicion of interfering in matters that are not my business. Lefébvre then said that Count Münster was informed of the Ministers' wishes.

Prince Bismarck *to* Prince Hohenlohe.

Berlin, *February* 18, 1887.

I am in receipt of your Highness's letter of the 12th inst. As regards the position of the Statthalter in the Imperial provinces upon the possible proclamation of a state of war, it would be generally analogous to that of most of the German Federal princes who have transferred their military supremacy to the King of Prussia. In other words, there would be no change in the situation. To confer a military title upon your Highness would not in itself increase your powers. I, for instance, am a general, but my official position would not be affected thereby upon the declaration of a state of war. In the event of war the relations of your Highness to the military authorities in the Imperial provinces would be those of every supreme administrative authority in the individual Federal States. The exercise of military powers would no more pass into your hands than into the hands of other princes, ministers, or first presidents who have the right to wear a military uniform. Your Highness, however, would not be condemned to inactivity; nor should I be in a similar case, although my functions are confined to the exercise of executive power, which, in time of war, passes into the hands of the military authorities. A modification of your title to that of Governor-General would produce no change in the functions of the Statthalter; nor could a position in the Army on service be secured to your Highness by your transference to headquarters or by the conferment of military rank. Such rank I possess, but it does not give me the right to co-operate in the management of a state of siege. Such right belongs only to the military authorities on active service at the point in question.

His Majesty probably would not care to consider these and other points of difficulty before the beginning of the mobilisation.

VON BISMARCK.

From a letter from the PRINCE, *February* 20, 1887.

. . . The clergy here care as little for the Pope as for Germany, and are cheerfully working against the Septennate; for the whole of the clergy in this district have unfortunately remained French, as no effort was made immediately after the war to Germanise the seminaries. Any attempt of the kind would now imply an education struggle. The elections will no doubt turn out badly.

Note from the CHANCELLOR *to the* STATTHALTER.

BERLIN, *February* 21, 1887.

I am informed by the Attorney-General that at his instance house-to-house investigations have been made in Alsace-Lorraine, and several people have been imprisoned who were found in possession of medals or cards of membership of the Patriotic League or of documents which apeared to prove their membership.

I believe that your Highness will certainly agree with me if I characterise it as unusual that the personal interference of the Attorney-General has been required to secure the execution of these measures. The local authorities had long been aware, as I learn from a note of the 3rd inst. from the Secretary of State, von Hofmann, to Herr Tessendorf, that many members of the State of Alsace belong to the Patriotic League. I cannot conceive why, when these facts were known, criminal proceedings were not instituted against the suspected persons in virtue of the law upon the subject, and, if necessary, on the basis of the Dictatorship paragraphs. Membership of a foreign association such as the

League clearly made them liable to judicial proceedings or to expulsion.

I venture, therefore, to ask your Highness kindly to consider whether it would not be advisable to censure the Secretary of State and the administrative authorities of the Imperial province for their passive attitude in view of the ease with which enemies in the province could endanger the mobilisation and the railway communications in the event of war.

Von Bismarck.

From a letter of the Prince *under date February* 22, 1887.

. . . The elections, as was expected, have turned out unfavourably, and German officials here are constantly discussing what is to be done to provide satisfaction for the insult to German nationalism implied by this expression of French feeling. Some think the Provincial Council should be abolished, others that the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine should be deprived of their right to representation in the Reichstag. The Chancellor wrote earlier this winter, upon the occasion of a proposal concerning the game laws, that all arbitrary action in Alsace-Lorraine must be avoided. This is also my opinion, and I think it will be better for us to be just but perfectly firm, and to avoid any *coup d'état*. . . .

Journal.

Strassburg, *February* 22, 1887.

The elections for the Reichstag took place yesterday. Information of the results reached me during our ball at the palace. It had been hoped that in Strassburg at least victory would remain on the side of the Germans, but Petri was defeated by Kablé. News also arrived from outside on all hands that the Protest candidates are triumphant. There was great excitement among the higher officials and officers present. Hofmann was reproached for initiating the proceedings against the members of the Patriotic League, and thereby embittering public opinion. The defeat of Hugo Bulach in Erstein was generally regarded as a provocation and as an insult to the German nation. Back and others said that something must now be done to satisfy the German sense of outraged national feeling. Back in particular advised the suspension of the Provincial Council. Hofmann, to whom I spoke upon the subject to-day, will not hear of it; he advised that the burgomaster of Mühlhausen should be asked for his resignation.

This afternoon I received a note from Bismarck in which he complains that the Alsace-Lorraine Government should have taken earlier notice of the membership of many Alsatians in the Patriotic League.

To Prince Bismarck.

Strassburg, *March* 5, 1887.

I beg to send your Highness a copy of the report to his Majesty concerning the result of the elections in Alsace-Lorraine. I need not dwell upon the causes which have produced this unfavourable result, as they are already known to your Highness. I shall also have an opportunity of giving further explanations by word of mouth. Public opinion in Germany and German settlers in the Imperial provinces are making the provincial Government responsible for the result of the elections, as is natural in the first moment of excitement. Whether and to what an extent the administration should bear this responsibility I will not now attempt to decide. In one point, however, I think I am correct — namely, in my conviction that the measures which must now be adopted and the system now to be followed cannot possibly be carried out with the present Secretary of State. I do not believe that he has the necessary tact or capacity to display the required energy in the proper quarters, and I also think that he does not enjoy that confidence among the officials of the provinces which is required if our methods are to lead to good results. I have, therefore, informed Herr von Hofmann of my determination to make a change in the post of Secretary of State. He has asked time to consider whether he should tender his resignation or await dismissal. Meanwhile I venture to request your Highness to give me the name of some official from the Prussian bureaucracy, with Prussian traditions, whom I may propose to his Majesty. Of the local officials of the Prussian school, the Under-Secretary of State, von Puttkamer, seems to me to be the most suitable successor. As soon as your Highness shall have been kind enough to inform me of your agreement with my views I shall submit the necessary proposals to his Majesty.

Journal.

Berlin, *March* 19, 1887.

I arrived here the day before yesterday, in the evening, and found a letter from Viktor telling me that owing to the Emperor's *soirée* he could not come to me until late, but that he had some important news. I therefore waited for him. He arrived about 11.30, and told me that there was a plan to introduce extensive changes into the administration of Alsace-Lorraine, and that the generals were agitating strongly against me. These proposals might still be averted, but it was necessary for me to take measures, and to offer proposals to the Chancellor which would enable him to oppose the attacks of the military. He said that there is talk of a partition of Alsace-Lorraine, under which part is to go to Baden, part to Bavaria, and Lorraine to Prussia. Viktor advised me to have a talk with Miquel, who could give me the best information, as he had had a long conversation with Bismarck. Back arrived the next morning, and his news was not particularly favourable. I went with him to Miquel, who told me that the project of partition was impracticable, and that on other points proposals were expected from myself. I discussed these with him, and he seemed to be pretty well agreed.

At the Foreign Office I heard that the Chancellor was unfavourably disposed towards me, but that it was understood that I could not be made responsible for the previous line of policy adopted in the provinces. About three o'clock I called upon Wilmowski, who received me very kindly, and regretted Hofmann, but shared my judgment of him. As regards proposals and persons, he advised me to speak as soon as possible with the Chancellor. Hofmann's dismissal is signed, but is not to be issued until I give him the information. Wilmowski is also against the partition. The danger to myself lies in the proposal to transfer the administration to Berlin. I met Rottenburg, whom I asked to announce me to Bismarck. In the evening to dinner with Viktor. I then waited upon the Empress, who expressed her pleasure at finding me so cheerful and not depressed. I said I had no reason to be depressed, and should continue to do my duty if I were retained in office. She characterised the project of partition as mere newspaper talk. The Emperor, whom I afterwards met downstairs at tea, was as amiable as ever.

This morning von Mayr* arrived, and said that he had been received yesterday by Bismarck, who had told him that he could not stand against the stream, and would be forced to propose radical alterations in the administration of Alsace-Lorraine, including the abolition of the Statthalter law of 1879 and the transference of the presidency and the administration to Berlin. Mayr discussed the matter quite at his ease, and appeared pleased. Friedberg, whom I then visited in the Upper House, considered that the question was by no means settled, and advised me to wait and hear what the Chancellor had to say. At the same time he expressed his mistrust of Mayr, who had no business with the Chancellor, and who only wished to meddle.

Accordingly I maintained a reserved attitude during my conversation with the Prince. The Prince first spoke of Hofmann's dismissal, said this was really not his business, and that Hofmann was answerable to the Emperor and myself. I replied that I had shown Hofmann the first letter of the Prince, in which he asked me to consider the advisability of censuring Hofmann for his carelessness upon the question of the Patriotic League. This had already induced Hofmann to declare that he was ready to go if his retention of office placed difficulties in my way. This I had declined at the time, but further communications from Berlin had obliged me to tell Hofmann that it was now time for him to send in his resignation. We compared the Prince's notes with mine, and found a very general agreement.

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* Under-Secretary of State in the Ministerial Department of Finance.

It was recognised as a leading principle that no changes should be made in the legislation affecting the government of Alsace-Lorraine; the right of election to the Reichstag was to be retained, and the Provincial Council was neither to be suspended nor dissolved, but legislation should be proposed to the Reichstag for restricting the powers of the Council. On these points it was possible to proceed at once and to lay before the Reichstag the law upon the registration of landed property, that portion of the industrial regulations still to be introduced, the grants to be asked for girls' high schools, possibly a law reintroducing the former game laws, a law forbidding the letting of shooting property, and, finally, a pension law.

The following measures were resolved to secure the safety of the province:

(1) The dissolution of the federate associations.

(2) A decree concerning the permission for residence required by French officers and Frenchmen in general.

(3) The expulsion of all agitators, whether foreigners or natives.

(4) The regulation of the pass system.

(5) The introduction of a political police.

(6) No codification of local legislation, but the abolition of the arrangement which makes the appointment of the burgomaster dependent upon election by the local council.

(7) A redistribution of local districts.

(8) The suppression and prohibition of dangerous newspapers, the exclusion of French newspapers, so far as this may be necessary, and the prohibition of foreign shooting tenancies.

As regards the French education of the clergy, the Chancellor is ready to use his good offices in Rome.

The Chancellor regards a Secretary of State as superfluous. At first he was inclined to consider Puttkamer as a suitable candidate, but has since revised his views and thinks Puttkamer too liberal and not sufficiently energetic. For the Interior I may choose whom I will.

Upon my observing that I had imagined he would abolish the Statthalter, he fetched the draft Bill which had been proposed to him, but which he will oppose in the Ministerial Council. In this Bill the Statthalter is abolished, replaced by a supreme president, and the administration is transferred to Berlin. This he will not have. He asked me to make an abstract of our conversation and of the measures we had discussed, "which would enable him to oppose the Bill in question in the Ministerial Council." This I then did, with the help of Back.

On the 20th I waited upon the Emperor to lay the case before him. The Russian Grand Dukes had arrived, but none the less he received me (in Russian uniform). I informed him of the result of my conversation with the Imperial Chancellor, by which he was much gratified. He then said: "The Prince has spoken to me of the proposed partition and abolition of the Statthaltership. I have declared myself decidedly against it. It is senseless to overthrow all that has been done merely because the elections have turned out badly." He was obviously rather excited about it. I naturally thanked him from my heart.

To the Imperial Chancellor.

Berlin, *March* 20, 1887.

In our conversation of the 19th inst. your Highness expressed yourself as opposed to the changes contained in a draft Bill before you dealing with the administration of Alsace-Lorraine, and your Highness was good enough to tell me that you would oppose this measure. My hearty thanks are due to your Highness for the mark of confidence expressed by this declaration, and this confidence it will be my effort to justify. These efforts, however, will only be possible upon the condition that I return to Strassburg with undiminished prestige, and that the post of Statthalter is not so restricted as to reduce its occupant to a mere figurehead. In my opinion, no disadvantage can result from the postponement of projected changes in the administration by means of legislation until trial has been made of a new administration reinforced by capable officials, and until a simplification of the government has been secured by the issue of special orders. From this point of view I consider it absolutely necessary that the fourth department of the Ministry should be abolished, and that Burgomaster Back undertake the administration of the interior. The removal of Mayr I regard as essential, in view of the feeling against him which prevails throughout the provinces. If the introduction of these new methods should make legislative changes advisable, I may reasonably be allowed to hope that I may be permitted myself to propose such modifications as are necessary, after full discussion with those who are acquainted with local conditions in the provinces. Decision upon the proposed abolition of the post of Secretary of State can be postponed during this time.

As regards the introduction of more constant communication between the central Imperial Government and the provincial administration which is here thought desirable, I would point out that proposals have been made for legislation in the Reichstag upon the provinces which would produce constant personal communications between the administration of Alsace-Lorraine and the central Imperial Government, and would avoid that danger of friction which the introduction of a special Government office in Berlin for the provinces would inevitably cause.

Journal.

Berlin, *March* 27, 1887.

Yesterday I spent the whole morning with Gossler, who discussed the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine without reserve. As

Secretary of State he recommended to me either Handjery or Studt. The latter is said to be a man of high honour. If Back takes the Interior and Studt the Finances I shall have two devoted servants and the Ministry will be entirely composed of Prussian officials. I am told that Handjery is to be avoided, as he might easily conceive the idea of becoming Statthalter himself. In the afternoon I had discussions with different people.

To-day at ten o'clock I called upon Bleichröder, who has spoken with Bötticher. Bötticher has as yet no definite project, but he wishes to transfer the Government to Berlin, and to leave the Statthalter a mere figurehead. Bleichröder stated that this was unacceptable to myself. I informed him of the contents of my letter to Bismarck, and he promised to make a speech from that point of view. He advised that the post of State Secretary should again be filled, and thinks that Puttkamer should be chosen to satisfy the National Liberals. He will attempt to persuade the Chancellor to adopt this view.

Back arrived about twelve o'clock, and said that Verdy, who had been at Bötticher's house in the evening, had given him news identical with that of Bleichröder. Thereupon Verdy offered the extraordinary observation that an ambassadorial post in Rome was now vacant where I might be employed!

March 29.

Yesterday morning I called upon Wilmowski, Bleichröder, and Holstein to inquire how matters had gone in the Ministerial Council. They, however, had no information, and I was therefore obliged to go to Friedberg, who told me that the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine had been discussed in the Ministerial Council. He said that the Chancellor had spoken of my note and my letter. The debate seems to have gone partly against me. Eventually the Chancellor commissioned the Minister Bötticher to draft a Bill and be done with it. Friedberg advised me to write to the Chancellor and tell him that I would take in hand the changes in the *personnel*.

I then had a long conversation with Puttkamer,* whom I questioned concerning Studt, whereupon he urgently recommended him. In the evening I had dinner with Marquardsen, and then accompanied him to a lecture upon Guinea, where I nearly went to sleep, and then went to the Kneipe of the National Liberals, who received me very kindly. I had a talk with Bennigsen, who advised me not to agree to a partition of the government between Berlin and Strassburg. He also agreed with me that I could not possibly maintain my ground in Strassburg with diminished powers as a mere giver of dinners.

To-day I was with Bleichröder, and I learnt nothing except that he considers the war with Russia a certainty if the Emperor William dies.

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* The Prussian Minister of the Interior.

My plan is now as follows: First to go to Wilmowski and tell him that I will propose the changes of *personnel* to the Emperor.

Secondly, to seek an audience with the Emperor, lay the proposals before him, and beg that he will give me time and will not agree to the Bill.

Thirdly, the moment before the audience, to send to Puttkamer the letter respecting Studt.

Fourthly, after the audience, to go to Puttkamer and tell him what I have arranged with the Emperor.

Fifthly, to send the letter to Bismarck.

On the evening of the 30th, when with the Empress, I heard through the Grand Duke that the Emperor could not yet receive me, as he was too unwell. This is the case to-day also; therefore I must wait.

At twelve o'clock I was with the Crown Prince, who spoke little, since he is still hoarse; but he asked me to give him a detailed account of my experiences here. I did so. He listened with great interest, smiled occasionally or shook his head, and then asked if I wished him to do anything. This I gratefully declined, but stipulated that I might appeal for his help, if necessary. He said: "I hear nothing. I learn everything through the newspapers, and then the Emperor is ninety years old!"

Early on the 31st I was at Wilmowski, after I had received the telegram about the supplement to the *Post*.* I told him that so much is said about the changes in Alsace-Lorraine that the authority of the Government was endangered by it. Whether the draft of the Bill now discussed were accepted or no, in any case the Government must be continued. But that would only be possible if my authority over the public officers and inhabitants were not shaken. If I now went back and resumed office with the same men, with no one to take Hofmann's place, and so forth, I should be looked upon as a sick man. But if I took back with me nominations for Studt and Back, and if Mayr and Ledderhose † were discharged, this would show that I had still some power. As to my right to do so there was no doubt. The Chancellor had given me a free hand; Puttkamer had agreed. I added that in reality the position was this: Rottenburg and Bötticher wished to displace me, to make Berlepsch President, and to transfer the Government to Berlin. Since the Emperor had declined the direct proposal to abolish the post of Statthalter, they were endeavouring to paralyse me by diminishing the powers of the Statthalter, partially transferring them to the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin, preventing me from replacing useless by useful officials. I must on this account lay my proposals directly before the Emperor. As far as concerned the legislative alterations — for example, the much-disputed centralisation in Berlin — I would beg his Majesty to allow me to make the trial for at least a year, and to decline the suggested proposals for alterations in the administration. Wilmowski agreed to everything, and especially that I should myself lay the case before the Emperor. Then I went to the palace, but heard that the Emperor could not receive me that day, as the Minister of War had had an audience. I should be sent for the next day. So I had to wait. This was very annoying, as there was the possibility that the Emperor would not be able to receive me even the next day. In that case my plan would be much endangered, for everything depended on carrying out a *coup de surprise.*

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* A supplement to the *Strassburger Post* had announced the abolition of the Statthaltership, of the Ministry, and of the Provincial Council as imminent.

† Under-Secretary to the Ministerial Department of Public Works.

On the morning of April 1 I sent Thaden to the palace, who brought me word that the Emperor was well and would see me. I waited till midday, and then received the news that the Emperor would see me at 1.15. I went in, took the clean copies with me, and found the Emperor rather weak, but quite cheerful. I put the case before him as I had represented it to Wilmowski. The Emperor listened attentively, and repeated that he was still determined not to abolish the Statthalter. Then he asked me whether the Chancellor agreed to the proposals. I answered that he had given me a free hand. I discussed the changes of *personnel*, and the Emperor then asked whether I had the fair copies with me. When I replied "Yes," he said, "Then I can sign it at once."

I laid everything before him, and he signed his name four times. Then I drove home satisfied. Soon the Grand Duke of Baden came to tell me of his conversation with Bismarck the day before. Bismarck was against an alteration in Alsace-Lorraine; against the abolition of the Statthalter, and against the removal of the Government to Berlin. He had only agreed to the composition of a draft Bill because he did not wish to oppose the Ministers, who, with the exception of Friedberg, object to the retention of the Statthaltership. The Grand Duke had got the impression that Bismarck would finally let the matter drop. He was delighted at my dismissal of Mayr. Fischer, of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, spoke in the same way; he is quite convinced that Mayr has worked against me here.

Speech at the dinner of the Consistory of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, May 1887.

The President in eloquent words has proposed the health of his Majesty the Emperor, and at the same time mentioned me, and I hasten to reply with an expression of my thanks to him, and of my wishes for the best success to the deliberations of the Consistory.

I may here refer to the impression that I always receive when

I find myself within the foundation of St. Thomas, surrounded by the representatives of the Alsatian Church of the Augsburg Confession. I am impressed by the remembrance of the great theologians whom Alsace has sent out, and I make no distinction between theologians before and after the Reformation, no distinction between Tauler and Geiler of Kaysersberg, and Spener and his contemporaries. For the common characteristic of these theologians consists in the fact that they knew how to foster the spirit of practical Christianity, and raised this spirit above the scholasticism of the Middle Ages on the one hand and the bickering of theologians after the Reformation on the other. They carried this spirit over the Rhine, and sowed the seed of which they reaped rich fruit, and knit together a bond of gratitude and sympathy which consciously and unconsciously lives on in modern times. This bond cannot but have influenced the hopes which inspired us in the year 1870, and which were but recently described as vain by impatient minds. I cling fast to these hopes, and I believe that you do also, gentlemen, and will co-operate in their realisation.

From an address at Buchsweiler, at the presentation of the colours of the Kreigsverein, June 5, 1887.

The Burgomaster has said kind words of greeting to myself and the other guests, in his own name and in that of his fellow-citizens. He has given words to the signs of friendly sentiment with which I met on the outskirts of this town. For this I thank him heartily on behalf of myself and the guests. These signs of friendly feeling are gratifying to me, though they do not surprise me. For I know that till recently Buchsweiler and Hanau have stood in close union with Old Germany. There, indeed, has German sentiment maintained its ground. These signs have been welcome to me at a time when doubt and unrest are passing through the minds of men in this country. I therefore make use of the opportunity offered to-day for a few candid words. We have duly united Alsace and Lorraine with the German Empire, with the universal approbation of the German nation, because the experience of centuries forced us to secure our western frontier. As soon as the European situation is threatening, or appears threatening, the question confronts us whether this frontier is really secure. This lays obligations on the Government of the country, which it must fulfil. I do not mean to regard this zeal for the safety of the country as the only business of the Government. Our problem is greater; it embraces a wide field of fruitful activity in intellectual and material matters. The Government will endeavour to solve these problems, and looks for the confidence and co-operation of the people. My toast implies this mutual confidence and this common zeal.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *June* 11, 1887.

Count Leusse of Reichshofen came to lunch a few days ago. He talked of the interview of the Crown Prince with the Comte de Paris in the Italian watering-place last autumn, and asserted that very important matters had been discussed, and the possibility of the return of Orléans to the French throne had been debated. The Comte de Paris, when he heard that Leusse was coming here, commissioned him to tell me that the Prince did not think of making compacts with the Crown Prince behind the Chancellor's back. He knew very well that it was not possible to carry through a political movement against the Chancellor's will. As he knew that the Prince was not in favour of the restoration of the monarchy in France, the Comte de Paris would wait until the Prince had changed his views and had become convinced that an end should be made of the Republic in France. The Comte de Paris now asks to be notified when this time shall have arrived. His organisation is complete for accomplishing the restoration.

Address in Rappoltsweiler, June 22, 1887.

I have been fortunate since I began my journey through the province. On the first day of my excursion the clouds disappeared, and the sun shone brightly over the land, and has accompanied me until to-day. In this I see a good omen, and hope that in the political world also the clouds will disperse, and that here too sunshine may break over the land, and peace enter into the minds of men. I will do what lies in my power to accomplish this end. But I need the confidence of the people in my endeavours. Only when supported by this confidence can I champion the interests of Alsace and Lorraine in all directions. Hence I greatly value the friendly reception which has been accorded me in this town and the words of confidence with which the Burgomaster has welcomed me.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *July* 1, 1887.

Some time ago Studt * had informed me that in Berlin a further simplification of the administration of Alsace and Lorraine was considered necessary. Yesterday he gave me a memorandum in which are to be found the ideas he gathered in Berlin. According to this, the judicature is to be joined to the first department, and trade and commerce transferred to the department of finance, and there will only be left a Secretary of State and an Under-Secretary. Puttkamer must then be President † in Kolmar, be styled Excellency, and retain his salary. Apart from the fact that the duties of the Secretary of State, who would have the Interior and Justice, would be very heavy, it must be remembered that I should not be well supported against the Provincial Council by Back and Studt. Studt is no speaker, and Back cannot make head against the Council. Also Puttkamer has a position in the Federal Council which the other two could not fill. Studt says that this plan of simplification would strengthen my position here and in Berlin. That is possible. Perhaps I shall thereby win the support of Bötticher and Friedberg. But if the Government makes itself ridiculous Bötticher and his party will be the first to throw stones at me. If I have a sensible man like Puttkamer at my side I can better oppose the gentlemen in Berlin. But if the Government here gradually crumbles away it will be easy for the gentlemen in Berlin to overthrow the whole fabric. I therefore intend to leave things as they are, to hand over the Secretaryship of State to Puttkamer, and in any case to await the winter. Puttkamer is sensible, ready of speech, acquainted with local conditions, and devoted to me as far as it is to his interest, especially if he has the prospect of becoming State Secretary in time.

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* Since April 1 Under-Secretary to the Ministerial Department of the Interior.

† Of the Provincial Court of Appeal.

EMS, *July* 6, 1887.

Yesterday I was at breakfast with the Empress, in Coblentz; then at dinner with Alexander and Thaden, and in the evening at tea. The Empress was kind, as usual. Prince Hermann of Weimar talked so much about London that at tea the Empress could hardly get in a word. After tea we drove direct to the station, and were here at eleven o'clock.

This morning promenade at the baths; then breakfast on the Pilz with Prince Wilhelm, Prince Nicholas of Nassau, Perponcher, Reischach, and others. My arrival was announced and cards left by Thaden and Alexander. Meanwhile I went for a walk with Radolinski, who had to-day brought news of the Crown Prince. Mackenzie seems to have been right. The doctors in Berlin wished to operate. At the last moment Mackenzie came, at the wish of the Berlin physicians, and prevented the operation. Bismarck had been to the Emperor and opposed the operation. Want of sympathy was apparent in the old gentleman and the Court — viz., those about him. Prince Wilhelm wished to represent him in London, and was much put out, as the Crown Prince is going himself. There are people who have a preference for Prince Wilhelm as successor, and probably encourage him. The Chancellor is for the Crown Prince. It is to be hoped he will recover, for Prince Wilhelm is still too young.

I spoke about Puttkamer with Wilmowski. He strongly advised me not to dismiss him now, and told me to say in Berlin that I cannot dispense with his talent and experience, and must in the meantime retain him. He is surprised that Bismarck is now against Puttkamer, and does not understand it. Probably in Berlin they wish me to make myself ridiculous. Wilmowski considers Studt a cautious and able official. At three o'clock I was with the Emperor. I found him physically weak, but looking well and intellectually vigorous. He spoke of the sentences in Leipzig,* of the sensation which they had occasioned in France, and said, "They are indeed terrible neighbours." I told him of the temper in Alsace. He asked whether I was content with the officials I had chosen, said that Studt had pleased him, and agreed with me when I said that I could not put Puttkamer on one side. He did not, however, go into details. Concerning my journey to France, he thought it would still be better to wait. Then he talked of Paris, of his stay there in 1814 and 1815, of his dinner with the Empress Josephine in Malmaison, &c. In conclusion I thanked him for the favour he had shown me in the early part of the year. He took this very graciously, and said that he was pleased to see that I regarded my problem so earnestly and understood so well how to solve it. Then he said, "My compliments to the Princess!"

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

VARZIN, *August* 9, 1887.

From the direct report upon the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine during the last quarter, communicated to me in duplicate upon the 25th ult. by Under-Secretary of State von Puttkamer, I have been most interested to observe that the stricter administration introduced by your Highness has not been without a good effect on the population. We may conclude, in my opinion, from this fact that we are now on the right path.

I do not know what truth there is in the report repeated by different newspapers of the formation of an Old German separate party, which is said to have made its influence felt at the last Reichstag election in Strassburg.† If this is the case, and if a considerable number of the immigrant Old Germans have declared against the only German-minded candidate for the Reichstag which Alsace has yet produced, it must be the result of an inclination to subordinate State interests to personal feelings to which State officials have no right, and which, in my opinion, should be sternly dealt with in the provinces, in view of their dangerous situation. This is upon the assumption asserted in the newspapers that the agitation, directly or indirectly, proceeds from State officials belonging to the teaching profession, or is favoured by them. Such action would tend to the disruption of those forces which are intended to oppose French nationalism and can only be effective if they act in union, and such disruption can only have disastrous effects upon the ultimate situation in the Imperial provinces.

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* Several Alsatian members of the Patriotic League were condemned for making preparations to commit high treason on July 18.

† In consequence of the death of Deputy Kablé a by-election took place in Strassburg on July 21, in which the Protest party refrained from voting or gave in empty papers, and the German candidate, Dr. Petri, was elected. 1163 votes were cast for Field-Marshal Moltke.

Hence it seems important to the foreign policy of the Empire to determine whether there is any truth in the newspaper reports of the proceedings upon the election of Herr Petri. In my opinion, it would then be advisable to find a remedy which would not shrink from even more stringent treatment of the officials in the exposed Imperial provinces, should these gentlemen oppose the Imperial Government or make any public refusal of co-operation in its policy.

VON BISMARCK.

To PRINCE BISMARCK.

STRASSBURG, *August* 19, 1887.

I beg to offer my hearty thanks to your Highness for your kind letter of the 9th inst. The agreement which it expresses with the measures I have taken is especially grateful to myself, and encourages me to pursue that path which your Highness recognises as right. I only regret that I cannot publish your Highness's confidential statement, in order once and for all to put an end to the rumour which continually recurs of a difference of opinion existing between your Highness and myself.

As regards the proceedings which accompanied the last Strassburg election, the newspaper reports are correct. An Old German separatist party has, in fact, been formed. Led by certain professors and headmasters it refuses to contemplate any reconciliation with the people of Alsace-Lorraine, and, therefore, declared itself at the last election against the Alsatian candidates who are friendly to Germany. Although the intentions of the Government were well known to them, these gentlemen not only refused to support the Government in the election, but directly and absolutely opposed its views and its wishes, thus showing a lack of discipline which may be ascribed to the special conditions prevailing in the provinces, though upon the whole I can testify without reserve to the fidelity and devotion of the local officials. I trust that I may be successful by vigorous action in recalling the Imperial officials to a sense of the duty incumbent upon them where such action seems necessary, and in future to prevent the recurrence of the above-mentioned practices.

Journal.

ALT AUSSEE, *September* 9, 1887.

I left Strassburg on Tuesday, September 6, reached Schillingsfürst in the afternoon, and spent the night there. The next morning on again with Thaden. Thaden was travelling from Ansbach to Podiebrad, and I to Kissingen. In Kissingen I met Rottenburg at the station; he accompanied me to the "Russischen Hof," and told me that Prince Bismarck would call upon me. Dinner was arranged for six o'clock. I remained in my rooms, and Prince Bismarck came about five. I told him that the object of my journey was to inform him of my Russian inheritance,* and to request his protection in any event. Should the meeting of the Emperors take place in Stettin, I hoped that the Emperor would mention my case to the Czar Alexander. Bismarck said that the plan would not do, as the old gentleman was much too high and mighty, and would not trouble with such diplomatic commissions, but that he, Bismarck, would look after the matter. This I gratefully accepted. Then he asked of my journey to Brittany, and asked how it went off. I related the course of events, emphasising the fact that I had met with a good reception from the French upon the whole, and had been attacked only by the Radical Press. When I mentioned that I was there known as the "Duke of Alba" he laughed, and asked me whether I had ever seen a picture of Alba. He declines to consider the possibility of removing the prohibition against the issue of shooting permits,† although I impressed upon him that to refuse these permissions to the French inhabitants of the provinces was carrying strictness too far. He thinks they are all spies. As regards the meeting of the Emperors, he could not say if it would take place; nothing was known of it in Berlin, and no measures had been taken in view of it. I then mentioned that I now required the services of Schraut,‡ but that I had taken no steps in the matter as the Prince had told me in the spring that he could not do without him. Schraut is himself anxious to secure the Under-Secretaryship of State in Strassburg. Thereupon Bismarck replied: "Well, if that is the case we cannot hail him down, and the thing will no doubt be possible." Rottenberg, to whom I communicated this remark, told me that Schraut had applied to him and asked him to secure him the post. He asked me, therefore, to write to Bismarck on the subject.

During dinner, at which were only the Princess and Rottenburg, besides the Prince and myself, the conversation turned upon the Russian estates, which Bismarck described as the greatest territorial possession in Europe. He said it was quite worth while to take the matter in hand, and he hoped for my sake that all obstacles could be removed.

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* After the death of Prince Peter von Sayn-Wittgenstein, on August 20, 1887, the Wittgenstein estates in Russia had reverted to the Princess Hohenlohe. By Russian law she was compelled to sell the estates, as foreigners were not allowed to hold landed property while under the jurisdiction of the Western Government.

† At the instance of the Imperial Government the authorities in Alsace-Lorraine had refused to issue shooting permits to the French.

‡ As the Under-Secretary Back had resolved to retire in order to resume the burgomastership of Strassburg.

BADEN, *October* 9, 1887.

I arrived yesterday morning, and called upon Radziwill. At four o'clock I waited upon the Emperor, who was particularly kind. He said he hoped that my business would allow me to remain in Strassburg, and he even requested that this might be arranged, saying that he had nobody else whom he could send there. I thanked him, and assured him I would remain as long as I possessed his confidence.

Dinner in the castle with the Grand Duke. In the evening visit to the Empress.

I called early this morning upon Wilmowski, who spoke of the Emperor's vexation with Herbert Bismarck over the Schnäbele affair.* Bismarck and the General Staff had been consulted upon the question of the shooting permits.

Lunch at one with the Grand Duchess and the Hohenzollerns. At half-past five to dinner with the Emperor. At eight o'clock an audience of the Empress, who spoke to me of "Léonille." The Grand Duchess came in while I was speaking, and I accompanied her to the Emperor for tea.

Note of the PRINCE *for the debate in the Ministerial Conference of October* 27.

I should begin with the observation that upon the language question in the local and departmental boards I agree with the proposals of the Under-Secretary of State, Studt, both in principle and detail, and consider it advisable, in view of existing legislation, to introduce a change.

If I have objected to the introduction of this change in the present year, this is rather from personal reasons than on account of matters of fact.

The regulation contemplates the possibility that its execution may meet with obstacles, and that then the removal of the Governmental commissioners and the dissolution of the departmental boards may follow. The friction thus caused would be of no great importance, but might cause considerable uproar in the Press.

I am not intimidated by newspaper attacks or discussions of measures in the Press when the safety of the frontier or the dignity and prestige of the Empire are at stake. I am equally averse to hesitation when the existence of the German nationality in the Imperial provinces is endangered. But this is not the case now. The safety and prestige of the Government will not be endangered by the use of the French language in the affairs of the departmental councils, nor is the safety of the frontier in any way menaced by this practice. As regards the position of German nationalism — in other words, the Germanisation of the people of Alsace-Lorraine — this process will be accelerated by the schools, by the general obligation to military service, and by closer economic connection with Germany. The outlook here is favourable, and even in the ecclesiastical seminaries there is a prospect of removing French influences when the reception of seminarists educated in France has come to an end. I do not consider that German nationalism is endangered if a few old gentlemen who speak no German or speak it badly prefer to conduct the business of their councils in French. I will only add that I can see no danger in a postponement of this regulation, though I am in agreement with it otherwise. I am, however, averse to its immediate introduction for the following reasons.

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* The arrest of the French Commissioner of Frontier Police, Schnäbele, on the frontier near Pagny on April 20.

It cannot be denied that in this year there have been many disturbances in the provinces. The elections, the action against the Patriotic League, house-to-house visitations, expulsions, permits of residence for Frenchmen and their consequences, the question of the shooting permits, the Schnäbele case, and other matters — all these things have attracted the attention of the political world to Alsace-Lorraine. If further trouble should now arise with the provincial boards — a by no means impossible case — the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine would again become an object of general attention, and I fear it would be said there will never be peace in that country! It would he said that the local Statthalter is incapable, and that he cannot get on with the inhabitants. Repeated experience shows me that such judgments would be passed, as they have been passed before. I regard it, therefore, as a duty of self-preservation to provide no fresh material for these attacks unless there is absolute necessity. I think I have proved that there is no such pressing necessity in the present instance. I think, therefore, that we should wait until next year, which delay will enable us to make quiet preparations for the measure, both in the Press and by conference with influential members of those corporations.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *February* 19, 1888.

Professor Krauss, of Freiburg, was with me to-day. I discussed with him the question of the faculties in Strassburg. He is the only man who can provide information on the subject, as the negotiations in the year 1872 were partly carried on through him and Roggenbach. He says that Bismarck was in favour of them at that time, but the proposal came to nothing because Bishop Raess claimed the right of appointing the professors himself. The co-operation of the Bishop is necessary, but appointment solely through him is inadmissible. On this point there is a convention between Niebuhr and the Roman Secretary of State for the year 1821 respecting the university of Bonn, which might serve as a precedent.

Krauss was strongly attracted by the idea of introducing Benedictines here. He tells me, however, that Father Odilo laments the present scarcity of educated Benedictines. Krauss advises me to speak upon the point with the Abbot Alexander von Mölk. He thinks well of the Capuchins whom Stumpf wishes to bring from Mayence. Father Walter in Beuron is a Jesuit, and therefore untrustworthy. Krauss agrees with me that the Sulpicians are better than the German Jesuit clergy.

STRASSBURG, *March* 7, 1888.

A telegram arrived this afternoon with the news that the Emperor was ill, had had a bad night, and could not eat, and that Prince Wilhelm had been in the palace for three hours and Prince Bismarck for the last two hours. This seems serious. I went to Heuduck, to whom I told the news. He was no less shocked than myself, and thinks that this must be the end. We then spoke of the future. He thinks that if the Emperor were to die the Crown Prince would immediately travel to Berlin. "Then we might have to bury two Emperors within no long space of time!" Hitherto I had assumed that Prince Wilhelm was in complete harmony with Bismarck. Heuduck agrees to this, but says that there are signs that when the Prince becomes Emperor he will not be able to live in permanent agreement with Bismarck. It seems that Conservative influences opposed to Bismarck will become operative. This would be unfortunate. The Prince is, in any case, not popular in Germany, and will have to be very careful to turn public opinion in his favour.

The conversation then turned upon Waldersee and his appointment to Strassburg. Heuduck says there is no question of anything of the kind. There is, however, a strong party in Berlin which is anxious to drive Waldersee out of office. The Imperial Chancellor is no longer one of his supporters. Heuduck regrets this, for he regards Waldersee as a highly competent and experienced Chief of the General Staff, whose place would be difficult to fill.

BERLIN, *March* 19, 1888.

On Wednesday night I started for Berlin with Jordan and Thaden in a sleeping-car to Frankfort, arriving in Berlin at eight o'clock in the evening. Ernst Ratibor met me at the station, and accompanied me to the Hôtel Continental, where I had dinner with Victor, and then went to the Moltkestrasse. Thursday was spent in visits and calls. In the afternoon I went with Philipp Ernst to the cathedral, where the Emperor's body was lying in state. It was a beautiful and solemn scene, and I looked with grief again upon the old man, who for so many years had been my kind protector, and whom I keep in faithful memory.

The funeral obsequies were performed on the Friday. I stood

Emperor William died March 9, 1888, aged 91 near the coffin with the Knights of the Order of the Black Eagle. At the coffin stood the chief Court officials and the Ministers, and at the head General Pape, with the Imperial banner, and two adjutant-generals. Kögel delivered a very affecting oration. When the ceremony was concluded the procession drew up before the church. We walked to the Siegesallee, whence the coffin was escorted to Charlottenburg by the adjutants and the Court alone. The other participants went home. The procession was rather sombre, as all were wearing cloaks and overcoats, necessitated by the cold.

On Sunday, the 18th, I had an audience of the Grand Duchess of Baden and the Empress Augusta. The latter looked better and stronger than we had expected. She spoke very kindly, and thanked me for my faithful service, which the Emperor had always recognised. I replied that I had ever been the Emperor's devoted servant, and should always retain a grateful memory of the many proofs of his favour. In the afternoon I called upon Holstein, who spoke for a time of Alsace-Lorraine, and then of the situation here. He said the Imperial Chancellor was very well satisfied with the way in which the Emperor performs his business.

On Monday, the 19th, I waited upon the Empress Victoria, and introduced the deputation from Metz. I found the Empress unchanged, and her frank and cheerful manner filled me with astonishment.

BERLIN, *March* 22, 1888.

To-day I saw Bötticher, who complained of the interference of the Empress in public business. He said she had induced the Emperor to refuse his signature to the Socialist law,* and that the Emperor only gave way after Bismarck had explained the matter to the Empress. He says that the Emperor has little power of resistance to the influence of the Empress, and that she, again, is under the influence of certain advanced ladies — Frau Schrader, Frau Helmholtz, and Frau von Stockmar. If the Emperor's illness is of long duration all kinds of things may happen. If the Emperor were well, or should become so, the influence of the Empress would diminish. Finally I agreed with Bötticher that I would keep him informed of affairs in Alsace-Lorraine, for which promise he was grateful.

BERLIN, *March* 24, 1888.

This afternoon I drove to Bismarck before the Court reception. I found him looking well and talkative, though he complains that his powers are at an end. He says he cannot get away, as otherwise all kinds of absurdities would be committed. We spoke of the administration of the oath to the officials and the Provincial Council. He said that all this might be left alone for the present, as there would soon be changes, and that there was no question of any hope. He admires the Emperor, and is the more sorry for him as he had been told that he was roughly and inconsiderately treated by the English doctors. He understood that they removed the tube to clean it without putting another in its place, neglected his convenience, &c. The Empress too was callous and inconsiderate. If all these stories were true and not exaggerated it would be necessary to send a solicitor-general to protect the Emperor. I did not remain long, as I was obliged to go to the reception. I found many acquaintances there, and the ceremony was soon over, I walking past with Field-Marshal Moltke at the head of the Knights of the Black Eagle.

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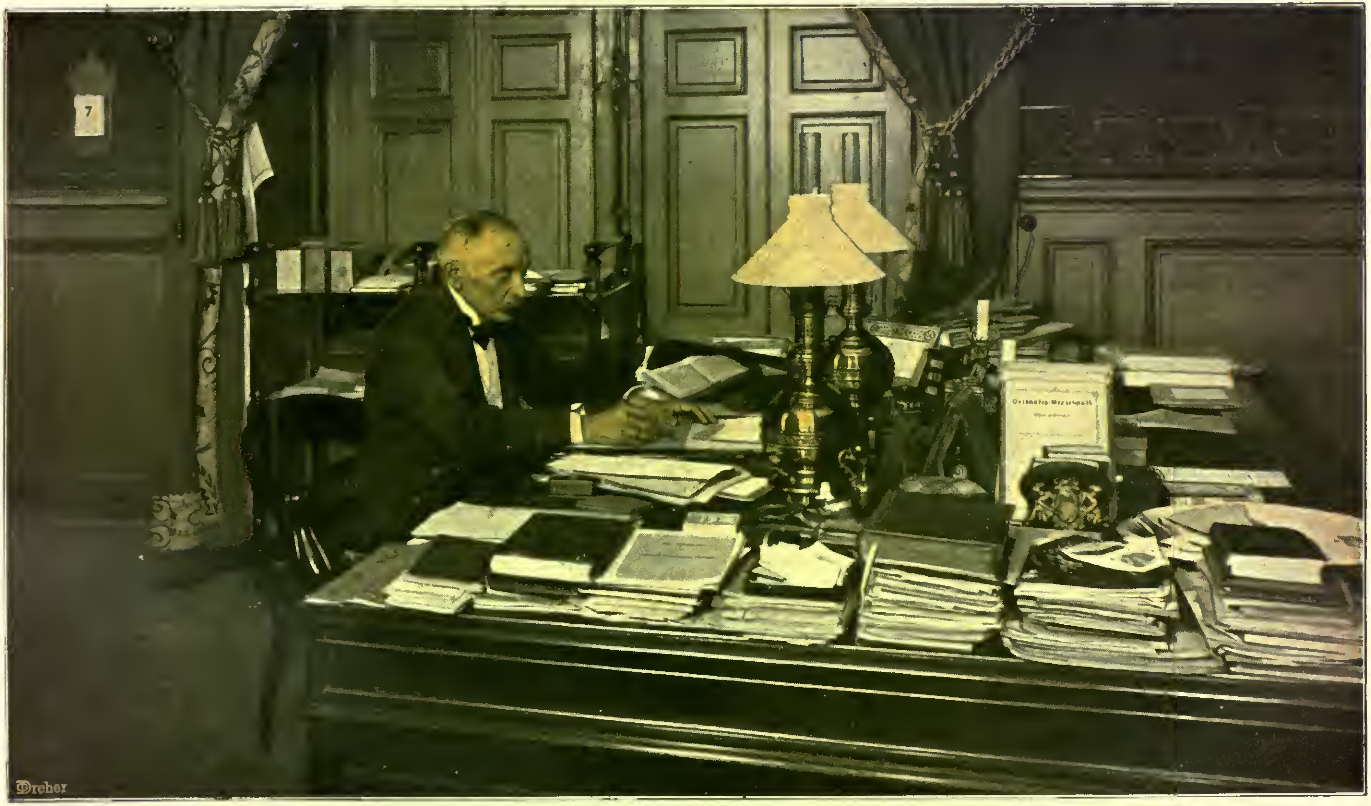
* The law was passed by the Reichstag upon a third reading on March 18, and was published on March 26.

BERLIN, *March* 24, 1888.

After waiting for a week I thought it advisable to report myself again to the Emperor through the *aide-de-camp*, and therefore sent Thaden to Charlottenburg. I immediately received a request to come at a quarter to one. When I reached Charlottenburg there was bright sunshine, and the Castle looked very inviting, notwithstanding the snow. The rooms within also gave a pleasant impression. I was taken up into the first story to a room which looks on to the park, and thence into the Emperor's study, where I found the Emperor with the Empress. He did not look unusually ill, only thin and somewhat yellow, and the eyes were rather prominent. But on closer observation one notices the suffering expression of the eyes. The Empress excused her presence through the necessity of supporting the Emperor in the conversation. The conversation first turned upon the Emperor's death and the general grief and sympathy manifested throughout all countries. I mentioned the numerous remedies that had been recommended, and the Empress said she had received an infinite number of prescriptions and quantities of water from Lourdes — "enough for us to have bathed in." She said she had sent all this to the monasteries. When the Empress remarked that I looked very well, I replied that this was due to hard work, which was an excellent thing for the health, and that I also thought that the Emperor would benefit by the amount of work he had, at which he nodded approvingly. The Empress regretted that the Emperor could not take the fresh air, to which I replied that the rooms were very lofty and cheerful, and that the weather would soon become milder. The Emperor then wrote some words of sympathy with the death of Peter, whom he had known since childhood. When the Emperor got up and went to the stove to cough the Empress asked me: "Don't you think he is looking pretty well?" I was able to reply in the



PRINCE HOHENLOHE

From a photograph of the Strassburg period

affirmative. Visitors were then announced, and when I took my leave and expressed my sincere wishes for his recovery the Emperor placed his hand on my shoulder and smiled sadly, so that I could hardly restrain my tears. He gave me the impression of a martyr; and, indeed, no martyrdom in the world is comparable with this slow death. Every one who comes near him is full of admiration for his courageous and quiet resignation to a fate which is inevitable, and which he fully realises. No doubt I saw him yesterday for the last time.

BERLIN, *March* 25, 1888.

This afternoon I waited upon the Crown Prince, with whom I remained for a considerable time. He asked how matters looked in Alsace-Lorraine, mentioned that the inhabitants had recently given proof of great loyalty, &c. We then went on to speak of the condition in the provinces and the possibility of a war. He then referred to the Imperial palace of Strassburg, confirmed his father's decision, and declared himself ready to present it as a museum, but he said it would be necessary for the province to grant a million and a half for the restoration of Saverne and of the castle in Strassburg. We then referred to Russia, and he praised the Emperor as a good and honourable man, but said that he was rushing upon the fate of Louis XVI.

STRASSBURG, *May* 8, 1888.

Since last spring, in consequence of the excitement produced by the result of the elections, we have introduced a number of more or less vexatious measures, which have aroused much ill-feeling. Prince Bismarck thereupon desired me to introduce the system of compulsory passports against France, which existing legislation allows me to do upon my own initiative. He informed me that our ambassador at Paris would not be allowed to *visa* any pass without previously asking permission, so that infinite delays would arise in consequence. There is no doubt that this measure would not only excite general surprise and excitement, but would also greatly embitter the local population. It seems that Berlin desires to introduce these irritating measures with the object of reducing the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine to despair and driving them to revolt, when it will be possible to say that the civil Government is useless and that martial law must be proclaimed. The power will then pass to the general-in-command, the Statthalter will be obliged to retire, the generals will then again pursue a pacific policy, and the Governor will be an object of ridicule for his failure. I am therefore resolved to refuse Bismarck's proposal, even at the risk of falling out with Bismarck and Bismarck junior. We shall see what will happen. The Under-Secretaries of State think that I shall be obliged to agree to Bismarck's wishes. This, however, is the last opportunity of coming honourably out of the business. If I yield now I cannot avert the final catastrophe of a military Government, and shall be unable to resign with honour.

To acting Privy Councillor von Wilmowski, Chief of the Civil Household.

STRASSBURG, *May* 10, 1888.

I have the honour to make the following communication to your Excellency.

In the course of last year the idea was mooted from time to time in Berlin that it was necessary to make passports obligatory on the French frontier in Alsace-Lorraine. The idea was, however, not pursued further, and I was already hoping that it had been given up when in February of this year the matter was again touched upon in a letter from Count Herbert Bismarck. I objected to this measure, and stated my reasons in detail, but received a communication, dated April 19, and signed by Prince Bismarck himself, in which Prince Bismarck maintained his view, pointing out the necessity of furthering the economical separation of Alsace-Lorraine from France by such checks on intercourse, and announcing his intention of directing the Imperial Embassy in Paris to *visa* the passports of those persons only whose admittance into Alsace-Lorraine should be agreed to by the authorities of the Imperial province. At the conclusion of his communication the Imperial Chancellor requested me to issue the necessary regulations for the introduction of such compulsory passports.

In my answer of yesterday's date I refused compliance, since I considered the regulations hitherto in force sufficient to render the entrance of Frenchmen difficult. It is known that no Frenchman may take up his stay here without being authorised by the authorities. These restrictions have already aroused great discontent. If to these were added regulations wasting time and money, public feeling would be embittered to such a degree that it would soon be necessary to declare a state of siege. In this way a consummation would be reached which to many military minds appears to be the most desirable solution of the problems of Alsace-Lorraine. But since I intend to remain at my post so long as I retain the confidence of his Majesty, I can hardly be expected to saw off the branch on which I am sitting. But, apart from my own feelings, the consequences of the introduction of such irritating passport regulations would be of so serious a nature for our relations with France that I have no desire to draw on myself in the eyes of the world the odium of having by my administration prepared the way for war. I beg your Excellency, if you should discuss the matter with his Majesty or the Crown Prince, to be kind enough to make plain my reasons for refusal.

To the same.

STRASSBURG, *May* 17, 1888.

In connection with my communication of the 10th inst., I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the Imperial Chancellor, in a further communication of the 14th inst., in which he lays stress on his responsibility for the external politics of the Empire, and refers to the concurrence of the greater and even the less interested States of the union, repeats his request that I should withdraw my opposition to the introduction of compulsory passports in Alsace-Lorraine.

In these circumstances, and since Prince Bismarck also foreshadows that, in case of necessity, the Federal Union would take the necessary action for safeguarding the Imperial frontier, in so far as the provincial administration might hesitate to take adequate measures in accordance with the laws affecting its sphere of action, I must withdraw my opposition to a measure the responsibility for which will not be mine, and intend to write in this sense to the Imperial Chancellor.

As I consider it advisable to come to some verbal agreement in Berlin as to the practical carrying out of the measure, and as I am obliged by private matters also to come to Berlin early next week, I request you, if possible, to obtain the consent of his Majesty the Emperor to my journey.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *May* 17, 1888.

The question of compulsory passports has given rise to various written explanations with the Chancellor. I asked Victor's opinion, and he informed me of Holstein's and Friedberg's advice to give in on the matter. But before I did this I went to Karlsruhe to discuss it with the Grand Duke. We agreed that after the last communication with Prince Bismarck of the 14th inst. there remained but the choice between resigning or giving in. The Grand Duke did not consider the occasion a suitable one for resigning. At the same time, he gave me some information about the seriousness of the situation. Matters seem to be in a very queer state in the world. A Franco-Russian intrigue has been set on foot, by which Spezzia was to be, or still is to be, seized by France. This would lead to war with Italy, and in the meanwhile we should be busied with Russia. This war between France and Italy would be extended so as to give back to the Pope a part of his temporal power. If it then came to a war of the French Republic intervening on behalf of the Pope, Austria would be unwilling to enter the field for Italy and against the Pope, and the German Catholics would also not take part in the war with enthusiasm. Russia counts on this, and France seems to agree with her. England is said to have ordered the Duke of Edinburgh to bombard Toulon in case France took Spezzia. On this the scheme seems to have gone to pieces. This news seems to have been brought to Berlin by Galimberti. As to the Battenberg affair, the Grand Duke stated that the crisis was a somewhat serious one. The Empress had said that in the end it would be no misfortune if Bismarck did retire. This was at once retailed to him, whereupon the newspaper war. Mallet reported to Queen Victoria at Florence that it was very disadvantageous for English interests that the Queen should appear to interest herself in the Battenberg match. It would be well, more particularly in view of her impending visit to Berlin, to prevent people from thinking she favoured the marriage. The English Ministry also concurred in this. Thereupon Queen Victoria wrote a severe letter to her daughter, the Empress; and during her stay also she expounded her views in an energetic fashion, which produced unhappy and tearful scenes. It seems that the Grand Duke acted the intermediary very prudently. The relations between Queen Victoria and the Imperial Chancellor have shaped very well. They were enchanted with each other.

BERLIN, *May* 24, 1888.

Yesterday at four o'clock I was commanded to the Empress Frederick. We spoke of the Emperor's illness, about which the Empress seems still to entertain some illusions. It is perhaps possible that the illness will be of long duration. The hopes for a speedy end have not yet been confirmed. The Empress mentioned that the Duchess of Galliera had interested herself on behalf of Rothan.* I replied to her that his return would be frustrated by the refusal of "the great man," as the Empress expressed it. That the Empress admitted.

BERLIN, *May* 25, 1888.

Yesterday I was at Charlottenburg at the marriage of Prince Henry. The festivities were short, but most brilliant. The Emperor came into the chapel to the ceremony. He looked very worn, and soon retired. He was not present at the breakfast. I sat between Pless and Goltz opposite to the Royal personages, and made reflections on the faces of the most exalted princes and princesses. After the breakfast there was no reception, but everybody went home.

To-day at half-past twelve I was commanded to the Emperor. I found him better than I had expected — pale and thin, indeed, but more interested and gayer than the last time. He wrote on a slip what was the importance of the passport in Alsace-Lorraine. I spoke at length with him on the matter, and he listened with attention. I reported to him the whole correspondence about it with the Imperial Chancellor. As I mentioned that in France they were very bitter against me, he asked the reason.

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* A French diplomatist who had been expelled from Alsace.

I instanced all the measures, and said that the refusal of shooting permits had particularly roused much bitterness. Then he asked me how my family was. I mentioned that I was soon to go to Vienna to a wedding.* He made signs of being interested, laying his hand on his heart. Then he dismissed me.

In the afternoon I was with the Crown Prince, who considered the measure for compulsory passports necessary, and shares the view of the military that Frenchmen must be roughly treated. I did not agree, but remarked that the French nation feared war. We then came to speak about Russian affairs, which he judged correctly. He does the Emperor of Russia full justice, but regrets that he should be so lazy and such a fanatic in religion. He said that Bismarck got on very well with the Emperor, but the latter had the mistrust of all less gifted men for greater individualities. He told me of the interview between Bismarck and the Emperor, and of the forged papers which had been made and read to him in order to keep him from coming to Berlin or Stettin. All was ready, the yacht with steam up in the harbour, when the Emperor had found the documents on his writing-table. That had annoyed him, and therefore the interview in Stettin did not take place. The Crown Prince believes that Mohrenheim, Catakazy, and Ignatiew had done the thing, and had sent to Copenhagen through the Grand Duke Alexis.

BERLIN, *May* 26, 1888.

I went this afternoon to Friedberg, who spoke to me further about passport matters. The Imperial Chancellor read my letter, which Friedberg designated as somewhat strong, at the Cabinet meeting, and expressed an opinion that it seemed as if I did not wish to remain any longer. He enumerated the reasons which supported his view and seem to have not exactly convinced but overawed his colleagues. Friedberg opined that it is not a good occasion for retirement, and that I did well to remain.

Thence I went to Bleichröder, who first spoke to me of Russian affairs, and declared that the Russian Minister of Finance was inclined to come to an agreement with the German Government, and would take care that the Ukase of March 1881 should be set aside.

Reverting to politics, Bleichröder said that he could no longer understand the Wilhelmstrasse. He did not see why France should be threatened, because they were very willing there to remain at peace with us. Neither did he see any reason for threatening Russia. Happily at the last moment Bismarck had inhibited the increase of duty on grain. By this ceaseless baiting the value of the rouble was lowered, and Russia placed so that it is to her advantage to send her exports to Germany.

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* Of the Prince's nephew, Prince Konrad, with Countess Schönborn, which took place on June 10, 1888.

If the rouble rose Russia would have no advantage in continuing her exports to Germany. Bleichröder maintains that Bismarck leaves his son too free a hand. He had grown too rich. From which followed that Bismarck at any price would remain in office, even under the Government of the present Crown Prince. Bismarck a few months ago had declared to the Crown Prince that he would devote his services to him also, but would not remain if the Crown Prince wanted war. Now, Bleichröder thinks he would remain even at the price of war. The present baitings are a concession to the future Emperor and his military advisers.

At Wilmowski's, whom I afterwards visited, I found the same fears and the same displeasure with regard to Herbert Bismarck, whom he too considers as a misfortune for the Empire. The Crown Prince, he said, is under the influence of Waldersee and Herbert Bismarck. Both were working for war, whereas Wilmowski is of the opinion that no war should be waged, for the simple reason that we are better prepared than our opponents. Under such conditions the enthusiasm of the nation for war would be lacking, and that was very serious.

Circumstances here displease me intensely. It is a pity that I couldn't retire now as a strong protest against all these goings on.

Princess Bismarck is seriously ill. The Prince comes back to-morrow morning.

BERLIN, *May* 30, 1888.

I went this afternoon to the Foreign Office, where I only found Lindau. At six o'clock dinner with the Imperial Chancellor, who was very amiable. After dinner we again talked about compulsory passports, and the Prince thought that the request of the Oriental Express Company should be granted.

I shall therefore receive a notification of consent. I therefore telegraphed to Studt that he might allow the examination to take place on the train. When I came to speak about the feeling in Alsace-Lorraine, and remarked that the people of Alsace-Lorraine began to think that they were paying too high a salary for the unpleasantnesses which I prepared for them the Prince laughed, and said that the Duke of Alva had also made much money in the Netherlands. As far as compulsory passports were concerned, he thought that it was only a means of showing the French that their outcry did not frighten us and we had nothing to fear from them. The talk then turned on Tisza and his speech,* which he praised highly. It was good that he had said that, for the Austrians were always afraid of opposing France. On the whole I found his attitude somewhat conciliatory.

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* On May 26 in the Hungarian Parliament. On the occasion of an interpellation on the non-participation in the Paris Exhibition Tisza had characterised the situation as serious, and said that no one could answer for it that the Hungarian colours would be becomingly treated in Paris.

The Imperial Chancellor had found the Emperor fairly well. He said that Bergmann had foretold that this improvement would take place in May, and last at most till August. Schweninger, who was dining with us, averred that the end would then be all the more painful. For it was to be feared that then the œsophagus would be attacked.

Emperor Frederick die
June 15

POTSDAM, *June* 22, 1888.

After I had been informed yesterday by telegraph that I should be received at twelve o'clock by the Emperor and Empress I drove hence at eleven o'clock, and was taken in a Court carriage to the Marble Palace. There I was received by a Court Marshal, von Liebenau, and taken to a drawing-room on the ground floor, where I waited. Soon the Emperor came, and invited me to come with him to an adjoining room. I found him unconstrained, well-disposed, and friendly.

I asked him first about the proclamation, and whether he would issue one to Alsace-Lorraine, remarking at once that I only considered it would be useful if at the same time milder measures could be promised. A proclamation must always contain some evidence of goodwill. If, then, no milder measures followed, the proclamation would be inconsistent with them, and had better not be made. I remarked that the Emperor had formed no opinion on the matter, and did not venture to express a view at variance with the Chancellor. After some hesitation he suggested that he had already issued a proclamation which the people of Alsace-Lorraine might apply to themselves, and, further, he would make a speech from the throne in which Alsace-Lorraine should be referred to. We therefore came to the decision not to make a proclamation for Alsace-Lorraine.

Then I said: "I have again to ask your Majesty for a favour — that your Majesty may act as your illustrious predecessors, particularly his Majesty the late Emperor William, and if anything in my administration displeases that you will at once inform me personally and directly." To which the Emperor heartily agreed. I then continued: "The post of Governor is —" Here the Emperor interrupted: "Somewhat unenviable." Whereupon I continued: "But is much envied, and there are many men striving after it who believe they could fill it better, and in whose way I stand. It lies in human nature to judge unfavourably the man who is standing in your way, and therefrom arise adverse criticisms, which are carried and reported to your Majesty." The Emperor listened attentively, and repeatedly promised to refer directly to me if anything to my disadvantage came to his hearing.

Then he said to me that the State Ministry had proposed Privy Councillor Lucanus as Minister of Public Worship in place of Wilmowski, and that he had accepted him. Wilmowski yesterday knew nothing about it.

Then he came to the palace question, and ordered me to make him definite proposals for the fitting up of the palace in Saverne and the existing library for the Emperor, and for making a museum out of the existing palace.

I then went to the Empress, who received me in a most friendly fashion, and spoke of the illness of the late Emperor. It seems that in the last days the smell was terrible, so that death was a blessing, even for the attendants. We spoke then of all sorts of things. The Empress said that her aunt Amalie was now in Paris, and wrote her indignant letters about the compulsory passports. She said, among other things: "If you, as you say, don't want war, why do you do such silly things?" Then it occurred to the Empress whom she was speaking to, and she became very red. I reassured her, however, and told her that I was quite of her aunt's opinion. In the course of the conversation I learnt that the Empress Augusta had expressed herself very favourably about me to the Emperor and Empress, and that I have to thank her, therefore, for this favourable change.

Having taken leave of the Imperial Family, I went to the Einsiedler, where I lunched, and then at three o'clock went to Schloss Friedrichskron.

There I was received by Seckendorff, and taken up to the first floor, where I found the Empress Victoria. She is very much cast down and shaken, and I am convinced that latterly and during the past year her brightness was assumed. For now I found her in deep grief. She could not speak at first for crying. At first we spoke of the last days of the Emperor; then she roused herself and spoke of the wickedness and meanness of men, hinting at certain personalities. People wanted to obscure the Emperor's memory, and said now that he had not really been capable of ruling and had done nothing, whereas he had strenuously toiled and formed independent conclusions. Herbert Bismarck had had the effrontery to say to the Prince of Wales that an Emperor who couldn't talk was not fit to reign. The Prince had said that had he not valued the good relations between England and Germany he would have thrown him out of the room.

About the elder Bismarck she said that he had now reigned for twenty years untrammelled, and couldn't bear to meet a will in a monarch. The young Emperor was quite in his hands. One couldn't yet know what he would do. The fall of Puttkamer was due to the Emperor, and was not occasioned by her. Bismarck himself wanted to be rid of Puttkamer, and had transferred the odium of his dismissal to the Kaiser, as he always knew how to throw the odium of everything he did on to others. When the talk turned to Waldersee she said he was a false, unscrupulous man, who would not mind ruining his country to satisfy his personal pride. The Emperor Frederick didn't trust him either, and considered him false. Finally she commanded me to thank Thesy and Amalie for their letters.

I then went to the Prince of Wales, who spoke very guardedly, but was exceedingly angered at the boorishness of the Bismarck family, father and son. He cannot comprehend compulsory passports and the system of irritating France. Then back again to Berlin with Reischach, who is to be Court Marshal of the Empress Victoria.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, *June* 27, 1888.

Yesterday evening at eight o'clock I left Berlin with Thaden, after having dined with Viktor and Franz at the Kaiserhof.

Various visits filled up the day. Friedberg I found somewhat cast down. He is no longer the great man to whom in the Emperor Frederick's time everybody paid court. He knows that the Emperor does not favour the Jews. Then I visited the new Cabinet Councillor Lucanus, a courtly, polished, and obliging man, who looks rather like an elegant Austrian Court councillor. Wilmowski poured forth more confidences to me. At five o'clock to Bleichröder. We spoke — or, rather, *he* spoke — first about the political question. He is content, and says that the Imperial Chancellor is so too. Only the Emperor must take care not to fall into the hands of the Orthodox party. That would not be borne in the country. (He is right there.) Another danger was Waldersee and his following. Waldersee was the opponent of Bismarck, and considered himself capable of and fitted for anything, who will guarantee however that these gentlemen will not begin the old game again and tell the Emperor, "You are really nothing but a puppet. Bismarck reigns." On the old man this had made no deep impression, but the young one would be more impressionable. Bismarck therefore wishes Waldersee's removal, and will even send him if he can to Strassburg as general in command. He is perhaps only using these measures to make my position untenable, and thereby to make an opponent harmless if I retired. Bleichröder says that he only introduced the compulsory passport to show the Emperor that he too could deal harshly with the French, and thereby outdo the military party. Bismarck thinks before everything of planting his son firmly in the saddle. To this end he constantly works and schemes. There is, therefore, no hope that our conditions in Alsace-Lorraine will become better.

As far as Russia is concerned, Bleichröder expects something exotic whereby Russia shall be won over — either the withdrawal of the troops or a meeting of Emperors. The Emperor, says Bismarck, will not begin a war. But if it comes it will not be unwelcome to him.

STRASSBURG, *July* 11, 1888.

Already some considerable time ago the project had been mooted by Schraut, and arrangements made for a visit to the reservoir in the Sewen Valley. This is an artificial lake formed by a huge embankment which stretches at right angles across the valley. The embankment is 255 metres long, and broad enough for a carriage to drive on it. In the middle there is a channel which serves to convey the water from the lake according to requirements into the Doller, the stream which flows down to Mülhausen. The construction cost 400,000 marks, and is very important for industry and agriculture. It was finished this year.

On Monday afternoon we started. Some of the party, Back and Studt, had already started; others, in particular the parish councillors, were to meet us on the following morning in Mülhausen. With me went, besides Jordan, Thaden, and Alexander, Puttkamer, Schraut, and some departmental secretaries.

We arrived at Mülhausen at seven o'clock. The reception was not enthusiastic, but polite and seemly. I drove with the Kreisdirektor (Sous-Préfet) and the Mayor to the Central Hotel, where we spent the night. At eight o'clock I gave a supper. Heuduck, who happened to have something to do in Mülhausen, and desired to accompany us to Sewen, was present; then the authorities, some parish councillors and officers — altogether twenty-five persons. There were to be no speeches. However, before supper Jordan brought me a speech which Theodor Schlumberger desired to make. I had therefore to reply, and used the opportunity to give a warning to Berlin and to calm the population here.*

The supper was excellent and "everybody in high spirits." The hotel is one of the best in the country.

In the morning came two civil bands to rejoice me with music,

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* The representative of the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Herr Theodor Schlumberger, made the following speech on this occasion:

"It is more than two years since your Highness honoured our town with your first friendly visit. We are therefore pleased again to have the opportunity of greeting your Highness in our midst, although only on a passing visit. We venture to hope that this proof of sympathy will be repeated, and will result in the much-desired alleviations.

"Mülhausen is solely a manufacturing town, a place of work and textile industry.

"Except among those who enjoy a temporary and scanty leisure, art, science, politics, and literature reckon fewer devotees. Tedium, even discomfort, attacks the unoccupied traveller soon after his arrival here. Few among us have either time or opportunity to exercise hospitality.

"He who would know and judge us will certainly go wrong unless he has lived with us for years, and with rare strength of will and self-restraint has freed himself from all prejudice and partisanship. From personal and varied experience I can say that conscious goodwill and friendly advances, time and patience, are likely to gain more from our people than harsh, however justifiable, proceedings.

"May your Highness deign to receive these remarks graciously and our words of welcome and wishes for a more frequent exchange of opinion.

"Long live the Imperial Statthalter, His Highness Prince Hohenlohe!"

To which the Prince replied:

"I thank Herr Schlumberger for his friendly greeting, to which I and then again a military band. I, of course, had to listen and to show myself on the balcony. Finally, after an hour and a half's endurance, I was free, and drove to the station. At nine o'clock the train which was to take us to Sewen started. The railway goes in a north-westerly direction *via* Lutterbach to Sennheim, then south *via* Aspach and Sentheim to Masmünster. At the larger places the train stopped, and I was received by pastors, mayors, school children, and so on, and had to listen to the customary addresses from these white-robed maidens, who assured me that they were happy to greet the honoured Governor, and who are wont to finish with the assurance of especial esteem. Whereupon the Governor shakes hands with the spokeswoman, and strokes the cheeks of her little companions who curtsey around her, and who generally have beautiful curly heads. In Masmünster, a town of four thousand inhabitants, the reception was more brilliant — fire brigade, officials, several parsons, and masses of school children. As the daughter of the notary was just about to begin her speech the fire brigade began to drum and trumpet, so that I had to beg her to wait. From Masmünster we drove through more villages, where there was everywhere a reception, to Sewen, a big village in the beautiful upland valley. The reception was here brought to confusion by the coachman not driving through the gate of honour, but round outside it. The address was therefore not made in the right place, which made the organising teacher so excited that he pushed everybody hither and thither, and did not see me at all. Finally order was restored, and then a lad in the name of the mayor of the parish read an

return my most heartfelt wishes for the prosperity of the town of Mülhausen.

"Herr Schlumberger in his speech has touched on politics. I think, therefore, it is my duty to say a few words in reply.

"When a nation captures and wins back a country, she desires to hold it. She therefore adopts every measure to assure her possession. These measures are all the harsher the stronger her neighbour's efforts to regain the lost territory. And so, step by step, we have come to compulsory passports, to which Herr Schlumberger has made reference. Passports will be no longer compulsory when they are no longer necessary to assure our possession. Other measures will follow in order, as a well-known paper recently said, to wean Alsace-Lorraine lastingly from France and bind it more closely to us.

"These measures, however, in order to attain this end, ought not to proceed from the sphere of the police, but from that of economic interests. The journey which we are making to-morrow in order to become acquainted with an important enterprise which will be useful to Upper Alsace serves as an example. Other works of this kind will follow. I am thinking of the Ludwigshafen Canal; and I would adduce further instances if I were not afraid of depriving the President of the Third Division of the Ministry of the pleasure of surprising the country with many a useful project in this domain. Those are lasting measures which we have taken, and which we shall set going to prove to the country that it will thrive under German dominion.

"In this spirit let us drink to the welfare of Alsace-Lorraine and to the success of the town of Mülhausen."

address, in which stress was laid on the fact that no Governor had been there since the thirteenth century — to wit, St. Louis of France, whom I now had the honour to follow. From Sewen you soon come to the reservoir. We got out at the foot of the hill and walked up. It is all very interesting, and the mountain landscape beautiful. Unfortunately the weather remained uncertain. From time to time small showers. When the weather had cleared somewhat Schlumberger made a speech, to which Schraut, in the name of the Government, replied. Then there was lunch in an arbour, and at three o'clock we drove back to Masmünster, where a great dinner had been ordered at four. I drank to the Empire, and Mieg-Köchlin to me, to which I returned thanks, saying: "Long live the Provincial Council and all participators in the work." At seven o'clock we left by rail for Mülhausen, where again we had "a glass of beer" at the railway buffet. My fellow-travellers for Mülhausen took their leave here, and we drove to Strassburg, where we arrived at half-past one in the morning.

On the whole I have reason to be pleased with the reception, which everywhere, in all the small towns and villages, was extremely hearty. The Catholic clergy especially evinced great friendliness.

Baden, *July* 15, 1888.

Came here from Strassburg yesterday noon. In the afternoon visit to the Grand Duke, who expressed his agreement with my Mülhausen speech. In the evening tea with the Empress, who was kindly as ever. To-day at five o'clock dinner with the Empress, with the Grand Ducal family. The Grand Duchess was absent. She is in bed, undergoing treatment for her eyes. In the evening on the promenade I spoke with Maxime Ducamp. He is grieved at the severe measures in Alsace-Lorraine, but knows that I am not to blame. He related all sorts of things — among others that at the time of the elections there had been talk in princely circles of making the Statthaltership hereditary, and appointing me hereditary Statthalter. That causes me to reflect. It is very probable that Bismarck's efforts to injure my position here are to be traced back to the envy which the Bismarck family felt at the fact that I might receive this hereditary post, seeing that Bismarck has not become hereditary Duke of Lauenburg. As a matter of fact, I have till now never understood why Bismarck, as soon as things were going well in Alsace-Lorraine and I had won the approval of the Emperor and the rest of the world, should always put a spoke in my wheel as he did in the case of the actions against the Patriotic Leagues, the insistence on expulsions, and, finally, the compulsory passports. All of these without motive if one does not accept the above explanation as possible. Maxime Ducamp asked me what measures were to follow now. I said I knew of nothing. But it is possible that some new storm is brewing in Berlin.

From a letter to PRINCESS ELISE.

BERLIN, *August* 3, 1888.

. . . The Emperor William gives me the impression of a wise, conscientious man. When I speak with him I am always reminded of Prince Albert. He resembles him in the voice, and has the same earnest manner, but at the same time delights in amusing things. If he develops like his grandfather we may be content.

Journal.

ST. PETERSBURGH, *August* 13, 1888.

Left Berlin on the 10th, after having seen the Emperor the day before. My audience was satisfactory. The Emperor received me first with his Court and aides-de-camp, and then we went to lunch. Afterwards the Emperor spoke some considerable time with me on the terrace. He described his stay at Peterhof,* and showed himself very pleased with his reception. He had at first been regarded with distrust, since it had been feared that he would bring to discussion unpleasant things of some kind, withdrawal of troops and the like. But when the Czar had convinced himself that the visit was to be a mere formal visit of politeness he had become daily more friendly and confidential, and the stay had been rendered thereby extremely pleasant. In reference to my own matters, he wished me every good thing, and said to me, "I will support you." Finally he commanded me to reiterate his thanks to the Czar for the friendly reception, and to tell him that he retained the happiest recollection of his stay. We got on quite well. They are nice people. At Wirballen I got a sleeping compartment. On the 11th, at eight o'clock, we were in St. Petersburg. To-day I was with Madame Maltzow in Tsarskoe, who told me all sorts of things about Court, particularly that they were charmed with the Emperor William — less so with the suite, which had been *raide.* When I told her that I had studied with the Empress's father, she considered that a very fortunate circumstance which I might profit by.

ST. PETERSBURG, *August* 16, 1888.

Yesterday I drove to the Minister of Finance, Wischnegradsky, who received me extremely kindly. I told him the object of my presence, and desired him to use his interest for our affairs. I hinted that in German financial circles our affairs were followed with a certain interest. He said that he had no influence in the matter, but would place himself at my disposal. As far as the Ukase is concerned, he surmised that I had in prospect an *heureuse combinaison* — namely, by allowing one of my sons to become a Russian. I replied that I could not enter into this scheme, since I must first ascertain whether anything were left of the inheritance. Whereupon he replied that that was not to be doubted, and we should surely obtain a good result.

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* July 19 to 24, 1888.

ST. PETERSBURG, *August* 21, 1888.

Schweinitz invited us to dinner on Saturday with Makower, where we are to meet no one. When we came in Giers was there, who had announced himself for dinner. He said that the Emperor regretted not to be able to receive us yet, but that we should be received on Wednesday or Friday. We then discussed the uniform. He opined that we ought to be in uniform with epaulettes, and have time to change in Peterhof. He was extremely friendly, yet I refrained from discussing business matters, since he has nothing to do with them.

I was also with the deputy of the Minister of the Interior. He recognises that it is not possible to sell in three years, and that an exception would have to be made. But he can do nothing without the Emperor. As I left he asked: "*Donc votre Altesse n'a pas d'ordres à donner au ministère avant d'avoir vu l'Empereur?*"

Monday, dinner at the Countess Kleinmichel's. The Court chamberlain of the Empress, Prince Galitzin, was there. During the meal Countess Kleinmichel spoke of Herbert Bismarck, whom she had often seen when he was here as Secretary of the Embassy. He was "brutal," and sought to make a parade of it. On his arrival he had said to the gentlemen of the staff that they must not be too polite to the Russians. Two Russian generals had heard this.

After dinner I went with Philipp Ernst by steamboat to the Zoological Gardens, where there was theatre and ballet. To-day we have been invited by the Grand Duchess Katharina to dine at Oranienbaum.

ST. PETERSBURG, *August* 13–25, 1888.

As M. de Giers had foreshadowed, we were yesterday (Friday) commanded to their Majesties. We drove in uniform at 10 A.M. to Peterhof, alighted at the palace, whence we were at once driven through the park to the cottage where the Emperor resides. It is a small, quite habitable country house, but unsatisfactory as an Imperial residence. Prince Galitzin, the Empress's Court chamberlain, received us to conduct us to the Empress. But as the Egyptian princes were there the Empress could not receive us at once, and we were first taken to the Emperor. I went in first alone to audience. Philipp Ernst waited in the anteroom. The way led between half-packed boxes to a little staircase, up which I came into the Emperor's dressing-room, and thence into his study. The Czar, a big man in a military overcoat, received me very kindly, and mentioned that he had already seen me in Paris; then reverted to my position in Strassburg, and asked me whether this was my first visit to St. Petersburg. I replied that I had been here some thirty years ago,* explained the occasion of that visit, and found therein an introduction to the object of my present visit and to the matter of the succession. The Czar went into the matter, and expressed his regret that the circumstances were so unfavourable. I added that we would spare no pains to put things in order, but we needed time. This the Emperor allowed. He closed the conversation, saying in friendly fashion: "*Nous tâcherons de vous aider dans ces difficultés.*" Thereupon I took my leave, and Philipp Ernst was admitted.

Then we went together to the Empress, who was just as friendly. I mentioned that I had studied in Bonn with her father, which gave her an opportunity for some remarks about her father, about whom she said that he kept his youth remarkably. Then she spoke of her journey to Gmunden, to which she looked forward with pleasure, and so on. I forgot to say that I carried out the commands of the Emperor William in relation to the Czar, whereupon he, as afterwards the Empress, expressed their pleasure at the Imperial visit, and remarked that he had found the Kaiser changed to much advantage.

BERLIN, *January* 21, 1889.

Yesterday was *Ordenfest*. At the dinner I sat opposite the Emperor, next to Moltke. The music was somewhat disturbing, but towards the end of the meal I managed to get a chance of speaking with the Field-Marshal. He talked of all sorts of things, among others about a stag-hunt which he had had in Fontainebleau in 1867 with the Emperor Napoleon. In it he once rode behind the Emperor, who lost his hat. The hat fell on a juniper bush, and remained suspended, so that Moltke was able to get it and return it to the Emperor. "So I was able," said he, "to give the Emperor back his hat. And three years later we took his crown."

When I was with the Kaiser to-day after lunch, and was smoking with him, I endeavoured to speak prudently about Alsace-Lorraine. He listened kindly, and evinced much interest in matters there. But when I spoke about the repressive measures he wrapped himself in silence, and was not to be drawn into the expression of an opinion. I saw that he was entirely under the influence of the Imperial Chancellor, and did not trust himself to express an opinion different from his. So I had to give up the attempt to clear the way for a change of opinion in these quarters.

BERLIN, *January* 23, 1889.

To-day at half-past five with Viktor to dinner with the Empress Augusta. The Empress as well as the Grand Duchess asked me whether I had spoken with the Emperor about Alsace-Lorraine, and acted on the lines suggested by them. I said to them that I had not considered it opportune to make any definite proposals because I had noticed that the Emperor was entirely under the influence of the Imperial Chancellor, and discussed no decisions that diverged from his. I consoled the Royal ladies about the future. At table the Grand Duchess complained of the difficult time which she on account of the Geffcken * affair had had to live through. Among the guests was also Minister Bötticher, who spoke very sensibly about Alsace-Lorraine, and expressed himself decidedly against petty police vexations. As the Grand Duchess stated, he blamed the publications.† There is really no one whom she does not blame. After dinner I spoke with the Grand Duke and Miquel about the canal. The former again reverted to the project of canalisation of the Rhine, which he considered possible, in accordance with Honsell's report.

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* Vol. i. p. 69.

At eight o'clock I was again invited to supper with the reigning Majesties. I was introduced into the inner rooms, and left them with the Emperor and Empress. At supper I sat between the Empress and Countess Keller. After supper the Empress retired with the ladies to another *salon*. We remained standing, and there ensued a conversation of an hour's duration between the Emperor, his former teacher, Hinzpeter, and myself. We first discussed the Gymnasium system, concerning which the Emperor expressed himself against the excessive demands on these institutions, while we defended them, making plain to him that only great demands could prevent a rush to them and check a learned proletariat. We then came to the question of the cathedral. The Emperor had plans and drawings fetched, and explained them to us. According to them, the cathedral will be magnificent and correct. I then introduced the alterations in the Linden, in which I was supported by Hinzpeter; then the Imperial palace in Strassburg, and notable things in Alsace-Lorraine, in which country the Emperor evinced great interest. He said it was a beautiful country, and he could understand that the French had been very sorry to lose it. Speaking of France, the Emperor opined that Boulanger would certainly succeed. He already saw the time when Boulanger as Emperor Ernest should pay a state visit to Berlin. Then he would attach Radziwill and Lehndorff to him. In the whole conversation, which never flagged, I was pleased with the fresh, lively manner of the Emperor, and was forcibly reminded of his grandfather, Prince Albert.

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* Professor Geffcken, placed under arrest for his publications from the diary of the Emperor Frederick, was on January 4 discharged by decision of the Imperial Court of Justice.

† Article of the *Kölnische Zeitung* of December 16, 1888, against Sir Robert Morier, British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, and the publications of London newspapers in reference thereto about correspondence between Morier and Herbert Bismarck.

BERLIN, *January* 25, 1889.

I was yesterday with Lindau and Holstein. As I was going back the Imperial Chancellor met me, and invited me to go home with him. We talked there for half an hour. He began at once about Geffcken, and asked whether it wouldn't be possible to institute disciplinary measures against him in Strassburg. I replied that it was not possible, as the University was not subject to civil law. He was of opinion that the law did not protect the recalcitrant professor either, which pointed to the fact that we should apply French civil law, by which professors could be *pure* dismissed. I replied that I would discuss the matter with Puttkamer. (But the latter thinks, as he said to me to-day, that then the University might as well be closed, as the professors would not stay if they were placed outside the law.) The Imperial Chancellor then launched out into lengthy references to the Geffcken affair, considered that the matter ought not to be allowed to rest, and mentioned various incidents to prove that the Emperor Frederick was by no means the liberal man that the Progressive party wanted to make him out. This legend was dangerous for the whole dynasty, and must be destroyed. He (Bismarck) has evidently got his teeth into the matter and won't let go. I was forcibly reminded of an article, "Le Mort," in the *Figaro*. He gave me the impression of a man not quite sound mentally. Irritation is increasing in all classes, and Prince Bismarck is harming himself more than the dead Emperor. The Grand Duke of Baden, who paid me a visit to-day, told me that the Emperor wished to prevent the publication of the statement that Geffcken had made the appeal to the Emperor Frederick. But it was already too late. The Grand Duke further opined that it was not unlikely that the Emperor would part with Bismarck if he noticed that all was not told him. For the present the Emperor wants to avoid all unpleasantness, since he needs Prince Bismarck for the passing of the Army Bill.

At the Foreign Office, and in the National Liberal Party, there is a feeling of depression.

Speech at the Presidential dinner of the National Representative Council (*Landesausschuss*) *on February* 28, 1889.

Permit me, gentlemen, to reply to the toasts of your President. I thank him most heartily for the friendly words with which he alludes to myself. From his toast to the health of the Emperor I deduce the pleasant certainty that we feel ourselves at one in fidelity to Emperor and Empire, as we are one in solicitude and toil for the welfare of the country. You have, gentlemen of the Representative Council, again undertaken this work with your accustomed loyalty and devotion, and with that practical sense which is the characteristic attribute of the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. You have the advantage of not being disturbed by party strivings and of making your decisions on positive grounds. And if I lay stress on this it is because I am of opinion that your deliberations are of greater import than your modesty may assume. As a matter of fact, the whole of Germany forms its judgment on the condition of this country from the deliberations of your Council, and it is important that they should take a normal course, since it removes many a prejudice which may still exist on the other side of the Rhine. The course of your debates hitherto justifies me in hoping that this result will not be wanting. I hope, then, that this country is advancing towards a happy future, and that its inhabitants will recognise more and more that it is an advantage to belong to a nation whose development is on a rising plane, to a nation to which the future belongs. I drink to the representatives of the country and their worthy President.

Speech at the dinner of the Council in honour of its Presidents, March 14, 1889.

Gentlemen, — The greeting of the First Vice-President, Baron Zorn von Bulach, places me under an obligation of most sincere thanks which I herewith express to him and to you who concurred in his words. The speech of Baron von Bulach gives me the pleasant assurance that the few words which I recently addressed to the members of this Council have fallen on good ground and have found a friendly echo. But it implies still more; it gives me the assurance that my efforts to remove the difficulties which still hinder the normal development of our country may rely on the loyal co-operation of the majority of the Representative Council. That is much; that is of great import; for in the harmonious concurrence of Government and popular representation lies the earnest of the well-being of a State. And even though differences of opinion now and again appear to intervene and disturb us, we are yet at one in essential matters. So I believe, then, that I may look forward with confidence to the future. And if to-day I raise my glass to the Landesausschuss, so I may say without illusion: "I drink to the welfare of true friends in the Imperial Province. Long live the Landesausschuss and its Presidents!"

The Empress Augusta *to* Prince Hohenlohe.

Berlin, *March* 16, 1889.

Dear Prince, — You have given me the privilege of accompanying your difficult but honourable task with my best wishes, and of criticising your public utterances. This permits me to express my warmest approval of your last two speeches, which must really have produced a great impression, and which have rejoiced me in every respect. God's blessing on your work.

Yours,

Augusta.

To the EMPRESS AUGUSTA.

STRASSBURG, *March* 18, 1889.

May your Imperial and Royal Majesty graciously permit me to express my most devoted thanks for the exceedingly gracious notice which your Majesty has taken of the words which I have recently spoken. The more fully I realise the duty laid on me the more rarely am I satisfied with my performances, and only the encouraging words of your Majesty can give me the assurance that I have done rightly. I know, too, that were the contrary true your Majesty would not withhold from me a word of warning.

May your Majesty be assured that I will further strive to show myself worthy of your Majesty's good wishes.

The EMPEROR *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

I have learnt with deep interest that on the 31st of this month you complete your seventieth year. It affords me the pleasure of expressing to you my sincerest good wishes for this anniversary, and at the same time my thankful recognition of the estimable services which you have rendered to Emperor and Empire in your former offices, as well as since autumn, 1885, at the head of the Imperial Province. To this I add the wish that you may long fill your high post with full vigour, bodily and mental.

To PRINCESS ELISE.

DONAUESCHINGEN, *April* 16, 1889.

We have escaped for two days from the restless life in Strassburg to take a rest here at Fürstenberg's — I especially in order to work off my arrears of letters, which I could not succeed in doing there. . . .

I return to what I said to you in Schillingsfürst, that with you belief is synonymous with conviction. With Catholics it is the acceptation of what the Church prescribes. The Catholic believes, as I do when I take a homœopathic medicine. I gulp my aconite, although I am convinced that it is of no use. So the Catholic swallows dogma and does not cudgel his brains about the fact that it is incomprehensible to him. And the Jesuits go so far as to set up more and more stupid doctrines, even considered as such by themselves, because they believe it wholesome for mankind to be in subjection to what is most stupid. To this refers the dictum of St Augustine: "In things doubtful freedom, in things necessary unity, in all charity." The necessary I don't recognise in dogma. According to my conviction, it is not good or necessary to build one's life and salvation on a dogmatic basis. I mean that the ever necessary fight against sin within and without can be waged even without the faith of the sixteenth century. Man can even without this faith attain to the condition of voluntary abnegation, resignation, and true tranquillity, and conquer the violence of desire wherein lies the germ of all evil by the submission of the will. So is it, then, as the mystics point out. "He in whom the resignation of the will has come to pass, however poor, joyless, and bereaved his external condition may be, is full of inward joy and true heavenly peace." Not the restless rush of life nor the exultant joy, with its previous or subsequent condition of bitter sorrow, such as make up the course of life-loving man to be, but an unshakeable peace, a deep repose, an inward serenity, is the state on which we, when it is brought before our eyes or imagination, cannot look without the greatest longing, while we at once recognise it as the only right one, and the one surpassing all others to which our better spirit calls the great *sapere aude.* We feel then indeed that every fulfilment of our wishes wrung from the world is but like an alms which keeps a beggar alive to-day only to let him starve on the morrow, but that resignation is like inherited property — it keeps the possessor from care for ever.

If, then, in that pure contemplation which frees us from the furious pressure of the will and allows us to emerge from the heavy terrestrial ether lies the true blessedness which man can enjoy, I ask whether in the direction of the longing for a renewing of the earth, for the contemplation of the Son of God, and the resurrection of the body, etc., that you follow, there does not also lie a disturbing restlessness of the will destroying quiet contemplation and resignation. I wish also to overcome the world; and when St. John says, "Our faith is the victory which overcomes the world," it is not the belief in dogma, but the recognition of the nothingness of the world and the destructiveness of sin which the Evangelist implied.

We come, therefore, to the same result. And if you say, "Those who sow in tears shall reap with joy," I answer yes, those who have felt the sorrow of the world and the sinfulness of the will are capable of attaining by resignation to the condition of pure contemplation.

Toasts proposed at the excursion of the National Council to Metz, May 9, 1889.*

To the Emperor.

Gentlemen, — this is the first time since the accession of the Emperor now reigning that I have the honour to propose a toast of homage to the Emperor in this town. I do not do so without a feeling of deep grief, for the circumstances of last year are too near, before us stand too plainly the figures of the two noble monarchs whom I had the honour to serve with loyalty and devotion, and the memory of that day still lives within me when by the side of the late Emperor Frederick it was my duty to enter this gaily decorated town. But grief for the departed, however justified it may be, must not cloud our eyes to the future. Our present Emperor is the worthy follower of exalted forebears, devoted and courageous, a true son of the Hohenzollern race. And of him I may well say with the poet:

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* To view the cathedral works.

> How self-possessed and firm and ripe in soul
> Thou tread'st the slippery threshold of the throne!
> Yea lighter rises now thy head, more free
> Even since the golden burden on it fell.

And these are no flattering words. They are a judgment formed on calm observation. And this justifies me in the firm hope that the Empire, under the rule of our Emperor, with God's help, may advance towards a happy future.

To the Town of Metz.

Gentlemen, — Allow me in the name of the Strassburg guests to express our heartfelt thanks to the Mayor for his kindly welcome and to the Town Council for its amiable hospitality. And since we are here for an architectural and not for a political object, I may introduce a toast to the town of Metz with a recollection taken from the history of the art of this town. As I have read in a memoir dealing with the history of this town, there was still standing at the beginning of the last century a beautifully carved crucifix and a bridge leading thereto. Cross and bridge were constructed by a pious noble of this town, the Seigneur de Louve, and both bore their founder's name. They were called "*La croix de Louve*" and "*Le pont de Louve.*" On this monument the founder had had an inscription made, in which he prayed God to take the town of Metz into his protection, to keep her in union and peace, and to protect her from all her enemies. When Marshal Belleisle in the first half of last century increased the fortifications, bridge and crucifix were destroyed, and the inscription disappeared also. But the pious words still live in the hearts of all true citizens of Metz, and in the hearts of those who wish Metz well. Among these all we who are here to-day count ourselves — we all wish success to the celebrated old town. Therefore we are all at one with the words of that inscription: "*Que Dieu veuille conserver la cité de Metz en bonne paix et concorde et union et la garder de ses adversaires,*" and herewith I lift my glass and invite you to drink to the town of Metz.

To PRINCESS ELISE.

GRABOWO, *May* 19, 1889.

. . . Your letter rejoiced me by the warmth of feeling which imprints something winning on your entire Christian view of life and makes the condition in which you are appear something to be envied. But I should like at once to remark that the struggle with the will, according to me, ought not to be the irresolution of apathy. I prize action and the energy of the will, and deny the will only so far as it is identical with the world and has to be fought with it if we are to arrive at true enlightenment, or, as we say, at "union with God." The reef on which all religious-philosophic speculations make shipwreck is the idea of God. I only come to the recognition of all that you lay down when I come to an understanding of the source from which all is derived, and this is a postulate of reason about which I cudgel my brains, as all the philosophers of the world have done.

Journal.

Baden, *June* 24, 1889.

Yesterday afternoon I arrived here with Alexander and Thaden. We had been invited to dine with the Empress Augusta. At the station a servant was awaiting me; who commanded me to the Grand Duke at three o'clock and to the Empress at half-past four. I drove, therefore, at once to the Castle. The Grand Duke was troubled at the political situation and angered at the intention of Bismarck to close the frontier against the Canton of Aargau.* If they wanted to do that, an Imperial rescript should be issued, and then Baden would acquiesce. He would not act on his own initiative. He particularly blamed the fact that the matter had been carried so far in Berlin. Switzerland had made proposals which might have been accepted — appointment of a public prosecutor for the Confederation, reorganisation of the police, &c. In Berlin they insisted on the withdrawal of Wohlgemuth's expulsion and on an apology. Even Herbert Bismarck said he could no longer understand his father, and many people were beginning to think that he was no longer quite sane. The Grand Duke considers the Swiss affair as very serious from a military point of view. All our war plans are drawn up on the basis of the friendly neutrality of Switzerland. A dispute with Switzerland, which might end by throwing her into the arms of France, would lay bare our left flank. The whole campaign of Bismarck had deeply wounded Switzerland, and aroused great mistrust of Bismarck, which could not now be removed. The Emperor alone could only restore confidence by intervening and stopping the strife. Might that not lead to Bismarck's retirement? That seemed to the Grand Duke very serious, but yet no conclusive ground for following Bismarck in this matter. He would talk to the Emperor in this sense in Sigmaringen. What seemed very serious to the Grand Duke was the opinion expressed by Bismarck whether it would not be better to allow Austria alone to attack Russia, and, indeed, of her own action, so that no *casus fœderis* should be given, and Germany could stand aside. I reminded him that Bismarck has always rejected this policy, but the Grand Duke opined that Bismarck allowed himself now only to be lead by egotistical motives, and would have no more war. For that reason he was making all kinds of advances to the Russians, and was launching all kinds of articles against Austria, and was perplexing men's minds. It is possible that it will soon come to a collision between the Emperor and the Chancellor. That would be a bad business after all.

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* In consequence of the differences with Switzerland after the arrest of Police Commissioner Wohlgemuth in Rheinfelden on April 21.

STRASSBURG, *June* 25, 1889.

Yesterday the military *attaché* in Paris — Herr von Huene — passed through and paid me a visit. He said that the French army was superior to ours for the moment; that the armament and the powder were very good, and that the infantry was well up to its work. Freycinet * was generally recognised by the army as the best War Minister they had had for a long time. Consequently the French superior officers were eager for war, and reckoned on success. We, on the other hand, required, according to Huene, at least half a year to be ready with our preparations, and that our infantry was not nearly well enough drilled into the new regulations. He had also said this to the Emperor. It was consequently necessary to keep ourselves well in hand. He regretted the conflict with Switzerland, like all military men. The compulsory passports too, were of no use, and only did harm by the exasperation they provoked in the country. I told him to tell that to Waldersee, whom he was now to visit. If Waldersee spoke against the passports Bismarck would give way. He was certain that war was not to be avoided. But he shared my view that we could only wage it with safety if the entire German nation entered on the war with animosity. The civil administration in France was for peace, but when once the Exhibition was over war would break out. The constant nagging on our part exasperated the French against us. Not the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, but wounded national pride was driving the French into war.

July 8.

Yesterday I met Maxime Ducamp in Baden. He asked for a *visa* of the passport of the former police prefect Pietri, to which I consented. Then he told me all sorts of things about the Commune, and reverted to Boulanger, whom he declared to be gaining ground, however much he was despised. Prince Napoleon, whom Maxime Ducamp had recently visited in Prangins, had said to him that Boulanger was *le bélier* to overthrow the Republic

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* Minister of War in the Floquet Ministry, April 3, 1888, also in the Tirard Ministry, February 21, 1889.

et puis après on verra. Maxime Ducamp had replied that if he succeeded he would drive out the pretenders and remain himself.

Prince Napoleon had said, among other things, that France must now cross out Alsace-Lorraine.

STRASSBURG, *August* 24, 1889.

I left Metz yesterday evening after twelve o'clock.* At the station the Grand Duke proposed that I should travel with him, and I accepted. He had many things to tell me. At first he reverted to what has been mentioned before, that Prince Bismarck actually wished, or till recently had wished, to break off the alliance with Austria, to unite with Russia, and leave Austria to her fate. But since he had seen that Russia accepted everything, did nothing, and remained as unfriendly as before, he had again altered his policy, was once more showing himself friendly to Austria, and now looked on the war which he had formerly wished to avoid at any price as unavoidable. These vacillations of the Chancellor had puzzled the Emperor, but had increased his own self-assertion. Besides, the Emperor was beginning to notice that every now and then things were kept from him, and was becoming mistrustful. There had already been a collision between the Emperor and the Chancellor, and the Grand Duke thought that one must be prepared for the eventuality of the Chancellor's dismissal. But what then? The Emperor probably thought himself able to conduct foreign politics; but that was very dangerous.

In reference to the shooting permits, the Grand Duke is of the opinion that the small concession of granting permits to resident Frenchmen might well be made. He at first wanted to telegraph to Friedrichsruh and obtain the view of the Imperial Chancellor. But then Lucanus feared one would say that the Emperor had urged this concession, and that it had been pressed on him. I had to recognise this and let the matter rest, but I gave Lucanus a short memorandum so that he might bring the matter up before the Imperial Chancellor. About our Russian affairs the Emperor was reserved. Waldersee, to whom I declared that we must sell the property, said that we must not hurry. In two years much might happen. It seemed to me as if he meant to hint at a future war with Russia.

STRASSBURG, *October* 26, 1889.

Yesterday I went to Baden, whither I had been invited to lunch with the Empress. I found her better than formerly, her voice clearer and more intelligible. She said many flattering things to me, and opined that my position in general was "growing." About politics she expressed herself, as ever, very guardedly. She disapproved, however, of the much too frequent journeyings of the Emperor, and considered the visit to Athens (which, as I heard from Princess Betsy, ruined the Greek Court) superfluous.

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* For the laying of the foundation-stone of the monument of Emperor William I., at which the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Baden were present.

After the audience I went into the *salon*, and there met Frau Von Knesebeck, the ladies-in-waiting, some guests, and Fürstenstein, with whom I lunched. After luncheon the Empress again had herself wheeled into the *salon*, spoke again for a short time with me, and dismissed me then so that I might arrive in good time for dinner at the Castle. I got up there by seven o'clock, and found all the royal guests with the exception of the Crown Princess of Sweden, who was unwell. After dinner I had a somewhat lengthy conversation with the Grand Duke, who complained of Bismarck. The latter was much incensed with the Grand Duke because he had given the Emperor the opportunity of expressing himself favourably about Switzerland, and on account of other matters. The Grand Duke then said, "The Emperor is a prince up to here," and then he drew a line, not at the neck, as is generally done at this saying, but at the eyes. Herbert was also opposed to him. I observed, "Yes, but he took him to Athens;" whereupon the Grand Duke said, "Yes, since he is there." The Emperor would, so long as he still needed him for the passing of the Military Bill, not quarrel with him. But later he would get rid of him.

BERLIN, *December* 12, 1889.

Yesterday there was a musical evening in the Muschelsaal. At the buffet I congratulated the Emperor on his Frankfurt speech.* That pleased him, and he spoke for a long time with me — first about his extemporary speech, then about Frankfurt and its great development under Miquel's guidance, of all the improvements he was making, of the use of water-power for electric undertakings, and the advantage this brought to the small trades, &c. Then he animadverted on the magistracy and Town Councillors of Berlin. He mentioned the Social Democratic elections to the Town Council, and said it would go on in Berlin till the Social Democrats had a majority. Then they would plunder the burgesses. This was a matter of indifference to him. He would have loopholes made in the Palace, and look on at the plundering. And then the citizens would beg him to help them.

He next spoke about the monument to the Emperor. He rejected the mausoleum of Hildebrand. It cost too much. One could not apply more than twelve million marks, and that would cost 120 millions, because of the value of the site. Further, he thought that it was not suitable for the North nor for the population. "Just imagine the people who would go there! Any little tradesman or peasant would go up the steps and through an opening to stare at the monument!" The Empress Augusta was also for a simple equestrian statue. Then he said: "My father might have been put in such a mausoleum, and surrounded with various things; he was for show. But my grandfather is not suitable for that."

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* Of December 12 to Oberbürgermeister Miquel and the town of Frankfurt.

Afterwards we had a pleasant discussion about the Statthalter's uniform *à propos* of Hobe Pacha's uniform. I concluded by saying that I would be most satisfied with my present costume. We also talked about grouse-shooting in the Vosges. I wanted to refuse, but saw that the Emperor laid stress on it, and consented.

Friedrichsruh, *December* 14, 1889.

I left Berlin at eight o'clock this morning, and arrived here at one. The Prince met me at the station, and drove with me to the Castle. I thanked him for having allowed me to visit him, since I had wished, before coming to a conclusion, to speak to him about Russian affairs. In the meantime we had arrived, and went to the Princess, and then with her to lunch. Here I disposed of some Alsace-Lorraine questions. Then Count Bernstorff came in and stayed for an hour, after which the Prince took me into his room, and afterwards invited me to go for a drive with him. This took place, and we drove through the forest.

When I mentioned the possibility of a war he said: "I see no probability of our soon having war, and if we should have one it is still very doubtful whether at the end we should be in a position at the making of the peace conditions to oblige Russia to alter the principles of her internal administration." We might have war with Russia and France at the same time, and then have to endeavour, if we had obtained some advantages, to come rapidly to an agreement with Russia. But if it came to pass that we obtained such a victory over Russia as should bring about a reconstitution of the kingdom of Poland, we should still have a possibility of having ourselves recompensed *in integrum* and of making the present forced sales retrospective. But that was all in the far-distant future. I then mentioned the remark of Waldersee that we should not hurry — one could never know what might happen in two years; to which Bismarck replied that Waldersee was a muddle-headed politician on whom no reliance was to be placed. He wanted war because he felt that he would be too old if peace lasted longer. His remark was of no importance. It was particularly stupid to believe that Waldersee could become Imperial Chancellor. Even as Chief of Staff he was unsatisfactory, and Moltke had only preferred him to Caprivi and Häseler because he could do what he wanted with him. That was a bad turn which old Moltke had done the Army. He considers Verdy as a good strategist. Between Verdy and Waldersee there existed a mutual understanding; Verdy worked, and Waldersee supported him with the Emperor. Then he complained about Verdy that he was no jurist, and made impossible proposals in the Federal Council.

BERLIN, *December* 15, 1889.

Early yesterday Bismarck sent me a despatch from Schweinitz from which it appears that the Russian Government is proceeding very slowly with the completion of its new armament and will not be ready for three years. The extension of railways will be delayed, so that Bismarck concludes that the Russians can begin no war for five years. "As far as we are concerned," said Bismarck, as he came to my breakfast table, "we shall begin no war either with Russia or with France." At any rate, the war would break out with both countries at once, and then it were doubtful whether we should be victorious enough to be able to dictate terms to Russia in our affair. So long as the Emperor lived it would not be otherwise. We should not be forced to begin to fight till the existence of the Austrian monarchy were endangered. Bismarck has advised the Emperor of Austria to keep quiet, even if, as was probable, Russia should seize and fortify the entrance to the Dardanelles. Then England, and perhaps France, would consider their interests injured and threatened, and then Austria would have natural allies.

Bismarck afterwards came to the Alsace-Lorraine passport question, and maintained that compulsory passports had already had good effect. He intended thereby to keep the Parisians far away and to restrict the connection with Paris. My objection that the people of Alsace-Lorraine went to Paris did not convince him. The shooting-permit question I could not make plain to him, in spite of all endeavours. He said, "They are still Frenchmen," and to them he would make no concessions in Alsace-Lorraine. I said that the officials in Alsace-Lorraine were of the opinion that he thought that the people of Alsace-Lorraine must be cuffed. This he smilingly controverted, and repeated that he only wished to see the connection with France severed. I insisted no further, because I saw that it would be of no avail. It interested him when I told him that there were Alsatians who would gladly see the right of voting for the Reichstag withdrawn. That, he opined, might well happen. We should also have to withdraw the franchise from the Social Democrats, because these enemies could not be allowed to join in their deliberations. With the opinion expressed by me that the protestors who openly made protest their electioneering programme should not be tolerated he declared himself agreed, and considered their removal as decided on.

Remarkable to me was the deep aversion which he has for the Emperor Frederick. He declared him an egotistical, cold man, and said he had no heart. Certain incidents which he mentioned were, at all events, strange.

Berlin, *March* 21, 1890.

I arrived here at half-past seven, and at nine o'clock went to Victor's, where I found the special editions of the papers, in which the communication of the Emperor to Bismarck* and his nomination as Duke of Lauenburg were printed. I learnt here, and later from others also, that a regular breech between the Emperor and Bismarck was the reason for resignation. The way in which Bismarck treated the Emperor, the adverse criticisms to which he gave vent in conversation with diplomatists, and, moreover, the unfriendly way in which their mutual intercourse was carried on, rendered the breach unavoidable. But since the Emperor had already been treating for weeks with Caprivi about his possible nomination as Imperial Chancellor, and since Bismarck had learnt this, things could not continue so any longer. Here opinion is divided. Some consider the Emperor in the right, others Bismarck. The Princess is said also not to have worked for reconciliation, but to have widened the breach, and it is believed that Herbert † too will not remain. It is said, also, that Bismarck latterly often changed his views, and had thereby aroused mistrust in the Emperor. To which were added little things which irritated Bismarck, such as the bestowal of the Order of the Black Eagle on Vötticher, interview of Ministers with the Emperor without the knowledge of the Imperial Chancellor, and the like. To-night there is a dinner, at which I shall see the Emperor.

Berlin, *March* 22, 1890.

Yesterday afternoon I paid several visits, but have not yet spoken to Bismarck. I shall probably see him to-day. The family, and particularly the Princess, are said to be very much vexed.

At seven o'clock dinner in the White Hall. I sat opposite the Empress, and between Moltke and Kameke. The former would have been very talkative, but was disturbed by the continual music, and was much annoyed thereat. Two military bands were placed opposite one another, and when one stopped the other began to blare. It was scarcely bearable. The Emperor made a speech in honour of the Queen of England and the Prince of Wales,‡ and mentioned his nomination as a British admiral (he was wearing the uniform) and the comradeship in arms in the battle of Waterloo, and expressed the hope that the English fleet, together with the German army, would maintain peace. Moltke then said to me: "Goethe says, '*A political song is a nasty song!*'" He also expressed the hope that this speech would not appear in the papers.

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* The communication of March 20, in which his resignation was accepted.

† Received his dismissal on March 26.

‡ Prince George, son of the Prince of Wales, had been invested as Knight of the Order of the Black Eagle. The Prince of Wales was present.

Caprivi was here just now. He asked me whom he should appoint Minister of Foreign Affairs. I told him I knew of nobody but Hatzfeld. He agreed with me in this, but he, like myself, found an obstacle in Hatzfeld's financial circumstances. In the course of the conversation he asked me about the compulsory passports. I spoke my mind openly: "No removal of compulsory passports, but sensible treatment and withdrawal of the regulation as to shooting permits." He was convinced, but he thought it would be well to wait a few months, so that it should not be thought that everything was to be changed and subverted. On the whole we got on very well, and I rejoiced that he had been appointed Imperial Chancellor.

BERLIN, *March* 24, 1890.

Yesterday was again a tiring day. Went at eleven o'clock with Amélie * to the Palace, since Victor was unwell and could not go to the commemoration of the Order. The service in the chapel was, as ever, very impressive; Kögel's address very short. At half-past one dinner, at which I sat between Stosch and Kameke. The former told me much about his quarrel with Bismarck, and was as chirpy as a wren that he could now speak openly and that the great man was now no longer to be feared. This comfortable feeling is universal here. Here again it is true that the meek inherit the earth. If only now they will go on prudently in external politics in Bismarck's footsteps!

At the reception the Emperor pressed my hand so that my fingers cracked. He also drank to me at table, whereupon I bowed with so much respect that I almost spilt my champagne. At the reception I asked every one where Huene † was, whom I wanted to see. Then a gentleman in braided uniform whom I did not know entered into the conversation, and obligingly pointed out where Huene stood. I could not help saying that it was not goodwill that had driven me to this display of curiosity, whereupon the braided man looked at me reproachfully and disappeared. I was afterwards received by the Empress Frederick, who did not seem to approve of the fashion in which Bismarck was dismissed. She hinted that I ought to have been his successor. But when I said to her that I was born in the same year as her mother and her father, she admitted that it was somewhat late to undertake such a work. On questions of Socialist policy she shares my views, and said that the Emperor Frederick had always opposed Bismarck's legislation. The Grand Duchess of Baden, to whom I next went, was, as ever, very friendly; complained of her eyes, and that on that account she had recently not recognised Marie, and then wished me joy that I could now have a free hand in Alsace-Lorraine.

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* Duchess of Ratibor.

† The deputy of the Centre who at the beginning of March had been appointed Papal Privy Chamberlain.

At the theatre in the evening *Das vierte Gebot* of Anzengruber was given. A somewhat wild melodrama, with murder and bloodshed, but quite excellently played.

Münster might indeed have been made Minister of Foreign Affairs, but people think him too old and faddy. I plead for Hatzfeld. Radowitz is not mentioned, and in diplomatic circles there is nobody else.

Berlin, *March* 26, 1890.

Yesterday I made an early call upon the Grand Duke of Baden, who is excellently informed upon the recent crisis, though he does not know everything. He asserts that the cause of the breach between the Emperor and Bismarck was a question of authority, and that their other differences of opinion concerning social legislation and so forth were merely secondary matters. The main point was the question of the Cabinet Order of the year 1852, which Bismarck wished to impose upon the Ministers without the Emperor's knowledge, thus making it impossible for them to report directly to his Majesty. The Emperor wished this Cabinet Order to be repealed, and to this Bismarck objected. The conversation with Windthorst would not have ended in any breach. Bismarck is said to have got so angry in the course of his discussion with the Emperor that the Emperor afterwards said "it was all he could do to refrain from throwing the ink-pot at my head."

To these differences were added the Emperor's mistrust of the Prince's foreign policy. He suspected Bismarck of attempting to guide the policy of the country upon secret plans of his own, and of acting with the object of abandoning Austria and the Triple Alliance and of securing an understanding with Russia; the Emperor declines to agree to this, and holds fast to the Alliance. Herbert Bismarck, too, is regarded with great mistrust in Vienna, as Münster says, and this was bound to lead to a breach. Whether it is true that the Emperor sent a letter to Queen Victoria without the Chancellor's knowledge, and that the fact became known in Berlin, I cannot discover, but the story is repeated.

Berlin, *March* 27, 1890.

I went to see Bismarck to-day about two o'clock and found him very well and vigorous. When I said that this was a very unexpected event to me, he observed, "To me also," for three weeks ago he had had no idea that the affair would end in this way. "Anyhow," he added, "it was only to be expected, for the Emperor now wishes to reign alone." He then mentioned the individual points of difference between himself and the Emperor;

the Workman's Compensation Law, which the Emperor wanted, though it was really nothing more than a Workman's Compulsion Law. This brought him to the question of the Presidency of the Ministry, and he said that it was an impossible state of affairs if any minister were allowed to do business with the Emperor on his own responsibility without consulting the Cabinet Council or the President. He mistrusts Verdy and is very angry with the ministers, and says that they left him in the lurch because they feared the Emperor more than himself. Under these conditions he could not maintain his authority. He also mentioned the Grand Duke of Baden as one of his opponents. When I told him that it was likely that the Emperor would ask him to come back sooner or later, he rejected the idea, and said that he would not live through the past three weeks again for anything. "I shall not see him again here," he concluded, "but if you care to come to Varzin or Friedrichsruh you will be welcome." He also referred to the length of our joint political careers, and advised me to be careful that the Emperor did not worry overmuch about Alsace-Lorraine, and that I had better keep out of his sight, but this is easier said than done.

Holstein and Berchem have proposed Herr von Marschall, now that Alvensleben has declined. It seems that Marschall will accept; in any case, he is a better man than any of the diplomatists abroad, and is well acquainted with the situation here.

STRASSBURG, *March* 31, 1890.

Heuduck was with me to-day, and told me that the Emperor had informed the commanding generals of the reason for Prince Bismarck's retirement. The question of a Cabinet Order and the unmeasured nature of his opposition to the Emperor had made it impossible for him to work any longer with the Prince. The Emperor said it was better that they should part now, when they could do so amicably, than that a serious conflict should arise. He then told the generals that Russia wished to begin a military occupation of Bulgaria, and to assure herself of the neutrality of Germany in the meantime. The Emperor said that he had promised the Emperor of Austria to be a loyal ally, and he would keep his word. The occupation of Bulgaria by the Russians would mean war with Austria, and he could not leave Austria in the lurch. It looks more and more as if the breach between the Emperor and Bismarck had been caused by a difference of opinion concerning the plans of Russia. Bismarck was ready to abandon Austria. The Emperor declines to leave Austria, even at the risk of being involved in war with Russia and France. From this point of view I understand Bismarck's statement when he said that the Emperor was conducting his policy in the manner of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. This is the black cloud upon the horizon.

STRASSBURG, *April* 21, 1890.

To-day I went with Marie to Karlsruhe; we had written to announce our arrival, and were expected to lunch. The Grand Duke met us in the room where we were lodging, to conduct us to the Grand Duchess. A general conversation took place, and reference was made to the Chancellor's retirement, concerning which the Grand Duke expressed his particular satisfaction. He said it had recently become a question whether the Bismarck dynasty or the Hohenzollern dynasty should rule. If the Emperor had given way upon this occasion he would have lost all authority; all parties would have looked simply to Bismarck and have obeyed him. The situation had become intolerable. With regard to the article in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*,* he was highly indignant, and spoke of it as infamous, asserting that the article was not directed against Caprivi, but against the Emperor. I asked the Grand Duke about the nature of his last conversation with Prince Bismarck. He said he had gone in and told the Prince that he had come to say "Good-bye," and to say that he should always preserve a grateful recollection of the time during which they had worked together for the welfare of Germany. The Prince said that the Grand Duke was partly to blame if he now retired, inasmuch as his championship of the Workman's Compensation Law before the Emperor had led to the breach between his Majesty and Bismarck. The Grand Duke objected, and pointed out that the difference of opinion which caused the breach had arisen upon Prussian affairs, and in these he had never interfered. "Bismarck then became rude" — the Duke did not say what expressions he used; the Grand Duke then rose and said that he could not permit this tone, that he wished to part from him in peace, and that he would leave him with the cry, in which the Prince would also join, "Long live the Emperor and the Empire!" The interview then ended.

STRASSBURG, *April* 26, 1890.

On the evening of the 23rd at nine o'clock I went to Hagenau with Thaden and Moritz to await the Emperor. We spent the evening with the Director of the District Court, Clemm; I lay down upon a bed in a spare room about eleven o'clock and slept till half-past twelve. Moritz and Thaden went to the station to change their clothes in the carriage. About one o'clock I went back to the station, where the Emperor arrived punctually. I introduced those in attendance and gave General Hahnke into the care of Baron Charpentier and Lieutenant Cramer, who were to take him to the Balzplatz. I then drove with the Emperor to the shooting-box at Sufflenheim. It was about an hour's drive, and during this time the Emperor related the whole story of his difference with Bismarck without interruption. He said that relations had become strained as early as December. The Emperor then desired that something should be done upon the question of the workmen. The Chancellor objected. The Emperor's view was that if the Government did not take the initiative, the Reichstag — in other words, the Socialists, the Centre, and the Progressives — would take the matter in hand and that the Government would be forced to follow them. The Chancellor desired to bring the Socialist law, including the provisions of expulsion, before the new Reichstag once again, to dissolve the Reichstag if it rejected the law, and to take energetic measures in the event of a revolt. The Emperor objected to this policy, saying that if his grandfather had been forced to deal with rebels after a long and glorious reign, no one would have thought the worse of him. But he was himself in a different position, for he had as yet achieved nothing. He would be reproached with beginning his reign by the slaughter of his subjects. He was ready enough to act, but he wished to be able to act with a clear conscience and first to make an attempt to satisfy the legitimate grievances of the workmen, and at least to do everything that was possible to fulfil their justifiable demands. In a conference with his ministers the Emperor therefore demanded that decrees should be drafted, containing those provisions which the decrees afterwards secured. Bismarck declined to hear of it. The Emperor then brought the matter before the Cabinet Council and eventually secured the proposal of the decrees notwithstanding Bismarck's opposition. Bismarck, however, was secretly working against him, and tried to induce the Swiss to abide by their conference, an attempt which was obviated by the loyal attitude of Roth, the Swiss minister in Berlin. Bismarck was also working against the conference through the diplomatists. This friction had considerably disturbed the relations between Bismarck and the Emperor, and these were further strained by the question of the Cabinet Order of 1852. Bismarck had often advised the Emperor to grant the ministers access to himself and this was done. But when communication between the Emperor and his ministers became more frequent, Bismarck took offence, became jealous, and revived the Cabinet Order of 1852 in order to break communications between the Emperor and the ministers. The Emperor protested and demanded the repeal of the Cabinet Order; Bismarck made a show of consent, but nothing was done in the matter. The Emperor therefore demanded that he should either issue an order of repeal or hand in his resignation. This decision the Emperor communicated to the Prince through Hahnke. The Prince hesitated, but gave in his resignation on March 18. It must be added that as early as the beginning of February Bismarck had told the Emperor that he should retire. He afterwards explained that he had changed his mind and would stay, at which the Emperor was not pleased but offered no remonstrance until the affair of the Cabinet Order arose. The visit of Windthorst to the Prince became the occasion of disagreeable discussions, but did not produce a crisis. In any case the last three weeks were occupied by unpleasant discussions between the Emperor and the Prince. It was, as the Emperor expressed it, "a stormy time," and the question at issue was, as the Emperor went on to say, whether the Hohenzollern dynasty or the Bismarck dynasty should reign. The Emperor also expressed great indignation at articles in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. As regarded the foreign policy of the country the Emperor said that Bismarck had gone his own way and had withheld information upon many of his actions. He even said that Bismarck had informed St. Petersburg that the Emperor would pursue an anti-Russian policy. For this statement, however, the Emperor added, he had no evidence.

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* The *Hamburger Nachrichten* published an unfavourable criticism of Caprivi's first speech in the Chamber of Deputies on April 15, but asserted that this article was not written by Prince Bismarck; at the same time it was explained that Prince Bismarck had not severed all connection with the press, as he considered it his duty not to withhold his opinions from the German people. He would also expound his views in the Upper House and in the Reichstag upon occasion.

This conversation between the Emperor and myself took place partly on our way to the shooting-box and partly on the way back. The intervening time was occupied by the sport, which led to no result, as the Emperor waited as long as it was dark under a tree in which there was a cock who would not pair. So he was obliged to waste time in waiting, but he enjoyed himself.

STRASSBURG, *June* 3, 1890.

On the second the foundation-stone was laid of the new chapel at Schillingsfürst. The guests were invited for one o'clock, and were the District Superintendent, the Judge of the Sessions, the Burgomaster, and the two parish priests. I had arranged with the priest Lehner that I should first say some introductory words, after which he should proceed with the consecration of the foundation-stone. All was beautifully decorated with flags and foliage. When everybody had taken their places I delivered my speech, saying: "I have resolved to build a chapel here, the foundation-stone of which we are to lay to-day, in order to provide a suitable, peaceful and ever accessible resting-place for myself and my family. We have, indeed, in the vault in the Catholic Church a suitable burying-place and one sanctified by its situation. It is, however, not easily accessible, and the wish to visit from time to time and to decorate the graves of those whom we have loved and mourned is deeply rooted in the mind of man. Thus I conceived the idea of choosing this spot for a burial-ground, and in order that the sanctity and protection of the Church may not be wanting, a chapel is to be built, around which the gravestones of the departed will stand beneath the shadow of the trees in sight of their native countryside. I was also actuated by the desire to relieve the Catholic congregation of a troublesome duty. If the vault in the Church were to be opened now, it would be necessary to move the pews and to take up the pavement. For this reason I hope that the inhabitants of Schillingsfürst will join in respecting and protecting this burial-ground, and recommend it to the care of the congregation. I will now ask the priest to perform the ceremony of consecration." The ceremony was then performed. After the priest had read the prayers and had sprinkled the holy water upon the stone he retired without giving any discourse, much to the dissatisfaction of those present. Dinner was at two o'clock, and in the evening I went to the Wolfsau, where I shot a roe.

BERLIN, *June* 18, 1890.

I have noticed two things during the three days that I have now been here: first, that no one has any time, and that every one is in a greater hurry than they used to be; secondly, that individuals seem to have grown larger. Each separate personality is now conscious of his own value. Formerly the individual was oppressed and restricted by the dominant influence of Prince Bismarck, but now they have all swelled out like sponges placed in water. This has its advantages but also its dangers. There is no unity of will.

Yesterday morning, about eleven o'clock, I called upon Caprivi. I informed him of our arrangement in the matter of the passes, and of the contents of the letter to Münster. He agreed.* About one o'clock I went to Potsdam, where the State lunch was held in honour of the engagement of Princess Victoria.† The betrothed couple held a short reception, the Emperor making the introductions. During lunch I sat between Viktor and Schweinitz; the latter said not a word about our affairs. Afterwards, the Emperor came up to me, asked me how I was, and spoke of the purchase of property in Alsace-Lorraine, concluding the discussion quickly and without showing any particular interest. He thought it would be advisable to encourage others to purchase.

BERLIN, *June* 19, 1890.

From the information I received yesterday at the Foreign Office the arrangement‡ seems in no way unfavourable, and we may be content with the cession of Heligoland. In addition to this, Münster writes that feeling in England is very unfavourable to us, as we have been treading on the corns of the English in our Colonial policy in quite an unusual manner. We are thus exposed to the danger that England might join France and Russia, which would have been very dangerous to us. Münster also writes that Herbert Bismarck has made some rather passionate pronouncements in London concerning "the dismissal of my father."

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* On June 11, in answer to a question from the deputy Richter, the Chancellor had spoken in the Reichstag upon the system of compulsory passes, objecting to its abolition but urging its relaxation.

† With Prince Adolf of Schaumburg-Lippe.

‡ The agreement upon the delimitation of the English and German spheres of interest, which was published on June 17 in the *Reichsanzeiger*.

BERLIN, *August* 13, 1890.

I arrived here on Monday, the 11th. Until this afternoon I heard nothing from the Court, then came an invitation to supper at Bellevue. Before that I had a meal at Caprivi's house with Reuss, Bülow, Münster, Schlözer, Waldersee, and some privy councillors. I gave Caprivi information concerning our Russian affairs.

At eight o'clock I went to Schloss-Bellevue and had supper with the Emperor, the Empress, the Court ladies, the aides-de-camp, and Pückler. After supper I had a long talk with the Emperor. He expressed himself as satisfied with the general political situation. He does not trust the Russians. He dislikes the request that he should disembark in Reval, as German demonstrations are then to be expected. He had done his best to prevent this, and wished to proceed to Narva, but in St. Petersburg they insisted on Reval. There will be no attempt to settle differences. The Emperor's remarks upon Russia to me were extremely sensible. On the whole I consider that he has thought carefully over the political situation and formed a calm judgment. I told him that Europe generally had confidence in him, and to this he agreed.

BERLIN, *November* 11, 1890.

I received no answer to my letters to the Emperor and to Lucanus, and the matter of the Bishop * can no longer be postponed, while I was anxious to know whether I could proceed; I therefore resolved to travel here. I have several candidates, but cannot begin serious negotiations until I am empowered by the Emperor and have seen Caprivi.

I called upon Caprivi to-day at ten o'clock and found him entirely unprejudiced on the affair of the Bishop. He agrees with me upon every point, would like a German bishop, will not hear of Korum, who seems to have friends in the Ministry of Public Worship, and awaits my proposals. He will speak to the Emperor to-day, for he thinks that I could not be received to-day, and will then inform me of the result of his conversation. He will also ask the Emperor about the person whom I propose to send to Rome. At first he was against me, but allowed himself to be persuaded. He will have nothing to do with the present

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* The choice of a successor to Bishop Stumpf, who died on August 10.

Ministry of Public Worship. They have not yet been able to finish the Posen case, and it was necessary to prevent their interference in the Strassburg case. Upon the whole I am well satisfied with my conference with Caprivi. He was straightforward and kind as usual.

STRASSBURG, *December* 19, 1890.

After I had received the Emperor's approval I telegraphed to Czapski * to come here and gave him the necessary instructions, whereupon he started for Rome. He is to work in the first place on behalf of Kraus, and failing him on behalf of Fritzen. His reports so far are not very favourable.

Meanwhile the Cathedral Prebendary, Straub, came to me yesterday to discuss an idea which he had previously mooted, to reduce the bishopric of Strassburg to its old limits beyond the Rhine, leaving it in possession of Lower Alsace, adding to it the whole of Baden from the Cos and uniting Friedburg with Upper Alsace. He said that the advantages of this organisation were obvious. I did not, however, gain much approval either from the Grand Duke or from Kraus when I discussed the plan with them. The former said the difficulties were too great, while Kraus said that the personality of the present Archbishop was an invincible obstacle. I mentioned this without referring to Kraus by name. Straub said that the idea was incorrect. The Archbishop might be transferred to Posen, which would throw the see vacant, while Strassburg was vacant at this moment, so that the opportunity was entirely favourable. It was impossible for me to assure him that I found obstacles enough in Rome upon episcopal questions, and that I did not wish to complicate the problem any further. For Straub apparently does not suspect that the Pope is under the influence of the Jesuits. Both laity and clergy are under great illusions on this subject. The Jesuits will never agree to the most efficacious means of separating Alsace-Lorraine from France — namely, the above-mentioned redistribution of the dioceses. Thus at the present moment we should further impair our relations with the curia and cause difficulties with regard to episcopal appointments.

Straub then expressed his anxiety concerning the proposed Catholic meeting. I told him that I should not permit the meeting. When I discussed the question with Puttkamer he was opposed to any prohibition, but was willing to use his influence to induce the clergy to abandon the project.

BERLIN, *January* 21, 1891.

My stay here has this advantage that I am able to get an increasingly clear view of the situation. Holstein invited me to lunch to-day with Hatzfeld and Radolin. After lunch the conversation became general. All present were highly indignant with Herbert Bismarck, and all kinds of instances of his want of refinement were related. By degrees the conversation passed to the elder Bismarck, of whom Radolin related many unedifying characteristics. He mentioned that the report of Bismarck's visit to the Empress Frederick at the moment of his fall was correct; but Bismarck had not, as Blowitz asserted, entreated the Empress to intercede for him with the Emperor, but had merely said, when the Empress asked whether she could do anything for him: "I ask only for sympathy." He went on to relate that shortly before the death of the Emperor Frederick, he had conducted Bismarck to him, and that Bismarck had been deeply affected. Afterwards when Bismarck was sitting in his room Radolin went to him and said that it had been very affecting, whereupon Bismarck replied, "I cannot now conduct a policy of sentimentality." When the Empress Frederick, after the Emperor's death, requested Bismarck to visit her, he sent a message to say that he had no time and must go to the Emperor, his master. It was therefore no small satisfaction to her Majesty when Bismarck, after his fall, addressed an urgent request to be allowed to visit her.

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* Count Czapski was chosen by the Prince as his confidential agent in Rome upon the question of the episcopal appointment.

Hatzfeld related that during his stay in England in this summer Herbert had been at his house, that they had gone down the stairs together and that Herbert had then asked for his health, to which Hatzfeld replied that he was very well, but had a great deal to do; whereupon Herbert said, "It must be a nice policy that is now being carried on."

BERLIN, *January* 25, 1891.

To-day I was at Marschall's house and he gave me the latest news of Schlözer.* At four o'clock I called upon Miquel,† with whom I discussed the deepening of the canals in Alsace-Lorraine. He objects to the project as before, because communication with France would be facilitated in consequence, but said that he would not hinder us though he could give us no help. He attaches more importance to the Moselle Canal, which would bring Lorraine into communication with the Lower Rhine. As regards the Strassburg-Ludwigshafen Canal, he is in favour of it, but is not conversant with the details, and says that Baden and Bavaria are opposed to it.

January 26.

In the evening took place the baptism of Prince Joachim. At the dinner afterwards I sat between the Countess Waldersee and the Countess Behndorff. The music, however, was so loud that one could not hear oneself speak. Afterwards I had a talk with the Emperor upon Russian affairs and upon the mistake which Bismarck had made in rejecting the Russian loan and making war upon the Russian finances. We also discussed the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. The Emperor said, "This will go on for a year or two longer and then the opposition will cease."

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* Respecting the appointment of the Bishop of Strassburg.

† Prussian Financial Minister from June 24, 1890.

BERLIN, *January* 28, 1891.

Yesterday the birthday celebrations were held; service in the Court Chapel, where Dryander gave a very good sermon; then a reception in the White Hall. At five o'clock dinner at Caprivi's house, where I sat between Shuwalow and the Turkish Ambassador. In the evening a gala performance at the Opera, where I took my leave of the Emperor. To-day, about two o'clock, I went to the Imperial Chancellor. We discussed the necessity of sending Prussian officials for a time to Alsace to fill the posts in the new district courts,* to which he agreed. Then came the question of the deepening of the canals, which is here regarded with mistrust. I said that I could see no danger of closer connection with France in consequence. At any rate they ought to give us the Ludwigshafen Canal.

STRASSBURG, *February* 26, 1891.

Yesterday I received the sad news from Rome of the death of Ernst Ratibor.† The news was quite unexpected in Rauden; there are no further details yet. I was present at the dinner of the Provincial Council in a sad frame of mind, but my speech went off very well and was praised on all sides. To-day, dinner with the Rector of the University. As I had expected the Rector, Professor ten Brink, made a speech. I replied, adding that I could make no better answer than to quote the words of my deceased friend Döllinger, who said in one of his academical speeches: "It is not material interests and passions that sway the world and decide the history of humanity, but great thoughts, and here lies the permanent value of the German High Schools, which will also inspire the confidence that they are equal to their task." I said that the University of Strassburg was especially deserving of this confidence, and I therefore invited those present to drink to the health of the Kaiser Wilhelm University.

STRASSBURG, *March* 18, 1891.

During the Parliamentary *soirée* of yesterday I had much conversation with the members of the Berlin deputation ‡ (with

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* The Government had proposed a new regulation of districts and a new distribution, considerably increasing their number to the local board both of which proposals were rejected by the Provincial Council.

† The Prince's nephew, Prince Ernst von Ratibor, born November 10, 1857, died February 25, 1891.

‡ The stringency of the pass regulations was increased by a ministerial order of February 28, in consequence of the events in Paris on the occasion of the Empress Frederick's visit; hence the Provincial Council had drawn up an address to the Emperor on March 4 and had sent a deputation to Berlin to present it. The formal reception took place on March 14.

Schlumberger, Bulach, Petri, Charpentier and Ruland), and heard much of their reception by the Emperor. The deputation was not entirely satisfied with the official answer, but derived hope from their kindly reception at the Imperial dinner and at the houses of Caprivi and Miquel. The splendour of their reception, superfluous in my opinion, greatly dazzled them, and they feel themselves much honoured. Pascal David,* with whom I spoke at the conclusion of the evening, assured me that he had produced this effect through the agency of Fischer! † If this is true, it is evidence of a very regrettable influence exerted by journalists upon Berlin decisions. Bulach told me of a long conversation which he had had with the Secretary of State, von Marschall, who spoke very contemptuously of Alsace-Lorraine, and said that it was a matter of total indifference in Berlin whether the inhabitants were satisfied or not, and that in the event of war Alsace-Lorraine would become the chief battlefield. He said that Marschall and Bötticher were the men who attached least value to the demonstration of the Provincial Council, and that it was they who inspired the articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung* against the Council; Caprivi and Miquel, on the other hand, were well-meaning and impartial men. My opinion is that the generals have been making the Emperor anxious about the feeling in Alsace-Lorraine, and hinting at possible dangers arising in consequence. This makes the Emperor, who would otherwise gladly be popular here, somewhat cautious. Marschall is guided by the same motives, and the increased stringency of the pass regulations is due to him and his satellites. The members of the Provincial Council are under the impression that instructions will soon be sent from Berlin ordering milder treatment. This I do not believe; of the two tendencies predominant in the leading circles in Berlin the military has the upper hand.

STRASSBURG, *March* 20, 1891.

Pascal David called on me just now to inform me that yesterday four or five gentlemen, Germans from here and Kehl, had come to him to say that it was advisable to hold a great kommers (drinking bout) in honour of Bismarck on April 1. They are calculating that I shall attend the kommers and make a speech in honour of the sick hermit of the Sachsenwald! They immediately issued an appeal asking Pascal David to publish it, and of course to accompany it with a leading article. Pascal David was in great embarrassment as to what answer he should give, and, after much hesitation, eventually requested them to call again the next day. He then asked me what he should do. I told him to tell them plainly that their idea of holding a festival in honour of Prince Bismarck was excellent, but that they should not forget that at the present moment relations between the Emperor and the Prince were strained: in consequence, their festival might assume an importance very far removed from their real desires. This seemed to come to Pascal David as an inspiration, and he declared himself ready to advise the gentlemen in this sense.

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* Editor of the *Strassburger Post.*

† Correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* at Berlin.

Newspaper article by the PRINCE, *reprinted, with a few alterations, from the "Strassburger Post" of March* 29, 1891 (No. 88).

The correspondence published by the *Temps* between Herr von Werner (Director of the Academy and President of the Exhibition Commission in Berlin), the Paris painters, and the French Ambassador in Berlin induces us to offer a few remarks. In view of the fact that French artists have exhibited their works in Munich and Stuttgart, there seems no reason why they should not also have exhibited in Berlin. In any case, it would have been better quietly to await such occasion than to flatter the French artists with exaggerated expressions of admiration in the hope of inducing them to contribute. A simple notice sent to the Ambassador of the French Republic, with a request to communicate its contents to his fellow-countrymen, would have been sufficient, and would have been more consonant with the dignity of the German nation than this begging for contributions to the Berlin Exhibition. An almost painful impression is produced by the spectacle of the Director of the Berlin Academy emphasising the importance of French art in his letter to M. Detaille, and referring to the reception with which French artists will be greeted in the hope of inducing them *de vouloir bien accepter notre invitation.* M. Detaille then politely refers Herr von Werner to the Ambassador, and reminds him that the Director of Fine Arts in Paris is the proper channel through which overtures to French artists should be made. A similar reply is sent by M. Bouguereau, to whom Herr von Werner had also applied. The latter then addresses the French Ambassador, urging him to form a committee of artists in Paris, which should take the matter in hand. M. Herbette politely replies that it is impossible for his Government to interfere officially, though it would be delighted to see French artists accepting the invitation. Meanwhile the matter becomes the gossip of Paris, contribution to the Berlin Exhibition is stigmatised as treachery, and the artists, M. Detaille at their head, withdraw in affright.* It might have been expected that these facts would have damped Herr von Werner's enthusiasm for international art, and that he would have replied to the French artists with a dry "If you won't, then don't!" However, instead of this, Herr von Werner telegraphed to the painter, Detaille, an expression of his "*profonde tristesse,*" and proceeded to ask in what way the Berlin artists had offended the French! M. Detaille, in his reply, soothes the anxiety of the Royal Director of the Academy on this head, and reminds him that the point at issue is a sense of patriotism worthy of all respect. The correspondence concludes with a letter, in our opinion entirely superfluous, from Herr von Werner to a certain M. Dumaresq, in which he repeats his expressions of sorrow, and announces that the invitation is still open. We should like to know what the newly-founded Allgemeine Deutsche Verein [Universal German Union] has to say to this — an association whose object is to "stimulate the general consciousness of German unity, and to induce every German to recognise his obligations to Pan-Germanic nationalism."

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* From February 18 to 27 the Empress Friedrich was staying in Paris. On February 24 a popular meeting of Boulangists protested against the presence of the Empress and against the contributions of French artists to the Berlin Exhibition. On February 26, Detaille published a letter in which he declined to contribute to the Berlin Exhibition.

Journal.

BERLIN, *May* 22, 1891.

The Imperial Chancellor made an appointment with me today for two o'clock. Upon my arrival I found him as kind and confidential as ever.

With regard to the system of compulsory passes, Caprivi said that there was formerly some reason for fear, and that, therefore, the regulations were made more stringent; now, however, they can be relaxed. I drew his attention to the difference between the original procedure, which has been resumed, viz., the question whether such regulations were necessary, and the relaxation of them, viz., the consideration as to whether there was any cause for fear, and asked if we could return to the latter point. To this he assented, and when I pointed out that I should be opposed by the military he said that they were not concerned, and that he would order them not to interfere. However, as regards the French officers we should be no less strict than before.

BADEN, *July* 5, 1891.

When discussing various affairs with the Grand Duke to-day he turned the conversation upon the compulsory passes, and expressed his opinion of this regulation in the bitterest terms. He said that he thought its introduction an entire mistake, and that the recent stringency was unnecessary and harmful, as it would arouse ill-feeling in the Imperial provinces and drive the Alsatians into the arms of the French. We were simply making ourselves ridiculous, and lowering the prestige of the Empire abroad. I replied that I quite agreed with him, but that if I made any representations to the Emperor I should be immediately contradicted by my military opponents. The Grand Duke appreciated this fact, but asked me to consider whether it would be advisable for him to write to the Chancellor, stating his objections to the further maintenance of the regulation, and pointing out that the present would be a favourable moment to induce the Emperor to make a proclamation which would be evidence of his power and strength. I declared myself in full agreement, and requested him to write as he proposed, and this he will do at once.

BADEN, *July* 5, 1891.

My stay at this watering-place now comes to an end, having lasted a week. Every day I have taken a so-called *wildbad* (a bath in the hot springs) and drunk two glasses of the flat warm water, so that I now return "refreshed to my duty," like the "Harmlose" in the English garden at Munich.

Yesterday I met Maxime Ducamp, who has become very old and deaf, in the Lichtentaler Allée. He began to speak of the journey of the Empress Friedrich, and blamed her especially for her exclusive preference for artists. French artists were proud enough in any case. By visiting twelve the Empress had offended two thousand; and even the order of her visits gave offence to those on whom she called. When Carolus Durand was congratulated upon the visit of the Empress, he said: "*Comment, cette* . . . (an insulting epithet) *a été d'abord chez Bonnat!*" The crowning stupidity was, however, committed by the Director of the École des Beaux Arts, who, when the visit of the Empress was announced, caused the wreath to be removed from the bust of the fallen Renauld at Le Bourget, "*parce que cela pourrait faire une mauvaise impression.*" As the École des Beaux Arts has three thousand pupils, who renew the laurel wreaths at their own expense, great excitement arose, and the pupils sent to Déroulède, who proceeded to make an uproar.

BUDA, *September* 4, 1891.

On September 1 we travelled in the afternoon from Werki to Wilna in order to take the train to Minsk and Stolbzy, whence one proceeds to Naliboki. At the station we found a polite inspector, formerly marshal of the district of Mohileff. He told me that his former regimental commander and friend, General Chernaieff, had stopped at the station, gone into the town, and would be back directly, and that he would then introduce him. He added that the General was a man of very placable disposition, and no Chauvinist. I took that for granted, and shook hands with Chernaieff when he arrived. I should like to have had a talk with him, but the train was starting, and we were obliged to get in. Chernaieff has the face of an old Tartar or an old convict. At nine o'clock we were in Minsk, and at twelve o'clock in Stolbzy, where we found carriages. Marie took a seat in the *coupé*, and I went with Alexander in an open *calèche.* The night was warm and bright with stars, and the drive exceedingly pleasant. After a journey of six hours we reached

Naliboki early, drank tea and coffee in a little castle, and went on to Buda in about an hour. There we found a new shooting-box, built in the Russian style, very smart and comfortable. Marie and I preferred to put up at the older and smaller house. In the evening we went deer-stalking with no success.

On the 3rd there was a drive in the neighbourhood of Rovzy. After the two first drives, in which Marie shot a stag, we lunched in the shooting-box, and afterwards had two further drives, when Moritz killed an animal. Alexander and myself had no chance.

On the 4th everybody went out early deer-stalking. I preferred to sleep till six o'clock, and then went snipe-shooting with Helmersen. After some wearisome wading in swamp we returned with three water-hens as our bag. The journey through the pine and alder woods was interesting. In the evening another attempt at deer-stalking was made, but no one got a shot.

On the morning of the 5th Alexander went deer-stalking and shot a stag in the dim light, which, however, was not found. About eight o'clock a drive was made without success. In the afternoon another unsuccessful drive was carried out, and then we went to the spot where the stag at which Alexander had shot ought to have been. There a drive was carried out in deep swamp. First a weak stag came towards me, which I allowed to pass, as he was going rapidly and was a considerable distance away. In the meantime the dogs were driving a stag in front of us through the forest. This was a powerful animal, which eventually left the dogs and came towards me through high grass, reeds, and undergrowth. It was a first-class stag. I fired when he was fronting me, whereupon he sank down, but recovered himself and turned away to the right. I sent another bullet after him, and he then crossed the firing line and passed me again. Thinking that he would collapse every moment, I did not fire again, but he went off pursued by the dogs, and was not shot by the huntsmen until late in the night.

September 7.

Yesterday morning, on Sunday, we first examined the stag which the pursuing huntsmen had shot after a long chase. It is not a well-antlered stag, having only ten points, but none the less a fine animal. It seems to be the one at which Alexander shot in the morning. My first bullet, fired when he fronted me, struck the nose and splintered on the teeth, where fragments of the bullet were found. My second shot was fired when he turned, and was not aimed low enough to bring him down.

About nine o'clock we travelled by way of Holendernia to Lubcz, partly by boat and partly by carriage. The last part of the road passes through the wide meadows on the Niemen. Upon crossing the river upon which the castle of Lubcz lies we were received by the ispravnik, as well as by the tenant, Zwirko, and then passed through the farm to the castle, which was in course of repair, where his wife and her three daughters received us with bouquets, bread, and salt. We examined the castle, drank coffee in a somewhat uncomfortable drawing-room, and then went down to the canal which Helmersen is constructing. It is twelve versts long, and will be finished in the autumn, forming a conjunction between the river which flows near Kletishche and the Niemen. It will cost ten thousand roubles, and will drain three thousand *desjatina* of meadow-land, the so-called Hallina. It will be necessary to construct other subordinate canals, to drain larger areas of swamp. As the people pay four roubles for a *desjatina* of hay, the income of the Naliboki estate will be considerably increased. We then went on to Lubcz, and thence back to Buda by our morning route. Upon arrival we ate a hearty lunch, and again went out deer-stalking. Marie shot at a stag, but probably missed it. I saw a roebuck standing in high undergrowth, but did not fire as he was fronting me, and I did not wish to try a chance shot. The buck went off, and did not reappear.

BERLIN, *September* 20, 1891.

During my stay in Buda I received a telegram from Strassburg informing me that the Chancellor intended during the middle of the month to consider whether and by what means the system of passes could be replaced by some other regulations, probably some system of self-reporting. He asked me to send Köller * with instructions to Berlin. I replied that I would send him and reach Berlin myself at the same time.

Upon my arrival in Berlin on September 14, I had an interview with the Chancellor, who confirmed his announcement and said that he had summoned an officer of the General Staff and Arco.

The conference began last week. Hoseus, Mandel, and the above-mentioned persons, as well as Frantzius, of the Foreign Office, and Köller, were present. The discussion continued for several days, and eventually they agreed upon a draft proposal, arranging that only the following classes should be subject to the pass regulations, as issued on May 22, 1888.

1. Persons employed upon active military service, retired officers, and the pupils of foreign schools with a military organisation.
2. Emigrants.

On Sunday the 19th all was arranged. Caprivi gave us a dinner, at which he told me he would lay the proposal before the Emperor on Monday during a railway journey, but would only bring the question forward if the Emperor were in a good temper. If this should be the case, he would resume the subject a fortnight later in East Prussia, whither the Emperor is going.

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* The successor of the Secretary of State, Studt, the present Secretary of State, who was then appointed Supreme President in Münster.

September 21.

Caprivi came this afternoon and gave me, with a delighted countenance, the agreeable news that the Emperor had approved our proposal. I communicated this to Köller, and he telegraphed to Strassburg. Thus this unpleasant business has been settled.

STRASSBURG, *November* 4, 1891.

A short time ago I had occasion to talk with a Russian personage who knows the Czar of Russia and his Court well, and whose judgment is unprejudiced. He says the Emperor is mistrustful and wanting in self-confidence, while his mind is narrow and uneducated. In addition to this he is very slothful and indolent. The reports of Ministers and other high dignitaries were made with extreme rarity, and if they happened to fall upon one of the numerous Russian holidays, were postponed without hesitation. How the business of the country is performed was a mystery to my informant. He characterised the abandonment of the Berlin visit as a political mistake. I supposed that the Czar had been dissuaded by fear of the Panslavist Press and its hostility to Germany, but my informant assured me that this was not the case. The Emperor did not trouble about the Press; the sole reason for abandonment was that the visit was inconvenient to him. He said that the Press was in a state of complete subservience, and only published what it was ordered to print. The authorities did not wish the Press to take up the question of domestic policy and of the necessary reforms, and therefore allowed it to say what it liked upon the question of nationalism. It was thus the Press that fomented the national hatred of Germany; this hatred had originated at the Berlin Congress. The Russians could not forgive us the fact that we had deprived them of their plunder. England would never have begun war with Russia had she been isolated. In addition to these considerations there was the material loss which Bismarck had inflicted upon the Russian finances, while the cup had been filled to overflowing by the expulsions of Russian workmen. None the less, Russia was not anxious for war, least of all the Czar, who strongly objected to the antics of the French Russophiles.

The chief fear of my somewhat pessimistic informant is a revolution. He considered that if the Czar committed the mistake of convoking a Parliamentary assembly, to which he might be driven by financial necessities, he would be lost. Disaffection was steadily increasing, especially among the educated classes, and every one capable of thinking was an object of suspicion. On that account proposals had been made to close the universities entirely. Of all this the Czar knew very little. On his visit to Finland, when the country had been deprived of its privileges, he was much surprised to meet with a cool reception. He knew nothing of the attempts to make Finland Russian!

BERLIN, *December* 13, 1891.

Yesterday I was invited in the afternoon to Potsdam to the new palace. Beside myself, the Prince and Princess of Wied were there, with the court ladies and Court Marshal. The Emperor and Empress were very kind. The Emperor talked of his sport in Alsace, and thought it would take some years to bring it into a satisfactory condition. He then expressed his satisfaction at the acquisition of Gensburg, and when I told him that the little castle could provide but narrow quarters he said we might very well contrive to spend a few days there together with two or three gentlemen. Turning to politics, he expressed his dislike with the attitude of the Conservative party, which prevented the formation of a Conservative Monarchical party against the Freethinkers and Democrats. The fact was the more regrettable as, though the Freethinkers occasionally opposed the Social Democrats, they co-operated with them in general. The Emperor was satisfied with the commercial conventions, and seems generally to have great confidence in Caprivi. When we came upon the subject of the intrigues and the discussions that were going on, the Emperor said that he considered that Bismarck was behind all these. He added that he was being pressed from many sides to reconcile himself with Bismarck, and was ready to do so, but it was not for him to take the first step. He seemed to be very well informed upon the condition of Russia, which he regarded as highly serious. He believed that the distress would increase, and the robberies also, and that to relieve the distress the Russian Government required a loan of six hundred million roubles, which it would not get. Then the Czar was too indifferent; instead of making a tour through the famine-stricken provinces, which would make an excellent impression, he refused to adopt the proposals which his Minister had made to this effect. When I asked the Emperor how his relations were at this moment with the Emperor of Russia, he said: "I have none. He passed through here* without visiting me, and I only write ceremonial letters to him now. It was the Queen of Denmark who prevented him from coming to Berlin, and to make sure that he should not come she accompanied him to Livadia on pretence of attending the silver wedding, but in reality to prevent the Czar from visiting Berlin." In the evening I returned to Potsdam, where Chelius played some piano pieces. At supper I sat next to the Emperor. Lehndorff, Brandenburg, Werder, and other Grand Dukes were present. As I took my leave the Emperor asked me to inform him when he could come to Alsace for the grouse shooting.

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* On September 26.

To-day I called upon privy councillor Göring, about twelve o'clock, to ask whether I could see Caprivi. He took me in at once, and I congratulated the Chancellor upon his parliamentary success. I also told him of my conversation with the Emperor, and said that my impression was that the Emperor was very well satisfied with Caprivi's Parliamentary campaign and had great confidence in him. Caprivi was greatly delighted with my assurance. When I told him that Shuvaloff had described him as a *trop honnête homme*, he said that was because Bismarck had concluded a treaty with Russia, under which we guaranteed Russia a free hand in Bulgaria and Constantinople, while Russia undertook to observe a neutral attitude in the Franco-German war. This treaty had lapsed when Caprivi assumed office, and he had not renewed it because its publication would have shattered the Triple Alliance. I fear that Austria will not be grateful to us.

As regards the question of the canals, he told me that he had dropped the political objections to the deepening. We can therefore grant permission if the Provincial Board votes in favour of the deepening. With reference to Bismarck, he said that if he recovered his influence his own position would be impossible, and that, apart from this, Bismarck's return would inspire the Austrians with such misgivings that the Triple Alliance would come to an end.

Speech of the PRINCE *at the dinner in honour of the Provincial Board on February* 24, 1892.

Gentlemen, if you will allow me a few words in which to bid your heartily welcome, I cannot but recall the day on which I saw you gathered round me under similar circumstances in the past year. I then spoke of the confidence existing between the representatives of the province and the Government, and I expressed a hope that it would be possible in no long time to make a return to normal conditions and to satisfy those desires which the province had manifested in a certain direction.

Shortly afterwards the horizon was overcast by a thundercloud, the hopes which my words had aroused seemed falsified, and our friends looked anxiously towards the future.

But these doubts and cares were not of long duration, and it was soon possible to fulfil the desires of the province, thanks to the keen and benevolent interest which the Emperor has invariably displayed towards Alsace, thanks to the calm and dispassionate judgment of the Imperial Chancellor upon the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine, and thanks, finally, to the loyal and high-minded step which was taken by yourselves.

The regulation has thus been removed which, though inevitable during the time that it existed, was none the less a disturbing influence upon the social life of the people, and even more upon their commerce. This regulation could be removed for the reason that we shall be able to secure our frontiers and maintain our rights without a system of compulsory passes. You, however, gentlemen of the Provincial Board, can now proceed to your labours free from care or misgiving. These labours are by no means light, for important tasks lie before you upon which the ultimate form of the social organism largely depends. These you will consider with your usual conscientiousness, and make your decisions for the welfare of the province. In this conviction I raise my glass and drink to the health of the Provincial Board and its respected Presidents.

Journal.

BERLIN, *April* 4, 1892.

I arrived in Berlin with Marie yesterday morning at seven o'clock. I immediately wrote to the Adjutant-Major, and shortly afterwards received an invitation to lunch with their Majesties. Marie's note had not reached the Empress, so that I was invited alone. I found the Emperor very well, though somewhat pulled down by influenza. He was very friendly and communicative. After lunch the conversation turned upon the Education Bill, and he complained that the Ministry had paid no attention to the objections which he had made months before. In a certain Privy Council the Emperor had spoken very calmly and entirely to the point, explaining his opinion that no Bill could be carried through which would satisfy the extreme parties. Caprivi and Miquel went so far as to urge that the Bill should be submitted to further discussion. Zedlitz said nothing, but went away, discussed the matter at home with Kleist-Retzoff, Kropatscheck, and Hammerstein, and then sent in his resignation. The Emperor expressed himself in very bitter terms upon the Conservative Press. Eulenburg of Munich had sent in an urgent report upon the bad impression created by the Education Bill. The Emperor further told me that the Jesuits were reported in Rome to have collected seven millions already for the foundation of "free schools." "And yet the Ministers assure me that the Catholics have no money to found free schools!" I referred to the Bishop of Strassburg and his intention of coming to Berlin. The Emperor said: "He is a very good man." *

Wednesday, April 6, 1892.

Yesterday afternoon I called upon Caprivi, and told him that I was glad to see him still in office. He replied that he had only been a hair's breadth from resignation, and that it was difficult to continue in office. With regard to the crisis, he said that this might have been avoided if the Emperor had spoken to him before the Privy Council, for he could then have told him that every problem raised by the Education Bill was capable of satisfactory settlement. The way had been already prepared for an agreement. He observed that the Emperor was continually talking to all kinds of people, which was an excellent habit in itself, but on these occasions he often contradicted his official announcements, and misunderstandings arose in consequence. In the department of foreign policy all was quiet; the French were as peaceful as they could be. Russia had attempted a Customs treaty through the medium of Shuvaloff, but the illness of Giers had hindered negotiations, and Shuvaloff had returned without accomplishing his purpose. The elections in England would no doubt bring Gladstone back to power, but Rosebery would take the Foreign Office and continue Salisbury's policy. English influence in Constantinople was declining. Relations with Russia were somewhat strained by the unfavourable opinion of our Emperor which was inspired by the *Figaro*. He then spoke of Köller, and asked if I thought him a suitable man as Minister, to which I replied in the affirmative. At the same time there is no immediate idea of calling him to office.

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* The Bishop, Dr. Fritzen.

BERLIN, *April* 10, 1892.

General von Alvensleben, formerly commanding officer in Stuttgart, met me to-day in the street. He thought it his duty to express his sorrow at the gloominess of the situation, and said, following the *Reichsbote*, that formerly it had been possible to look to the energy and firmness of the Emperor, but this was impossible now that he had abandoned the Education Bill and the Liberals had been left triumphant. I replied that he had been wrongly informed. I said that from the outset the Emperor had disapproved of the Education Bill, and, though he had given way to his Ministers, had repeatedly spoken against it and warned the Ministers throughout that period. If Caprivi and Zedlitz, in loyalty to their principles, had defended the Education Bill, it had been the duty of the other Ministers to declare definitely against it, but this they had not done, so that it was Miquel and Herrfurth who were to blame. Alvensleben said nothing to this, and soon took his leave. I called upon Marschall in the afternoon, and found that his views coincided with mine. He regretted the proposal of the Bill, on which agreement with the Centre and the Conservatives was impossible, and blamed Caprivi for not leaving Zedlitz to fight the battle alone, saying that chivalry was here out of place.

STRASSBURG, *May* 26, 1892.

Bulach called upon me to-day. Regarding the law of administrative organisation, he said that it had been a mistake to propose so many new district inspectors at once, as this had frightened people. Decided emphasis should also have been laid upon the abolition of the departmental presidents. The French system of departmental administration must be abandoned once and for all. He admitted that Köchlin and Schlumberger were against him for fear of losing their influence, but there were plenty of people in the country who were quite capable of self-administration, and would be glad to take part in the work. An attempt should be made to propose a modified system of parish organisation; the rest would then follow, and might be eventually secured through the Reichstag. Bulach complained of the spirit of French nationalism in the Alsatian clergy.

Berlin, *June* 22, 1892.

Yesterday evening to Potsdam with Viktor at six o'clock. The Emperor appeared before dinner with the Queen of Italy, and presented me to her. The Queen remembered that we had already met in Munich. The King followed in a hussar uniform with the Empress. He is of medium height, with a big grey moustache, holds himself very upright, and receives those who are introduced to him with a polite clearing of the throat.

I sat opposite these exalted guests so that I could easily hear the Emperor's speech and the reply of the King of Italy. The Emperor made a very good and tactful speech. The speech was lying before him, and he looked down upon it now and then; the King held his paper in his hand. Both speeches made a good impression. After dinner there was a reception, as usual. The Emperor came up to me in a very affable manner and said: "Well, how are you, Alba?" We then spoke of Urville and of his visit and my journey, and the good reception with which he would meet. In order to bring the conversation to the question of the day I then said: "The only thing is that people there are afraid Bismarck may return." "They can make their minds easy," said the Emperor, with a laugh, "he will not return. I have informed him that I intend to have a statement in writing, and this he will not give."

Berlin, *June* 23, 1892.

Yesterday I was present at a lunch at Caprivi's house at one o'clock, given in honour of the Italian Minister, Brin. The members of the Federal Council were present, and some officials. Brin is a man of middle age, of comfortable appearance, like a French bank director. I was introduced to him, and had a few words with him, which convinced me that he is not very conversant with the French language, notwithstanding his French name. After breakfast I went into Bötticher's garden, from which I saw the entry of the King of Italy with the Emperor. In the Königgrätzer Strasse the public showed little enthusiasm, but at the Brandenburger Tor they were said to have manifested their sympathy more warmly.

BERLIN, *June* 24, 1892.

To-day there was general excitement over Bismarck's interview with the correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*. The exchange is disturbed in consequence, as people are inferring war from Bismarck's utterances. Bleichröder informed me that he had been at Friedrichsruh ten days previously, and had advised Bismarck not to go to Vienna. He, however, had replied that his plans were fixed. He was informed by Herbert that the Emperor of Austria would receive him, and was willing in that way to please the family of the daughter-in-law. Hence the fury which he vented in the interview. Bleichröder laments his temper, and fears that the Emperor may now be induced to proceed in some way against Bismarck, which would be a great and, indeed, a dangerous mistake, for Bismarck still had a considerable following in the nation. He said Bismarck had a deep hatred of Caprivi. He actually reproached Caprivi for working against him in the *Reichsglocke*, which Bleichröder declares to be nonsense. Bleichröder asked Bismarck who could take Caprivi's place, whether Eulenburg or Waldersee. He said Bismarck replied that Waldersee could not be Chancellor at this moment, as his appointment would be considered tantamount to war by Russia and France; Eulenburg would be able to take office.

VIENNA, *June* 27, 1892.

There were three questions about which I wished to gather information here:

1. What was the attitude of the real aristocracy, that which is called "society," towards the Bismarck marriage?
2. How is the Emperor Francis Joseph disposed towards our Emperor?
3. Are there any signs that the decline of the Austrian Empire is now entering upon a more rapid phase?

So far as the first question is concerned, the true aristocracy has held aloof. Count Palffy, indeed, belongs to it, but he is considered an eccentric character. That the relations of Countess Andrássy have agreed to it is explained by the consideration which the lady might expect from her relations.

To my question as to how the Emperor stood with our Emperor, I was answered: "Naturally on the most excellent terms." And to my further question, "Is there no ill-feeling towards our Emperor amongst you?" my authority replied: "Not the very slightest."

As for the rest, things look as usual here. No one regards the future with much confidence, but there is no particular cause for anxiety.

STRASSBURG, *July* 7, 1892.

On Monday, the 4th, I went to Frankfort.

The other day I waited upon the Empress Friedrich in Homburg, and was invited to lunch at one o'clock. The Empress received me at twelve, was very friendly, and soon spoke of the Bismarck affair. She said she was not at all surprised at it. Bismarck was of a combative nature, and would never cease to fight. He could do nothing else. She talked of previous incidents, of Bismarck's groundless distrust of her and of the Empress Augusta, and expressed the opinion that we had only to thank the Emperor's quiet gentleness for any success of Bismarck's. He was a very dangerous opponent, but not a republican. He was too Prussian for that. But the Brandenburg-Prussian noble was determined to rule, though it were with the king.

ALT AUSSEE, *July* 31, 1892.

After I had announced myself, a few days ago, to the Emperor Francis Joseph, in a letter through the adjutant-general Count Paar, I was invited to dinner yesterday at three o'clock. I started at twelve o'clock, arrived at Ischl at 1.30, where a royal carriage met me. After a short visit to Konstantin I went to the "Post," where I changed, and then drove with Konstantin to the Imperial villa. The adjutant conducted me immediately to the Emperor, who received me very kindly. I thanked him for his letter in reply to my petition relative to the building of factories in Alt Aussee,* apologised for interfering in this affair, and pointed out again, by word of mouth, the disadvantage of the project. The Emperor seemed well informed on the subject, called the whole thing a great swindle, and assured me that means would be found to hinder the undertaking. Then the Emperor inquired about the organisation of Alsace-Lorraine, the details of which (district supervision, ministry, local board) I had to explain to him. He asked: "Are they under the Chancellor?" I answered: "No, under the Emperor; I am equal to the Chancellor." Upon which the Emperor answered in astonishment: "Oh, ho!" This brought us to discuss the connection of the Statthalter with the Chancellor, and with Bismarck, of whom the Emperor said: "It is melancholy to think that such a man can sink so low." Of Caprivi he said: "God grant that this man may remain long at his post!" He then inquired about the Emperor's journey to the Imperial provinces, seemed fully acquainted with the manœuvres in Lorraine and Baden, then talked of the Emperor's sea-voyage, which always did him much good, and expressed his interest in our Emperor in a kindly and fatherly manner. After an audience of a quarter of an hour the Emperor dismissed me, and I went down to the *salon*, where I found Konstantin, Paar, the ladies of the Court, and adjutants. Soon afterwards the Emperor appeared with the Archduchess Valerie, and after the presentations we sat down to dinner. I sat on the right by the Archduchess, Konstantin on the left, the Emperor opposite us, between two ladies-in-waiting. After dinner we went on to the terrace in the garden, where we smoked. Here the Emperor spoke to me of our Russian affair.

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* The Prince had applied to the Emperor in the interests of the inhabitants of Alt Aussee in order to overthrow the concession for the building of factories, by which the picturesque charm of the district would be destroyed.

About four o'clock the company withdrew. I changed my clothes, and stayed at the "Post" with Konstantin till my departure. Konstantin accompanied me as far as Hallstadt, and I reached home at 8.30.

WERKI, *August* 17, 1892.

We reached Berlin on Saturday the 13th. Early on Sunday I went to Caprivi, who received me with his accustomed friendliness. We soon came to speak of Bismarck, and Caprivi said he was proud to have drawn the attacks of the ex-Chancellor from the Emperor to himself by the publication of the well-known decrees.*

On Monday, 15th, I went to the Marble Palace, and waited a long time with Eulenburg and the Court ladies. Then the Empress arrived, and a little later the Emperor. He seemed cheerful and lively. During the meal the Emperor asked about the harvest in Alsace-Lorraine, and was very glad to hear the good news which I could give him. He mentioned our favourable financial position, and said: "Really, the balance ought always to be placed at the Emperor's disposal." Then he turned to Admiral von der Goltz and said: "The Alsatians could easily build us a ship." I said I was rather disposed to finish the castle in Saverne. After dinner on the terrace the talk turned on Bismarck. In the course of a long conversation the Emperor said: "If people think that I am going to deal with Bismarck by sending him to Spandau or anything of the kind they are mistaken. I do not intend to make Bismarck a martyr, to whom the people would make pilgrimages." The Emperor went on to say that he had recently spoken to Herrfurth, and had said to him: "You have attended all the sittings of the Ministry. Have I during the whole time done anything which could wound Bismarck, and give him occasion to take up arms against me?" Thereupon Herrfurth replied that all the Ministers had been surprised at the patience and forbearance with which the Emperor had borne Bismarck's insolence. I said that I was sure the Emperor would be well received in Diedenhof. Therefore, should the manœuvres happen to touch Diedenhof, they might tell me of it, that we could make the necessary preparations.

It must be added that the Emperor referred to Bismarck's assertion that he was on excellent terms with the Czar of Russia, and said with a laugh: "The Czar has told me that he has full confidence in Caprivi, but whenever Bismarck had said anything to him he always had the conviction '*qu'il me tricherait.*'"

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* In the *Reichsanzeiger* of July 7 was published a decree of May 23, issued to all the embassies, respecting Bismarck's Press campaign, together with a decree of June 9 to the Vienna Embassy respecting the attitude to be adopted on the occasion of Bismarck's visit to Vienna.

BERLIN, *September* 5, 1892.

Early yesterday I arrived here after a comfortable night journey from Edytkuhnen. About 11.30 I went to Caprivi and thanked him for his telegram. He told me that the question of suspending the manœuvres was not yet decided. The cholera was spreading gradually from Hamburg over the rest of Germany, and already a man travelling from Hamburg to Coblentz had died of cholera, and after him the Sisters of Mercy and nurses who had tended him. Moreover, an epidemic of enteric-typhus was reported in Luneville, and it seemed to him dangerous to hold the manœuvres. However, it is hard to persuade the Emperor to abandon them.

I told him of the request of the French actors to perform tragedies in Strassburg. He advised against it because it would be unfavourably noticed by the German Press as an undue promotion of French influence in Alsace. This advice confirmed my opinion.

AUSSEE, *October* 7, 1892.

At the invitation of Count Erwein Schlick, we went, Marie and I, on October 1 by train through Selztal to St. Michael, and from here through Rottenmann, Judenburg, and so on to Friesach. Both the Murthal, in which Judenburg is situated, and the Metnitztal, to which we came before Friesach, are broad green valleys, hemmed in by wooded hills, after the manner of all the valleys of the Styrian, Salzburg, and Carinthian Alps. They are fruitful, but comparatively thinly populated, and they give a melancholy impression. The view of Friesach, seen by bright moonlight, with its high walls and the surrounding castle ruins, is surprising. The interior of the town gives an impression of decay. Herr Bauer's hotel is, like all the hotels in Friesach, an old, gloomy building. The rooms are arranged without much method, separated by small rooms and passages. The inn-folk were very obliging, the food fair, and the beds good. As we wanted to see Friesach we stayed till 10 A.M., and as it was Sunday we went into the Dominican church, a brand-new cathedral in strict Gothic style. The architectural points of interest mentioned in Baedeker have disappeared and have been transferred to the Dominican monastery. The church was built by the Dominican order. Count Schlick had sent word that he expected us to dinner at one o'clock, so we started at ten o'clock with two small phaetons and a conveyance for the luggage. The way leads at first through the Metnitztal, then turns to the left into a narrow valley and becomes steeper. At one o'clock we were in Oberhof. We stopped a moment at Herr Schuster's inn, which lies under the castle. He received us at a triumphal arch with refreshment, and expressed his joy at our arrival from Alsace. When we came nearer to the castle we saw Count Erwein hastening to meet us. He welcomed us, and informed us that we were not to stay here, but were to go four hours further into the mountains. He himself set out to the shooting-box he occupied. We took our meal and went on about three o'clock.

Here every shooting guest lives separately. The shooting-box in the Felserniktal was allotted to us. The way up is steep and in parts dangerous, especially at one point, where a landslip had occurred, which was then being cleared. In consequence the path was difficult and steep, with the possibility of falling down a deep precipice — which, indeed, had happened quite recently to several inhabitants, but without any injury to them. Towards evening we reached the Flatnitz Inn, and were now not far from our goal. From here we were accompanied by Hofer and Franz, the keepers allotted to us. It now rapidly became dark, and the way led through the wood. Fortunately the keepers had lanterns, and went in front of the carriage. In spite of this the conveyance with the servants, in which another stout cook and a kitchenmaid had taken their places in Flatnitz, turned over, in sight of the shooting-box, and the occupants were thrown out upon the grass. No one was hurt, though the kitchenmaid, who had fallen on her face in the grass, thought she had nearly broken a tooth. We took possession of our comfortable rooms, and arranged with the keepers to start at five o'clock. Count Franz Schlick came in the evening to welcome us and see us comfortably settled. The house is two-storied; above, a well-furnished *salon* and a bedroom; below, kitchens and rooms for the keepers.

On Monday morning we started at five o'clock, first riding and then upon foot. I saw stags and other animals in great numbers, and then stalked further towards a point, where we settled ourselves. One stag, which showed itself, but stood in a bad position, was missed. On the way home I had another shot at a stag, which did not fall, though it seemed to be hit. Home about 10.30. In the afternoon we made another stalk, but without success, and the programme was repeated on Tuesday morning and afternoon with similar results. Marie shot at one stag, and apparently hit another, but this also could not be found. On the last morning another stalk was attempted. I saw nothing, but Marie shot a strong ten-pointer. We heard the shot and hurried up, where we found her and the keepers already with the dead stag. So the last day, at any rate, brought success. At nine o'clock we were at home, packed our things, took leave of our host and his brother in Flatnitz, and went down to Oberhof, where we stopped an hour with Herr Schuster, and then went on to Friesach. There we had time to eat, and went by the 7.40 train to St. Michael, where we spent the night. In the afternoon of Thursday, 6th, we returned to Aussee.

To Princess Elise *at Salm-Horstmar.*

Strassburg, *October* 17, 1892.

. . . The words which you wrote to me are very comforting: "The things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." I noted something similar many years ago, in Thomas à Kempis: "*Stude cor tuum ab amore visibilium abstrahere et ad invisibilia te transferre.*" The older we become, and the more we are led by the nature of things to loose our hold on life, the deeper we find this truth. The soul must have room to spread her wings for the eternal flight. In a chamber filled with all kinds of wares she cannot rise, but dashes her wings against the walls. . . .

Journal.

Berlin, *November* 7, 1892.

Yesterday evening at 6.30 I left Strasburg with Diringshofen.* At ten o'clock we were in Frankfort. Here I found Reischach,† who was also going to Berlin. He took a seat by me, and told me what news he had. He is one of those who see everything in the gloomiest colours. He considers it necessary that the Emperor and Bismarck should be reconciled. As if that were possible! He wishes for the renewal of the holy alliance between Germany, Russia, and Austria, and here I agree with him; only it is difficult to achieve. At ten o'clock this morning we were in Berlin.

In the Foreign Office I was told that the Czar of Russia wants Werder as ambassador in St. Petersburg. Schweinitz knew that, but recommended Alvensleben, because he did not wish that his successor should have a better position at Court than he had. Then I went to Shuvaloff, to whom I spoke of it, and whom I wished to persuade to ask leave in St. Petersburg to speak for Werner. But he had scruples, since Caprivi had already designated Alvensleben as successor to Schweinitz. On this subject we had a further discussion in the Foreign Office, and agreed that I should speak again with Marschall in the morning.

At four o'clock I called upon Caprivi. The conversation soon turned upon the military proposal, which he considered absolutely necessary. He said he was having great difficulty with the Emperor, who had several times declared against the two-year system of service. Now, however, he had agreed, and would abide by the arrangement. The Emperor's doubtful attitude had also induced a number of generals to declare against the proposal in order to gain the Emperor's favour and to overthrow Caprivi. He is aware of this, and complains that Miquel is not reliable. Upon the question of the tobacco duty he did not go into details, but confined himself to the assertion that the interests of those concerned in South Germany would be respected. He laughed at the rumour of my retirement. He asked for news of Köller, was aware of the differences between Puttkamer and Köller, and was delighted when I told him that the matter would eventually settle itself.

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* Major von Diringshofen, attached to the Statthalter after the departure of Major von Thaden.

† Freiherr Hugo von Reischach, Court Marshal of the Empress Friedrich, married Margaret, the youngest daughter of the Duke of Ratibor.

BERLIN, *November* 10, 1892.

Yesterday I remained at home on account of a cold, but a number of visitors called, who informed me of the reports and apprehensions in circulation. One visitor said that the military proposal * would be accepted, as the Centre did not desire the fall of Caprivi. Others say: "No, Caprivi will not secure a majority, and will resign; Waldersee will take his place." Others mention Albedyll as the future Chancellor. To-day I received an invitation to lunch at Potsdam. I went to the Wildpark station, where a carriage was waiting for me. The Emperor arrived rather late, and looked somewhat worn, but was in good spirits. We sat down immediately, and afterwards he had a long conversation with me. When the conversation turned upon Bismarck he said: "Only compare what Bismarck is doing with that for which poor Arnim had to suffer!" He says he will take no steps against Bismarck, but the results of all this are very serious. Waldersee and Bismarck cannot really bear the sight of one another, but had united, he said, by reason of their common hatred of Caprivi, whom Bismarck wished to overthrow. What the result would be was a matter of indifference to them.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

RAUDEN, *January* 8, 1893.

I venture respectfully to inform your Excellency that on my way to Rauden, whither I have been to visit my brother, who is seriously ill, I spent a day in Vienna, and called upon the Papal nuncio, Monsignore Galimberti. I introduced myself by recommending to his notice the interests of the Catholic Church in the Empire, and requesting him to promise me his support in Rome in the event of future necessity. He promised to do his best to meet my wishes at any time. A conversation of some length ensued, in which he said that his objects in Rome were the overthrow of French influence and reconciliation with Italy. Upon the first point he observed that the French bishops and the French party in Rome had used the age and weakness of the Pope to force him into the dangerous path of making overtures to the French Republic. Galimberti, on the other hand, regards salvation to lie in a reconciliation with Italy, and in confidence in the Triple

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* Introduced on November 23.

Alliance. He is not quite clear upon the means by which a reconciliation is to be secured. He says that the wish of the Ultramontane party to restore Rome to the Pope is now impossible of fulfilment, since Italy is identified with Rome. Meanwhile he thinks some solution will be found. He said that most of the Italian bishops and the whole of the Italian clergy were strong Italian nationalists, and he therefore hoped to find numerous friends. It seems to me that he is definitely calculating that he may be able to take the place of Rampolla and then to realise his plans, although he is under no illusion as to the power of his opponent. In any case, the German Empire has in him a devoted friend.

Journal.

KARLSRUHE, *January* 13, 1893.

On Thursday the 5th I left Strassburg by the Orient Express, which leaves at half-past four. I arrived in Vienna at nine o'clock; Konstantin was awaiting me in the hotel. We discussed Viktor's illness for a time, and then I went to bed. The next day, the 6th, I stayed in Vienna, and called upon the nuncio.

The next morning, Sunday, the 7th, I went to Rauden with Max Ratibor. We arrived at Hammer about eight, where we found a close carriage, which was very welcome on account of the extreme cold. On my arrival I visited Viktor, whom I found somewhat pulled down, but not greatly altered. He had sent for the priest in the afternoon, and had received the Sacrament, as he had wished, but it seemed to have somewhat affected him. In the afternoon I spoke to Nothnagel, who had come out from Vienna, and who gave me a very unfavourable diagnosis. The two days which I spent in Rauden passed as usual. Viktor shared our conversation, looked better, and my presence seemed to do him good. I went away on Tuesday morning with a heavy heart, and returned to Vienna with Max, where I was obliged to stay for one day, as otherwise I should not have caught the Orient Express. Konstantin and Chariclée were awaiting us at the station. I stayed on during the evening with Konstantin. The following afternoon, while I was with the Princess Ypsilanti, Konstantin came and informed me that Gustav had arrived. It was too late, however, to visit him, and I went away at five o'clock. I had previously been surprised by a telegram to the effect that the Emperor had arrived at Strassburg.

In Munich I was awakened by the arrival of a telegram instructing me to alight at Karlsruhe to meet the Emperor there. At eight o'clock I arrived at Karlsruhe, was met by Andlaw at the station, and drove to the Castle. The Emperor came at ten o'clock. He was received by the Grand Duchess (the Grand Duke had driven to meet the Emperor at the station) and by all the princes and princesses. The Emperor greeted me very affably, expressed his satisfaction with the hearty reception and the good dinner (he mentioned the *truffes en serviette*), and bade me go to him at twelve o'clock. We discussed the general situation, and the Emperor showed particular annoyance with the Conservatives and Anti-Semites. Lunch was at one o'clock. Eulenburg,* the Ambassador, came to see me in the afternoon. *Théâtre paré* commenced at six o'clock. I took my leave of the Emperor in the *foyer*, where supper was served after the second act. At eleven o'clock Eulenburg came to me again to tell me of his affairs. He said that Holstein and Kiderlen were of the opinion that he (Eulenburg) ought to become Secretary of State, if Bötticher went away or received another post; while in that case Marschall would take over the business of the Home Office, which would be more suited to him than the Foreign Office. Eulenburg did not feel that he was adapted to this position, as he possessed too little ambition, and not enough enjoyment of the exigencies of the Foreign Office. Furthermore, he was afraid that his relations with the Emperor, through his constant personal intercourse and audiences, might be disturbed; and yet it was just this friendly relationship which was very important and necessary to the Emperor, who was aware that he would never ask anything of him, and give him only honest advice. In this position of mediation he could be of greater utility than by acting as head of the Foreign Office. He was too young for that. The appointment of Marschall of Baden had already excited much dissatisfaction in official circles. If a new Secretary of State were to be chosen, he must be an elderly, distinguished diplomat — perhaps an ambassador. But he had no idea where this ambassador was to be found. He begged me to speak cautiously to Holstein about Marschall's succession, and to dissuade him from proposing him. I said that I would try, but did not believe that Holstein would let himself be dissuaded.

Early this morning, January 13, I left Karlsruhe, after paying a farewell visit to the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess. At 12.15 I was back in Strassburg.

BERLIN, *February* 20, 1893.

This morning, after my arrival, Viktor came. It was the first time I had seen him since the death of his father.† Then I went to Margaret. A sad meeting. Then to the Foreign Office. Holstein was not yet there, so I went to the Imperial Chancellor, with whom I discussed the question of the branch railway from Oberhofen to Bischweiler. We then came to the transactions of the Reichstag. He said that at present the outcome was doubtful. The Conservatives would certainly vote for it. What the National Liberals offered was not enough: 40,000 men was too little; 50,000 were needed. The attitude of the Centre was uncertain; the Democratic element in it was gaining the upper hand. If the proceedings broke down they must dissolve. The Government should resort to all legitimate measures for maintaining the defensive power of the Empire. There was no question of a *coup d'état.* The Emperor believed that the Centre was, in great measure, secure. He (the Imperial Chancellor) doubted it.

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* Count Philipp Eulenburg, then Prussian Ambassador in Munich.

† The Prince's brother had died on January 30, 1893.

Respecting the votes in the Federal Council for Alsace-Lorraine, he said he would consider the question, and I might send Puttkamer to report to him on the matter. But not yet — not till the Reichstag transactions were at an end.

At one o'clock I went to *déjeuner* with the Emperor. His Majesty spoke very feelingly about Viktor, acknowledged his industry and loyalty, and said: "We miss him very much, for everywhere, wherever any one was wanted to promote some general interest, the Duke of Ratibor was called for." I thanked the Emperor for these words, and also for his journey to Rauden, and said that had I known in time that he was coming I should have gone myself to Rauden in spite of Husten.

The 23rd.

To-day I was with the Minister Eulenburg, who expounded to me his views on the situation. He still hopes for an understanding with the Reichstag, and thinks that the Centre will nevertheless in part decide on adopting the military proposals. The Government, he said, could not let the proposals drop if only on account of the impression it would make on Russia and France.

Address to the Provincial Council, March 7, 1893.

Gentlemen, I have invited you later than usual this year to our friendly meeting. The reason is known to you. Owing to this delay, I was not able at the beginning of your session to express to you personally my wishes for the prosperous development of your affairs, and I must now, at this late hour, confine myself to briefly congratulating you on the rapid progress of your business.

If this business has been got through more quickly than usual, one reason for this is that we have brought before you comparatively few proposals from the legislative department. This will not have distressed you, for I know that you have no longing for new laws. I can understand this, and am not going to complain of it. I may say, indeed, that it is rather encouraging than otherwise to see a country in which the majority clings to traditional ways and is happy in them, a country which is of opinion that the sense of law is of more value than the written law, and which is free from the failing of crying out for legal help at every little physical or moral discomfort or annoyance. At the same time I do not mean to say that I did not regret that the measures of organisation which were proposed in the past year were not carried out. Meanwhile I am reassured in this respect by the thought that in this country also the feeling in favour of self-administration is gaining more and more ground. We shall have, however, to proceed slowly and step by step. And we shall therefore do well to content ourselves for the present with a reform of the parish system, and I am resolved before the next session to have a new scheme of regulations worked out, which will of course differ in many points from the plan of last year.

I have learnt with special satisfaction that the proposals for taxation of industries have met with all-round approval from the committee.

Altogether I place great confidence in the calm, practical good sense of the Provincial Council. The experience of the years in which I have had the honour of being at the head of this country has shown me that the Provincial Council is always ready to work hand in hand with the Government, in spite of passing misunderstandings, for the furtherance of the welfare of the country.

In this conviction I lift my glass and drink to the welfare of Alsace-Lorraine, to its representatives in the Provincial Council, and, gentlemen, to your worthy President.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *April* 30, 1893.

Count de Leusse, who from time to time pays a visit to his property in Reichshofen, came to see me to-day. I profited by the opportunity to question him about the hopes of the French Royalists. He told me that all hope of the restoration of the Monarchy must be renounced. The Republic was so firmly rooted that it could no longer be dislodged. Even the noble families were beginning to attach themselves to the existing form of government, and a large portion of the younger members of the nobility were going over to the Republic. His own sons had become Republicans. Part of the legitimist nobility still held fast to its traditions, but these kept aloof from public life and were silent. These gentlemen had sent Charrette to Rome to convert the Pope from his Republican sympathies. The mission had been without result, "*et Charrette est revenu bredouille.*" The Panama scandal had only injured individuals, not the Republic as such. All the deputies who had accepted bribes, or who were under suspicion of having been paid, would not be re-elected, but it would only be a case of electing other Republicans in their stead. The Pope and the Emperor of Russia had an unconquerable aversion to the Comte de Paris, and this had been aggravated by the idiotic behaviour of the young Duke. The sole chance still left to the Monarchy was that possibly Russia, on a favourable opportunity, might play off the young Bonaparte, who was serving in Russia. A Bonaparte who was at the same time a Russian general might possibly at a critical moment have the mass of the French population on his side. Whether in Russia such a contingency was contemplated he did not know.

BERLIN, *May* 19, 1893.

To-day at three o'clock I went to see Caprivi, with whom I discussed the project of suspending the election. He had great scruples of a political nature; so too had his Cabinet Councillor Göring. He begged me to send Puttkamer to him to-morrow, who is then to take counsel on the question with the Imperial law officers.

May 21.

Yesterday's *soirée* in Potsdam was far from satisfactory. The Emperor received me in a very friendly manner, and talked about artistic matters. He said nothing about my proposal. After dinner he disappeared, and did not come back till towards ten o'clock. On taking leave I asked him if he had read my report, and he said: "I shall consult with the Imperial Chancellor on the matter."

GOTHA, *May* 26, 1893.

The *Schrippenfest* which took place on Monday after Whitsunday was very interesting. The open-air service was held in the garden near the new palace under the trees. After it was over the Emperor came up to me and talked to me for a long time, which was very gratifying to me, as a large number of "grandees" were there to see. After the march past of the recruits the Emperor called me to him to show me the Princes. Thus the fullest sunshine of favour beamed upon me.

The authorities will have nothing to do with my proposal. Lucanus spoke very disapprovingly. Caprivi fears that a little stratagem of this sort would make a bad impression on the Centre and the Liberals, and thus spoil the election, whilst reasonable, sober-minded persons are of opinion that it would make the best possible impression.

BERLIN, *July* 8, 1893.

Here since July 3. Luncheon at Court. Before that I was at the Reichstag, where, as also yesterday, I heard the debates on the military proposals going on. Yesterday I was with Miquel, whom the Conservatives want as Imperial Chancellor. Miquel is always full of new ideas. Now he wants to suspend the Franckenstein clause for five years, and to fix the term of registration for five years, and the assignment likewise. The residues remain to the Empire. If less comes out of it than was predetermined, an Imperial tax must come to the rescue.

Bötticher, who sought me out at the Reichstag, told me that the Social Democrats mean to bring forward Feichter's case.* The question will be put on Monday. I agreed with Bötticher that it would be better for the Imperial Government not to ignore the fact that this was a matter for the Provincial Government to deal with, and to go into the case at once and make known Feichter's explanation. He was of opinion that it would be judicious to summon Köller for Monday. I accordingly telegraphed to Puttkamer. Meanwhile Bötticher notified me that the interpellation would not take place till Thursday, and that he had informed Puttkamer to this effect.

July 9.

To-day Miquel came to me. He regretted that the Emperor would not be reconciled with Bismarck, and said Caprivi should advise the Emperor to make it up. Then all the world would be satisfied. With regard to the result of the debate on the military proposals, he is not easy in his mind. The Anti-Semites, on whose consent the question depends, made impossible conditions. He also informed me that at the beginning of August he is going to hold a conference with the South German Ministers of Finance at Frankfurt, and that Schraut is also coming to it.

METZ, *September* 3, 1893.

This morning I went to the Devant-les-Ponts railway station to meet first the Princes and then the Emperor, who came with the Crown Prince of Italy. The Emperor was very friendly, and presented me to the Crown Prince. Whilst he was making his bows to the company collected to do him honour I drove on in advance to the place where the welcome from the town was to take place. I got down and placed myself with Hammerstein near the Municipal Council. The Emperor soon followed on horseback, with his suite. The burgomaster, Halm, made a fine, though somewhat lengthy, speech, to which the Emperor answered, giving Halm the chain which Hammerstein handed to him on his horse. Everything went off very smoothly. I then drove to the esplanade for the march past of the troops, which lasted an hour, and then home. At three o'clock back again to the station to go with the Emperor to Urville. The Emperor took me with him in his carriage, where we were alone together. I gave him an account of the Feichter affair, at the same time adding that I should have to propose putting Feichter on half-pay. The Emperor thought that would be a great pity, for Feichter was a capital man and a first-rate official. If his Majesty would hold out to him the prospect of reinstatement, I then suggested, the measure would be softened. The Emperor remained silent.

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* The Chief of Police, Feichter, had on June 29 received a deputation of Catholics, who had come to protest against the Government's action in dissolving the Catholic Fedeltà-Verein, and he was charged with having on the occasion expressed himself in a manner offensive to the Alsace clergy about the behaviour of the latter at the Reichstag elections.

We soon reached Urville. Here there was a grand reception at the station. I drove with the Emperor to the Tribune, where the notabilities were all drawn up to receive us. Jaunez first made his speech; then the old burgomaster, Dury, gave an address in French. The Emperor answered both in German, but afterwards had a talk in French with the old burgomaster. Then came the Bishop, who made — or, rather, read — a speech, which the Emperor answered. Then, through a lane formed by, I think, a thousand school-children and military and choral unions from Lorraine, we drove to Urville. The castle has been made extremely pretty, and also the garden, and the Emperor was delighted with his new possession.

We soon came away, and drove back to Metz.

In the evening there was a dinner, at which Prince Albrecht did the honours in the name of the Emperor. I sat between Eulenburg and the Italian general. On the right of Eulenburg sat Caprivi.

To-day, at the parade, I took advantage of a long spell of the Grand Duke's company to sound him as to how matters stood between the Emperor and the Chancellor. The Grand Duke said that the ill-humour about the Würtemberg manœuvres (which had been excited by the military) was over. I warned the Grand Duke against a second change of Chancellors, and found him of the same opinion. After the parade, breakfast with the Emperor and other exalted personages, and afterwards I found an opportunity of telling the Imperial Chancellor of my talk with the Grand Duke. He is, now as before, resolved to remain in office, and he thanked me for having spoken to the Grand Duke. In the evening there was a military dinner, when the Emperor made a speech to the Sixteenth Corps, to which Haeseler replied. Then "tattoo," which we heard from a pavilion built by the town for that purpose.

At five the manœuvres began. I had work to do, so did not drive out, and in the afternoon I paid visits. At seven o'clock the great municipal dinner, also in the military casino. The Emperor delivered an address to the Lorrainers, to which I replied. After dinner some of the gentlemen, amongst them Lucanus, and the Strassburg "Ministers," besides Bulach, Schlumberger, and others, came to me, and beer-drinking went on till half-past eleven.

September 6.

In the morning inspection of the plans for the restoration of the cathedral of Metz. In the afternoon Caprivi came to me. We talked about the Press law and its introduction into Alsace-Lorraine. Caprivi is against it, and advised that none of the sovereign rights belonging to the Alsace-Lorraine Government should be given up. As regards the Imperial Press law, it was bad, and ought to be altered if the Reichstag could be induced to agree to a change. But that was far ahead.

Concerning the nomination of Posadowsky, Caprivi related the following: During a sitting of the Reichstag the Emperor had once come into the House, had sent for him to come out, and had spoken disparagingly of the Minister of War. Caprivi, however, had said: "Kaltenborn cannot be dispensed with before the details of the new military statute are adjusted." At the same time he (Caprivi) informed the Emperor that Maltzahn wanted to resign, and mentioned to the Emperor three names for the post of secretary — first Huene, who, however, was out of the question; then Schraut, who offered no guarantee that he might not become the agent of Miquel, for he had no independence of character; and, thirdly, Aschenhorn, who was clever, but very unpopular in the Reichstag. The Emperor then suggested Posadowski, of whom he had heard much good in Posen. Caprivi made inquiries of the Chief President, and of Günther and Zedlitz, the two former Chief Presidents, heard a satisfactory account of Posadowski, and so he was chosen.

On the 7th there were manœuvres, from which I kept away. I remained at home all the morning, and took a walk in the afternoon to learn my way about the town. In the evening there was a dinner at the district Presidency, at which Prince Albrecht presided.

At eight I drove with Diringshofen to the manœuvre grounds, and found a very good place from which we could see the fire of the batteries of both army corps, several infantry skirmishes, and finally the attack on the infantry of the whole body of cavalry, who galloped down the mountain. A very interesting sight, but an impossible action in real war.

In the afternoon I went to Strassburg in order to receive the Emperor there on the following day. We were at the Neudorf railway station — Alexander, Diringshofen, Hoseus, and Dieckhoff, and myself — at 9.30. In the train which came in then were Prince Albrecht and the Bavarian princes. Soon after came the Imperial special train, bringing the Emperor and the Crown Prince of Italy. Greetings, and driving in front of the Emperor, who rode on horseback with his guests and his suite, to the Polygon. The parade was like all parades. We did not stay till the end, but drove quickly home, breakfasted, and then mounted the Princes' special train, which took us to Metz by four o'clock. I went to the station to await the Emperor's arrival, and go with him to the Presidency, where we looked through the plans of the cathedral buildings. At seven in the evening there was a parade dinner, at which the Emperor delivered a speech in honour of the Grand Duke of Baden, and the Fifteenth Army Corps. After dinner there came a few gentlemen, amongst them Caprivi, to drink beer with me. We broke up at 11.30.

On September 9 I drove at 10.30 to Kurzel in order to wish the Emperor good-bye before his departure. I found Haeseler (the Emperor was still at church); then came the Prince of Naples by train from Metz, and soon afterwards the Emperor. I had the satisfaction of being thanked by the Emperor for the successful way in which his visit to Metz and Strassburg had gone off. He said that in no Old German town could he have had a better reception. When I told him that I should see him again at Lauterburg, he said I must not think of it, but must go away and shoot stags. I protested, however, and said: "Then they will think in Alsace that I am out of favour." The Emperor answered: "That's the last thing that they have reason to think now."

I paid my adieux to the Italian Crown Prince also, and then the Royalties went off, and I got back into my carriage and returned to Metz.

STRASSBURG, *September* 14, 1893.

Yesterday morning at 9.30, in consequence of an invitation I had received, I went to Karlsruhe, where I arrived at 11.45, and drove to the palace. Andlaw, who received me in the porch, told me that the Emperor had not yet returned from the manœuvres, and that I was to lunch with the Grand Duchess at one o'clock. I found there the Hereditary Grand Duchess, Lucanus, Caprivi, Philipp Eulenburg, and the ladies. After breakfast Eulenburg came up to me, and told me all the latest news. He had been with the Kaiser in England, and had been witness of the ill-feeling then existing between the Kaiser and Caprivi. Eulenburg had feared that after the return there would come a rupture. But things had righted themselves. Meanwhile, he said, the military party, with Hahnke at their head, were now, as before, working for Caprivi's overthrow, and the storm was only postponed. They will have nothing more to do with a general at their head who is also Chancellor; they only want a Minister of War who suits them, and with whom they can transact their business directly. Who, however, this War Minister will be is not yet decided. The Grand Duke, who confirmed these statements, will not hear of Bronsart, because he is too easy-going, and he considers Bluhme the right man, which Caprivi has lately disputed. Philipp Eulenburg thinks that perhaps Eulenburg the first Minister would do very well as Chancellor. His physical weakness would be against him (as far as I am concerned he would be all right). The Emperor knows of no one yet. Of me there is happily no question. I heard from Caprivi that Bismarck had had an attack of inflammation of the lungs, and was still lying ill at Kissingen. His condition, however, is kept secret.

At half-past six I went to the Grand Duke. He spoke first of all to me about the intrigues of the military against Caprivi in the same sense as Eulenburg had done, and I spoke to him of what would be the consequences for him if he was marked out by the Press and by public opinion as the man who had now again been the cause of a change of Chancellor. He took this very well, and expressed, with apparent sincerity, his agreement with my views. He knows no one, moreover, whom he could put in Caprivi's place.

After dinner, and at the end of the reception and of the performance of the choral union, the Emperor came up to me and again expressed his great satisfaction with his stay in Lorraine and Alsace, and so on. He then spoke of Bismarck's illness, and of Bismarck's retirement, and of his hitherto hostile action. Of any personal feeling I saw no trace.

At 8.30 P.M. I returned to Strassburg, and as the Emperor goes to-day from the manœuvres at Lauterburg straight to Stuttgart the Imperial journey is at an end.

BERLIN, *December* 14, 1893.

To-day I was with Miquel, who has doubts about the tax upon the manufacture of tobacco being arranged. The Reichstag could not be reckoned on. The result would be that the different States would have to pay the costs of the military organisation. Universal suffrage was impossible. The elections were always bringing worse and worse elements into the Reichstag. The only way — but it was one which must not be mentioned yet — was to elect a fourth of the deputies from the different provincial assemblies. He (Miquel) is opposed to the abolition of exceptional laws in Alsace-Lorraine. With the wallowings of the French this was out of the question, and the general political situation did not allow of such an experiment. Eulenburg, on whom I called afterwards, is of the same opinion. As regards the Jesuits, he thinks the Prussian Government could not possibly take their part. We could not show our faces again in such a case. The feeling of the Protestants was too strongly antagonistic, and the Government would cut the ground from under its feet if it voted for the Jesuits in the Bundesrath.

This evening to the *Hannele* — a ghastly performance, Social-Democratic-realistic, added to which sickly sentimental mysticism, uncanny, debilitating, altogether abominable. We went afterwards to Borchardt in order to get back into a human frame of mind by means of champagne and caviar.

December 15.

I talked with Holstein to-day about the reproaches which the Bismarck Press had levelled against the *neue Kurs* and its foreign politics, against which Holstein sets as faults of the Bismarckian policy the Berlin Congress, the intervention in China in favour of France, the prevention of the collision of England and Russia in Afghanistan, and the whole policy of harassing Russia. Respecting Bismarck's last plan, to leave Austria in the lurch, he says that by adopting it we should have made ourselves so contemptible that we should be quite isolated and dependent on Russia. Crispi's Ministry causes anxiety both to Caprivi and also to Marschall and Holstein, because they are never certain what this somewhat excitable man will do. Besides which he has chosen that restless spirit Blanc as his Minister for Foreign Affairs which is also a matter for uneasiness. It is now a question of appointing a skilful ambassador to Rome, and Holstein has Bernhard Bülow in mind, which I think very reasonable.

December 28.

This morning I went to the Imperial Chancellor to take my leave of him. We discussed the Russian commercial treaty and the Conservatives. I raised the question whether the Government could tolerate that the Government presidents and the provincial councils should join with the Peasant League in agitating against the international commercial policy of the Government. He said they were just on the point of summoning a Ministerial council to discuss this very question. It was not advisable to proceed against the provincial councillors, but the Government presidents might well be packed off.

BERLIN, *January* 19, 1894.

Early yesterday Münster came to me and spoke of the rumour that he was to be dismissed. He has no desire to go, but is ready to send in his resignation if they do not want him any more.

At one o'clock I was at luncheon with the Empress Frederick. I found Münster there, with his daughter, and General Loë. Besides the Empress, there were also Prince Henry and Prince Schaumburg-Lippe, with their wives, and the Duchess of Mecklenburg. Prince Henry's son, five years old, a nice, wide-awake boy, was also at table. The Empress was charming, as always, and did not talk politics. Prince Henry makes an agreeable impression.

Yesterday evening there was a dinner at the Minister Eulenburg's, in honour of Fritz Hohenzollern and his wife. I sat between Prince Hohenzollern and Frau von Hindenburg, Münster's daughter. She told me a great deal about her Russian affairs, which she manages for herself and her brother. They have all sorts of difficulties (and that in the Government of Pensa). There were also present the once beautiful Countess Harrach, *née* Pourtalès, the Countess August Eulenburg, and several other ladies unknown to me. The Italian Ambassador, Lanza, had himself introduced to me.

BERLIN, *January* 20, 1894.

To-day I paid a few visits, and soon came home again to dress for the State dinner. I decked myself out with Bavarian and Spanish orders. The dinner was very brilliant. I sat between the Spanish Ambassadress and a *marquise* (the lady-in-waiting of the Princess Eulalie), who arrived here yesterday from Munich. After dinner, during the circle, I learnt that the Princess Eulalie intends coming to Strassburg somewhere about February 4, and so I invited her to our ball. She will write, however, to say if she is coming.

With the Emperor I had a long conversation. He represented to me that it was necessary to dismiss the old chief presidents. But Eulenburg was putting obstacles in his way. In place of the old chief president in Breslau, the Emperor would like to appoint Hermann Hatzfeld, because he is of opinion that distinguished landed proprietors would specially approve of him. But he does not wish it to be talked about. With Studt he is well satisfied. I concluded, from the remarks he addressed to me, that he does not class me among the old, useless people.

Our conversation lasted so long that the Empress and the Court marshals had to remind us that it was time for the *théâtre paré* at the Opera House.

BERLIN, *January* 21, 1894.

The *Ordensfest* of to-day went off as usual. A very solemn service in the castle chapel, then luncheon at one in the White Saloon. I sat by the Austrian Ambassador, Szögenyi. The event of the day, which was also discussed at Holstein's with Pourtalès and Marschall in the evening, was the appearance of Herbert Bismarck, who had driven over in an open eight-springed *calèche* from Henckel. I saw him in the chapel, where he behaved quite unconstrainedly. After luncheon his friends at Court, Eulenburg, Pückler, Lehndorff, and others, got him up close to the Emperor. The Emperor, however, did not speak to him. Hence great indignation among the Bismarckians. They declared that the Emperor had notified to Herbert Bismarck that he would speak with him. This, however, cannot be true. For when the Emperor sends any one a message like that he does not cut him in so marked a manner. There had been hopes of effecting a *rapprochement*, and therewith demolishing Caprivi's position. This has now failed. Münster's position is unshaken. They are of opinion here that he might still do good service in Paris.

BERLIN, *January* 22, 1894.

The presence of Herbert Bismarck yesterday at the *Ordensfest* is still fluttering the dovecotes. In the Casino the Emperor is accused of having informed Herbert Bismarck that he wanted to speak to him, and then of having cut him. The truth is that

Eulenburg, through Kanitz and Blumenthal, brought Herbert close to the Emperor. If the Emperor had spoken to him the enemies of Caprivi would have exploited the incident for their own purposes. The Emperor was at Marschall's to-day, and he abused Herbert. Nevertheless, at the same moment he sent an *aide-de-camp* to Friedrichsruh with wine and a message of congratulation to the Prince on his recovery. Bismarck answered with a complimentary letter, and said he should come here after the birthday to thank the Emperor in person. This has again caused great excitement. My friends in the Foreign Office are somewhat perturbed, because they are afraid that Bismarck will persuade the Emperor to choose another Chancellor, and Holstein actually said I ought to advise the Emperor to have me with him when he was receiving Bismarck! This, however, I shall, of course, not do. If I had an opportunity of speaking to the Emperor I might, perhaps, advise him to have a witness present. At any rate, however, caution is necessary. If a Bismarck *régime* came in I should naturally not remain much longer at Strassburg, but should have to make way for a friend of Bismarck's. As regards the fulfilment of the Russian treaty of commerce, the *rapprochement* with Bismarck is of decisive importance. The Conservatives and anti-Caprivites are triumphing this evening. I still think, however, that the matter will not turn out so badly as it appears. Anyhow, it is well that I am here now.

BERLIN, *January* 25, 1894.

This morning I went to the Reichstag; at four o'clock to Holstein's, where I found Pourtalès, who promised to speak to the Master of the Ceremonies, Kanitz, about the precedence of the Statthalter. At present there is no such thing. There was much talk about the expected arrival of Bismarck (to-morrow at one). The affair has its dangers. The reception of Bismarck, who is to be met by Prince Henry and driven to the palace, will throw the Emperor somewhat into the shade and damage the Monarchy. On the other hand, the German public will rejoice greatly and be grateful to the Emperor for having made this move towards reconciliation. Caprivi, with whom I dined yesterday evening, at Winterfeldt's in company with Philipp Ernst and Alexander, owns that he was not informed of the Emperor's intention. He bears it resignedly. I should not like to be Chancellor under such conditions. Meanwhile it is well that he is so resigned and that we can keep him with us, provided Bismarck, in his interview, does not find ways and means of bringing him under suspicion with the Emperor. Caprivi, through the whole of this evening's talk, showed himself a dignified, honourable, loyal man. God grant that he may weather this storm.

BERLIN, *January* 27, 1894.

Yesterday was the eventful day on which Bismarck's visit took place. Shuvaloff had invited me and Alexander to breakfast, in order to see the Prince drive by. At one o'clock the carriage came in sight — a closed state coach, in which Bismarck sat with Prince Henry. The very numerous crowd that had gathered greeted the carriage with a "Hoch," but there was no sign of any great enthusiasm. The reception at the door by the Emperor, who was surrounded by his staff and his Court, is said to have been very cordial. Bismarck went with the Emperor to the Empress's apartments, and then had luncheon alone with their Majesties. Later on he drove to the Empress Frederick's and dined at six o'clock in her apartment. His sons and the deputation of his regiment had also been invited, and the Emperor was also present. At seven o'clock he drove back to Friedrichsruh. The Emperor, on his afternoon ride along the Linden, was received with great enthusiasm. It is certain that this reconciliation has gained the Emperor great popularity through the whole of Germany.

In the afternoon I left my card on Bismarck. Then I drove to see Miquel, who approves highly of the reconciliation. He told me that Bismarck's chief vexation in his retirement was that the new *régime* had not followed up any further the treaty concluded with Russia. The treaty, so Miquel said, had guaranteed that Germany should leave Russia a free hand in the East, while Russia, on the other hand, pledged herself to remain neutral in case of a war with France, even though Austria should lend a hand in the East.

Early this morning there was Divine service in the castle chapel. I had an opportunity of congratulating the Emperor on yesterday and to-day, which he received very graciously.

BERLIN, *January* 27 (*evening*), 1894.

This evening there was a gala performance at the Opera. I was in the proscenium box with the ambassadors and ambassadresses. Spontini's *Fernand Cortez* was given — the most *assommant* opera in the world; and afterwards *tableaux vivants*.

Between the acts there was a reception in the foyer. I first talked with the different monarchs, the Kings of Würtemburg and Saxony, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, and others. Then I was summoned to the Empress, of whom I took my leave. Soon after the Emperor came also, and I took leave of him, as I was going away the next day. We got on the subject of Bismarck's visit yesterday, and the happy results which it would have for the Emperor. "Yes," said the Emperor, "now they can erect triumphal arches for him in Vienna and Munich. I am always a horse's length ahead of him. If the Press begins to scold again, it will put itself and Bismarck in the wrong." I remarked that the rabid Bismarckians had not been at all satisfied with the visit, and insisted that the Emperor ought to go to Friedrichsruh. "I know," said the Emperor, "but they might have waited long enough for that. It was for him to come here." On the whole, the Emperor talked very reasonably and with great decision, and by no means gave me the impression of wanting to change everything.

BERLIN, *March* 18, 1894.

On Saturday I was invited to the Imperial luncheon at 1.15. I met there Caprivi, Marschall, Werder, Thielmann, and a few other councillors of the Foreign Office. At table I sat next to the Emperor. I asked him if it was true that he had told Kanitz that he must vacate his post or else vote for the treaty, and he answered energetically in the affirmative. After breakfast the Emperor showed us his Turkish rooms, which are very richly furnished with carpets and rugs, mostly presents from the Sultan. I thought the Emperor looked very robust; all the rumours of illness are only mischievous inventions of those who are speculating on a regency.

BERLIN, *June* 17, 1894.

The Imperial Chancellor, on whom I called yesterday, thinks a Catholic faculty would be advantageous, whereas Lucanus told me yesterday that the Emperor will not hear of it. He fears conflicts with the Curia, and Lucanus urged that the priests educated at the Catholic university of Breslau were no better than the clergy trained in the seminaries. His advice is to go slowly, as even the Centre would oppose. He will let the matter rest for another month or two and then see whether the Emperor will make up his mind to it. We could always be studying the subject in the meantime.

Speech at a dinner presided over by the Rector of the University, PROFESSOR WINDELBAND, *June* 25, 1894.

Gentlemen, The friendly utterances of his Magnificence, for which I tender my sincere thanks, afford me the opportunity of greeting not only the Rector Magnificus, but also the body of philosophers. It is the first time since I have been in Strassburg that a philosopher by profession has held the Rectorship. And if I lay special stress on this fact, it is because philosophical study has never been quite foreign to me, and because my youth fell at the time when philosophy constituted the central point of academic study, and from it, as we held, went out those rays of light whose business it is to illumine the other branches of learning. Things have changed since then. It seems to me that young students are now turning more and more away from philosophy. I do not know whether it is that, with Virchow, they consider that we have passed out of the philosophical age into the age of natural science, or whether they are frightened away by the infidel and disturbing tendencies of the most recent philosophers, whom to study is almost to make one wish that Dr. Falb may be right in his prophecy that in the year 1899 a great comet will destroy the earth, and that all human vermin, inclusive of supermen and the beasts that perish, will be swept away.

Our revered Rector does not belong to this class of thinkers. To him the *veritates æternæ* are no antiquated standpoint. And, though he is a man who lives in the present, he still knows how to keep alive in the young the ideal views and enthusiasms without which life is a poor thing at best. And so I have the pleasure of wishing him and us and the University the best of good fortune, and that in spite of all rumours of foreign appointments we may still keep him a long time with us.

Let us, therefore, empty our glasses and join in the cry: "The Kaiser Wilhelm University and its worthy Rector — long may they live!"

Journal.

Berlin, *August* 16, 1894.

At seven o'clock I was in Berlin. After I had had a bath and changed I went to see Caprivi. I gave him all the news from Alsace-Lorraine that might interest him. Caprivi thought I should not see the Emperor until the state dinner. The America tariff question, about which Schraut had already spoken to me, worries him a good deal. The Americans want to raise the duty on sugar against those States which grant a bounty on export to their manufacturers. A tariff war with America was not to be thought of. The Agrarian party would use these questions, on which the Government was powerless, to put difficulties in the way of the Ministry. Saurma, who had been appointed ambassador at Washington to replace the far more capable Holleben, since the latter was required at Stuttgart by the King of Würtemberg, was not equal to the situation. Finally I asked further what Caprivi would say to my wishing to make Bulach District President. He strongly dissuaded me. The situation was not such that the attempt could be risked at present. The commanding generals were complaining, Caprivi said, about the ingress of so many French officers. He advised me, however, not to trouble myself about it.

Berlin, *August* 18, 1894.

To-day the parade of the whole corps of Guards took place. However, I did not go, not wishing to tire myself unnecessarily, as in the evening I had to go to Potsdam for the dinner.

At a quarter to five I drove with Diringshofen to the station, to take the special train to Wildpark. It was a considerable time before the Emperor came, as Caprivi had a report to make. The Emperor gave me hasty greeting in passing, and then we sat down. A very big dinner. I sat between Fritz Hohenzollern and Albedyll. After dinner Kanitz brought me to the Emperor. . . . I spoke also of the theological faculty in Strassburg. Then he passed on to Bernhard Bülow, with whom he conversed at great length about Italy. On the way back I made the acquaintance of the Landrat von Stubenrauch, who has no very pleasant exterior, but appears to be a man of intelligence and strong nerve, and with whom I had an exhaustive conversation. He might do very well as Prefect of Police in Berlin.

SCHLOSS FRIEDRICHSHOF, *October* 11, 1894.

As soon as I had received the news that the Empress Frederick expected my visit at Friedrichshof, I left Strassburg by the 9.40 train, arrived at Frankfurt at 2.30, and hoped to be able to continue my journey at once. However, the train had already gone. I inquired for the next, and received the not very consoling answer that there was none until half-past five; so that I should not arrive at Kronberg before six o'clock, when I had announced myself for three. I therefore sent Schmidt to Homburg to recover the trunk that had been sent there in error and take it to Friedrichshof, and took a cab at the station, as it would be an hour before a more decent carriage could be obtained; drove in this slow conveyance to Kronberg and the neighbouring castle, where I arrived at five o'clock. Here I was received at the entrance by Hugo Reischach and Margarete, and while I was taking off my coat the Empress also came up and led me into the hall, where I found Fräulein von Faber and a daughter of Professor Esmarch. After a hasty cup of tea I was taken by the Empress through the beautiful park. Unfortunately we could not enjoy the view, as everything was shrouded in thick mist. The park is large, very well kept, and has fine old trees. The castle, in Renaissance style, is large, roomy, and exceedingly comfortable. On our return from our walk the Empress led me to my room. A large room, with a great four-post bed, and a dressing-room and bath-room leading out of it. All very handsome, tasteful, and convenient; only the bath-taps for hot and cold water are so elegant that to-day I had great difficulty in turning them on, and could scarcely turn them off again.

Supper was at eight o'clock. As I had only had a cup of coffee at Strassburg and a cup of tea here, the meal was acceptable. After supper we sat a little while longer in the hall; then the Empress retired, and the others went up to the smoking-room, above mine. There is no smoking elsewhere in the house. Seckendorff, Reischach, and the ladies stayed till half-past eleven, when we all went to bed.

This morning we breakfasted with the Empress. Afterwards she showed me her drawing-rooms and art treasures, as well as the library, in which she pointed out the pictures of the late owner, Count von Kronberg. She has also bought the ruins of Kronberg, opposite the castle, which she intends to restore by degrees and perhaps to arrange as a museum. When we had seen everything the Emperor requested an artist or *savant*, who was engaged in the drawing-room, to take me over to the old castle, which can be reached in a quarter of an hour. Lunch is at one, and the King of Greece is expected.

Before leaving I visited, with the Empress and the King of Greece, the stables, that Reischach has arranged very handsomely, and of which he is very proud. I then took my leave and went to Frankfurt, and from there at five o'clock to Strassburg, where I arrived at half-past ten. At Kronberg there was also some talk of the illness of the Emperor of Russia, the seriousness of which is doubted by the Empress, while the newspapers and Princess Urussow consider the Emperor beyond hope.

THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLORSHIP AND THE LAST DAYS

1894–1901

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1894–1901

Prince Hohenlohe has left copious notes of the period of his Chancellorship of the German Empire. The value of these notes, apart from their disclosures of the course of German foreign policy, consists in their unreserved presentment of the difficulties and struggles of domestic politics, which were occasioned more by the persons than by the things themselves. Peremptory considerations, therefore, prevent their complete publication at the present time. Nevertheless, in order to complete the picture of his life, some extracts will be given which will at least throw partial light upon the impressions and experiences of the Prince during the last period of his life, his personal affairs, and the feelings of his old age.

At noon on October 26, 1894, the Prince was summoned to Potsdam by a telegram of the Emperor. From the wording of this despatch he knew no more than that it was a question of "important interests of the Empire." That the Imperial Chancellor, Count Caprivi, and the Prussian Premier, Count Eulenburg, had tendered their resignations, and that these had been accepted, the Prince learned first from a newspaper in passing through Frankfurt.

After his arrival at Potsdam on the morning of October 27, when the Emperor met him at the station and accompanied him to the New Palace, the negotiations began, and on October 28 the Prince decided, yielding to the urgent request of the Emperor, to take over the office of Imperial Chancellor. It is true that at the last moment the Princess, in her anxiety lest the health of the Prince, who was already seventy-five, should suffer through the burden of office, had tried in vain to dissuade him from his determination, and had even telegraphed to the Emperor or the Empress with this object. On October 29 the appointment of the Prince as Imperial Chancellor and President of the Council of Ministers was published in the *Reichsanzeiger*.

A high official wrote to the Prince on this occasion: "Your Highness has a great patriotic mission before you. I do not know any one but you who is capable of dispelling the dangers of the present time. Your name, your past, inspires a confidence which no German statesman, except Prince Bismarck, can command."

The feeling of an imperious patriotic duty had decided the Prince to overcome his grave scruples against accepting the Emperor's mandate.

On October 31 the Prince took up his residence in the palace of the Imperial Chancellor, and at two o'clock presided at a sitting of the Prussian Ministry, which now included, besides the newly-appointed Minister of the Interior, von Köller, the Secretary of State, von Marschall. On November 5 the Prince presided for the first time over the Federal Council. On the 7th he left Berlin again, and after a stay of two days in Munich, where he was received by the Prince Regent, arrived on the evening of the 10th at Strassburg, where he remained until the evening of the 18th. On the 12th he received a deputation from the University of Strassburg, which presented him with an address, on the 16th the Common Council of Strassburg, the Burgomaster of Metz, and numerous deputations from the authorities, from corporations and societies. To the address of the Burgomaster of Strassburg the Prince replied: "I had accustomed myself to the idea of looking upon the city of Strassburg as my second home. I hoped to end my life here, in the performance of the duties that have become dear to me, and surrounded by the confidence of the inhabitants, or, at least, to remain here as long as my strength should last and the confidence of the Emperor continued to be extended to me. Now the confidence of his Majesty has called me to another place, and I must obey the call. . . . Before I depart I thank you most heartily for the confidence you have shown me, and for the sympathy you have evinced towards me during my nine years of office, and particularly at this time. . . . May God protect this land and this city!"

The Prince expressed his thanks for the brilliant demonstration at his departure in these words: "The proofs of friendly feeling which have been shown me by the inhabitants of Strassburg and a great part of the population of Alsace-Lorraine have touched me deeply. I can find no words to express my thanks as I should wish. I beg you to tell your fellow-citizens that it is very, very hard for me to say good-bye to Alsace-Lorraine. What I have met with in the last few days is the greatest distinction that can be shown to a man engaged in public life. I am proud of it, and shall carry the remembrance of it in my heart to my last day as the fairest reward of an active life."

The Prince travelled by Baden to Schillingsfürst, and was back in Berlin on November 21. On November 24 he received the officials of the Foreign Office.

PRINCE HOHENLOHE *to* PRINCE BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *November* 26, 1894.

YOUR HIGHNESS, — Since his Majesty has called me to the post of Imperial Chancellor, it has been my wish to satisfy myself as to the health of your Highness and of the Princess by a personal visit. The news of the approaching return of your Highness to Friedrichsruh had induced me to postpone my visit till then, the more so as my official duties, at the moment of taking over the post, do not admit of so long an absence as a visit to Varzin would require.

To my keen regret I must conclude, from an application for leave from Count Rantzau which has just come before me, that the state of health of the Princess gives renewed cause for anxiety, and that the journey to Friedrichsruh will presumably be still further delayed.

I would therefore avail myself of the present means, until I am able to do so personally, to beg your Highness kindly to inform me of the health of the Princess.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

VARZIN, *November* 27, 1894.

When I received your Highness's official letter of yesterday I was on the point of expressing to you my pleasure and satisfaction at your having taken over the office of Imperial Chancellor. In the meantime God has laid a heavy sorrow upon me,* which your Highness will share with me. If your Highness will honour me at an early date with a visit to Friedrichsruh, I shall be heartily pleased, and shall have an opportunity of personally expressing to you my confidence and my cordial thanks for your sympathy.

With great truth and respect, I am,

Your Highness's most obedient servant,

VON BISMARCK.

Journal.

January 14, 1895.

Yesterday I went with Alexander to Friedrichsruh. We had announced our visit beforehand. We arrived about one o'clock, were received at the station by Herbert and Rantzau, and most kindly welcomed by the Prince in the entrance-hall. Countess Rantzau and Schweninger, and a young man who probably was Chrysander, were present. We soon went in to lunch. I found the Prince looking very well, but his voice weaker than formerly, which may have been the result of his having waited lunch for me, and being on that account, as he said himself, hungry and rather tired. After a few glasses of Moselle he was refreshed. Before lunch was over I delivered myself of the Emperor's commission, and told the Prince that the Emperor would summon him to the Council of State. This seemed to affect him very agreeably. I added that the position of Vice-President remained open to him. We then went on to speak of Kanitz's proposal, and of the agricultural distress, and Bismarck's advice was, not to take up an uncompromising position against the proposal. It would not, however, meet with a majority in the Reichstag. For the rest, no large measures were of any use, but only small measures. About the debate which overthrew the Government he spoke with approval. I had done right not to lose myself in details. Bismarck then spoke once more on his favourite subject, the *Ressortpartikularismus*, of the envy of the Germans, especially of his fellow-junkers, who could not forgive him for having risen over their heads and become a prince. In this connection he thought that my position as a prince of the Empire was a much more favourable one. The junkers could not be envious of me.

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* Princess Bismarck died on November 27.

After lunch we went sleighing in the forest. During the drive we talked of Miquel, Scholz, of the law of accountancy, of which he disapproves; then of the treaty with Russia, which Caprivi had not renewed because the policy it led to was too complicated for him. The difficulty of my position lay in the sudden decisions of his Majesty.

When I spoke of my acceptance of the post, and expressed my regret at being obliged to take it over, he said it was an honourable duty which I could not have shirked.

I must add that the Prince pointed out a modification of the railway tariff as the means of assisting agriculture.

On our return to the house we had tea, and then I went to the station. The Prince said at parting that he wished me success and courage.

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BUDA,* *September* 5, 1895.

I am writing to you at my desk, from which I have a view across the meadows to the woods. The weather is magnificent, and my stay here as pleasant as it could possibly be. . . .

On Sunday I shall have to be off again; will stay one day at Werki, and then go on to St. Petersburg to present myself to the Emperor. It was not to be avoided.

Journal.

ST. PETERSBURG, *September* 10, 1895.

On Tuesday at half-past eleven we arrived at St. Petersburg, where Radolin met me with the whole Embassy. We lunched at one. Then I paid my visit to Lobanow.

ST. PETERSBURG, *September* 11.

By a written message from the Chief Master of Ceremonies I was informed that the Emperor and Empress would receive me at a quarter past twelve at Peterhof. I therefore drove to the station at half-past nine, accompanied by Herr von Romberg (of the Embassy), arrived at Peterhof at a quarter past eleven, where a Royal carriage was in waiting which brought me to a house in the park at Peterhof, where I waited till the time of the audience. At the appointed time I drove to the little villa occupied by the Imperial couple. Benckendorff received me, and in a few minutes I was conducted to the Emperor. He received me with great friendliness, inviting me to sit at his writing-table. I conveyed to him the greetings of the Emperor.

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* A hunting-lodge on the Russian property.

He then asked me how long I had been at Strassburg; could understand, when I told him, how unwillingly I had gone to Berlin, &c.

Then, passing to his work, he thought it had now entered upon a period of calm, since every one was going on leave. Lobanow too was going abroad, and would call on the Emperor in Berlin. Then he inquired about our African colonies, and seemed to take an interest in them as a geographer.

As regards the East Asiatic question, the Emperor expressed his satisfaction that we had acted in concert with him, and was pleased when I told him that we were guided therein by the desire of manifesting our good relations with Russia. The Emperor remarked that there had been some differences of opinion, which were now cleared up, and that the negotiations in Tokyo would do the rest. "*Entre nous,*" he said, "*est-ce que ce n'est pas Monsieur de Marschall qui a été un peu cause de ces différends?*" I protested, and said that Marschall did what he was told, and that we did nothing without having received the commands of the Emperor. Perhaps differences of opinion had given rise to misunderstandings. The Emperor then said: "*Au fond j'ai beaucoup de sympathie pour les Japonais, malgré la blessure dont je porte la marque*"; and he pointed to his forehead, at the side of which there is a little raised scar. "*Mais c'était un fou, un fanatique, quoiqu'un employé de la police. Tout ce que j'ai vu dans ce pays m'a fait une grande impression. J'ai été frappé par le grand ordre qui y règne, par l'activité et l'intelligence de la population. Mais cette sympathie n'a pu m'empêcher d'agir contre les Japonais quand ils ont voulu aller trop loin.*" (This was at least the sense of what he said.) "*Les Chinois sont une horde indisciplinée, qui ont de bonnes armes et des canons et des forteresses, mais ne savent s'en servir.*"

The Emperor then said that he had written in the spring to our Emperor, saying that he would have nothing against our acquiring something in that quarter, so as to have a fixed depôt or coaling-station. I told him that the Emperor had mentioned this to me under the seal of secrecy, whereat the Czar made a gesture of approval. I then mentioned the Chusan Islands, to which, however, the English lay claim. "Yes," said the Czar, "they always want everything for themselves. Whenever anybody takes anything, the English immediately want to take much more," and he made a gesture of the arm. Thus he had read in a newspaper that an Englishman had declared that England ought to acquire a point a thousand miles north of Hong Kong. "*Mais ce serait chez nous!*" he added with a laugh. Finally he spoke about Armenia. He had had enough of the Armenian business, and hoped we had now heard the last of it. Bandit raids occurred everywhere. In the Caucasus, too, the Armenians were plundered and gave trouble. It was therefore time to get rid of this question, otherwise the unrest would spread.

As I was leaving he charged me with his best greetings to the Emperor, and said: "*Dites à l'Empereur qu'il continue à m'écrire personellement quand il aura quelque chose a me communiquer.*"

In the afternoon I returned to St. Petersburg, paid some visits, received the German Colony at six o'clock, and dined at half-past seven with Lobanow.

ST. PETERSBURG, *September* 11.

We followed Lobanow to the church of the fortress, which contains the vault of the Imperial family. Stone coffins stand in the church over the graves of the Emperors and Empresses, as also over those of the Grand Dukes. I was much struck by a comfortably furnished *salon* close to the nave of the church, where the Imperial family can rest when visiting the graves. Perhaps they take tea there? The French wreaths are original. Afterwards we went to the island — a beautiful walk, which I had taken with Philipp Ernst on my last visit. In the evening there was a dinner at the Embassy, where I made the acquaintance of the British Ambassador, Lascelles. A personality which inspires confidence. Lichtenstein gave me good news of Konstantin, which he had had from his sister. He will come to see me to-day.

Table Talk.

Lobanow said after dinner: "We have really done Europe a great service by taking up France. Goodness knows what these people might have taken it into their heads to do if we did not keep them in check." It seems to me there is some truth in this. I talked with Durnovo about communal property in land in Russia, and advised him to reduce it, and to introduce instead individual property, as in Lithuania. He said he was about to do so, and first of all to extend the time to twelve years. It was a remarkable thing, however, that the emigrants to Siberia, to whom private property was granted, demanded communal property. Lobanow had no idea that private property in land existed among the peasants of the western provinces!

Memorandum on military penal procedure, October 31, 1895.

. . . In Bavaria I have taken for a long time — since 1849, in fact — the side of the National party. Since, however, in Bavaria only Liberals and Particularists — or, rather, Ultramontanes — are to be found, I have had to seek the support of the Liberal party. As an adherent of this party I became a Bavarian Minister. As such I have also introduced the present military penal procedure, in which the publicity of the proceedings was provided for. If I were now to bring in a law to exclude publicity, I should find myself in opposition to the *Prussian* War Minister, who demands publicity; I should be more Prussian than a Prussian general. I should act in contradiction to my past and be exposed to the danger of being reminded in the Reichstag of the Bavarian law introduced by me. I should thus be scoffed at and made ridiculous, and a discredited Chancellor would be of no service to the Emperor. If, therefore, the Minister of War goes against this Bill, then I too shall go against it.

November, 1895.

An old Bavarian jurist, a man of thoroughly national ideas, and free from prejudice, my coadjutor during my Ministry from 1866 to 1870, writes to me: "I urgently beg you not on any account to support a Bill that excludes publicity. Public feeling on this point is quite crazy. If his Majesty only knew what harm he is doing himself by maintaining the opposite point of view! I ascribe the late increase of *lèse-majesté* to this opposition. If the court has the power (as is the case with us) to exclude the public whenever it appears necessary for the safeguarding of discipline, then there can be no danger. I repeat, with as many dissolutions as you like, you will never get a Reichstag together that will pass a military penal procedure without publicity. As a jurist, and also in my private capacity, I regard the question with perfect coolness; I do not care one way or the other. But as things now are, procrastination is a great political blunder. In Bavaria the Ministry would rather resign in a body than alter the Bavarian procedure."

Memorandum prepared in the autumn of 1895.

I know that a number of politicians and highly-placed busybodies are doing their best to discredit me with his Majesty. They want another Chancellor, and pretend there is need of energetic action. What can they gain by this? A conflict with the Reichstag leads to dissolution and to fresh elections, and these to a defeat of the Government. Another dissolution and a *coup d'état* leads to a conflict with the federated Governments, to civil war, and to the dissolution of the German Empire. Then foreign countries would not look on quietly, but would intervene — at least, France would. My policy is to try to get on with the Reichstag. If it grants no financial reforms, then that matter will not be laid before it again next time. The dissatisfaction of the several States with the financial burden will not leave public opinion unaffected, and will prepare the way for new elections.

I myself shall go at any moment, if his Majesty intends to follow those paths.

BERLIN, *January* 10, 1896.

P. complains that Germany is becoming more and more an industrial State. Thereby that part of the population is strengthened upon which the Crown cannot depend — the population of the great towns and industrial districts; whereas the agricultural population provided the real support of the Monarchy. If things went on as at present, then the Monarchy would either pass over to a republic, or, as in England, become a sort of sham monarchy.

I replied that I shared these fears, but that I had not yet found the means of strengthening the rural population. We could not admit the excessive demands of the Agrarians. I see the cause of this in the fact of our having in 1879 exchanged the previous system of comparative free trade for a protective tariff, and thereby transformed Germany into an industrial State.

Extract from a letter to FREIHERR VON VÖLDERNDORFF.

BERLIN, *January* 26, 1896.

. . . I should have replied to you before this, but my time has been taken up by an alternation of jubilee *fêtes* and crises. As a rule, the crises pass off quite peacefully, after having kept my friends in a state of excitement for a few days. So far his Majesty desires no other Chancellor, and backs me up. Under existing circumstances I am still, with all my faults, the best possible Chancellor.

Extract from the PRINCE'S *speech at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Federal Council, March* 21, 1896.

. . . But few of those heroes are yet among the living. . . . One, however, the greatest of them all, still stands among us like an oak of the Sachsenwald — Prince Bismarck, who follows the destinies of the Empire with an anxious eye and addresses many a word of admonition to the successors of the great days — the man who, when, after the first attempts at union, we began to have doubts of the future of Germany, never lost hope or courage, who by long and laborious diplomatic work made smooth the path which should lead to the unification of the Empire, and who, when the moment was come, when the seed was ripe, knew how to grasp the opportunity and overcome the difficulties that surrounded him on every side.

Thus, as the faithful servant of his Imperial master, who twenty years ago to-day raised him to the rank of prince, he became the true creator of the Empire.

It is a fine trait in the character of the German people that they unswervingly offer true homage to the man who has devoted his life to the fulfilment of what has been for centuries the unsatisfied desire of the German nation. The German people does not fail to account it a precious gift of Providence that at that time just this man was entrusted with the destinies of Germany. Let us — and here I address myself to the political opponents of the first Chancellor — let us to-day forget the days of strife, and all unite in the cry: "Long live Prince Bismarck!"

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

FRIEDRICHSRUHE, *March* 22, 1896.

I beg your Highness to accept the sincerest expression of my thanks for the kind and chivalrous pronouncement in which you remembered me at yesterday's celebration.

At the sitting of the Reichstag of May 18, 1896, in the debate on the military proposals, the Chancellor stated, in reply to the deputy Sieber, that the preparation of the Bill on the subject of military penal procedure was so far advanced that its introduction might be expected in the autumn. This Bill — apart from the particular reservations demanded by the nature of military institutions — "would be framed on the principles of the modern principles of justice."

Memorandum of the PRINCE *of May* 19.

My statement has had these results:

1. The acceptance by a large majority of the military proposal for the fourth battalion is assured.
2. Any attempt to fuse this question with that of the military penal procedure is checked *in limine.*
3. The question of publicity is in no way prejudiced, and the decision of this point is postponed till the autumn.

Journal.

June 14, 1896.

In the Chamber of Deputies Count Limburg-Styrum permitted himself an attack upon me, finding fault with me for not taking part in the debate on the Assessors Bill, and alleging that I regarded the Prussian Premiership as an office of secondary importance. I therefore took the opportunity of an interpellation addressed to the Absent Minister of Agriculture to reply in his name, and added a few remarks in which I refuted the uncalled-for observations of Styrum.

In the afternoon there was a long sitting of the Ministry, at which the comprehensive Bill on workman's organisations was discussed. The Bill is foolish enough. But if the workmen want to have compulsion, then we must give it them, with the proviso, as I expressly insisted, that those districts, provinces, or States which do not want compulsion shall be free from it.

This morning Li Hung Chang came to see me in his Yellow Jacket. I went as far as the stairs to receive him, and brought him into my study. He was accompanied by his son and a young Chinaman, as well as the interpreter. A number of Chinese servants waited outside. Li Hung Chang, who speaks no language but Chinese, is very entertaining nevertheless. He is interested in everything, asks questions, and is amiable. He pointed out that we were of the same age, and made some remarks upon the hygiene of old age. He reminds one a little of Bismarck, whom he is to visit at Friedrichsruhe. At half-past twelve a state reception by the Emperor, which I attended, decorated with the Chinese Order of the Dragon.

BERLIN, *August* 24, 1896.

The retirement of Bronsart * has raised a mighty commotion. People began to doubt whether I should carry the military penal procedure. I have therefore had a statement inserted in the *Reichsanzeiger:* "We are authorised to state that," &c. I think on this point calmness will now be restored.

PRINCE HOHENLOHE *to* GENERAL VON BRONSART.

Your Excellency will permit me to express my sincere regret at your retirement from the post of Minister of War. In the two years of our associated activity we have worked in the most complete harmony. I have always met with such loyal and energetic support from your Excellency that I feel your withdrawal from the Ministry as a severe personal loss. Your Excellency's merits in the administration and organisation of the Army have been recognised in the most competent quarter, and it would not become me, as a layman, to add any words of my own. I may, however, take the opportunity of cordially thanking you for your loyal co-operation in the collective tasks of the Ministry — as one of the most important of which I consider the counteracting everywhere of antimonarchical and revolutionary tendencies. What your Excellency has achieved in this direction will never be forgotten.

Journal.

BRESLAU, *September* 5, 1896.

To-day we drove at eight o'clock to the station to receive the Russian Imperial guests. There was a fine show of all manner of princes and generals. As the train came in I saw only the little Grand Duchess at the window. The train stopped. The red *Tscherkesses* hurried forward. Their Majesties alighted. Embraces, presentations, inspection of the guard of honour, National Anthem, running hither and thither — all as usual. Finally I presented Schischkin to the Emperor.

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* On August 14, 1896.

At half-past eleven Osten-Sacken came to see me with Schischkin. In the course of conversation the Eastern question was discussed. Schischkin at once expressed his satisfaction at the Great Powers being unanimous. Thanks to this, the English intrigues had come to nothing. The slightest "fissure" would have been taken advantage of by the English against the Turks. Also, with respect to the Sultan they could not hold too closely together. He was always speculating upon disagreements between the Powers. Schischkin declared himself in favour of the maintenance of the *status quo*. This was also the view of his Emperor. He was full of deference, and concluded by commending himself to my goodwill.

At six o'clock the Russian Emperor stopped his carriage at my door, and told the porter to let me know of it. At seven there was a dinner at the Emperor's. I sat between the hereditary Prince of Meiningen and Woronzow, opposite the Emperor and the Russian Empress. Of course we had noisy music during dinner. Conversation was scarcely to be thought of. The Emperor's speech, emphasising the old tradition of good relations with Russia, was very good. The Emperor Nicholas replied with the assurance "*qu'il était animé des mêmes sentiments de tradition*" as the Emperor William. Afterwards there was the reception, and at nine the tattoo, which lasted till eleven. We sat and stood at the window and on the terrace before the palace in wind and draught. The march past of the seven hundred musicians was imposing. For the rest, the noise of the music was deafening, and all reasonable conversation was out of the question.

BRESLAU, *September* 6, 1896.

Two o'clock this afternoon was the time fixed for my audience of the Russian Emperor. He received me, as usual, very kindly. The conversation soon turned to politics. The Emperor keenly regrets the death of Lobanow, who was a great support to him. Now he must take decisions himself and work. He was glad that the situation in the East appeared to be quieting down. The disturbances in Constantinople were at an end, and he had also had news to-day from Crete that the inhabitants of the island were calmer and the end of the fighting could be foreseen. In the opinion of the Emperor, England is responsible for the whole movement both in Armenia and in Crete. Of the policy of the British Government his Majesty expressed his most emphatic distrust: "*J'aime beaucoup l'Angleterre et les Anglais, qui me sont sympathiques, mais je me méfie de leur politique.*" He had been told that on the occasion of his visit the English statesmen would try to entrap him into agreements. When I replied that the British Constitution and the fact that English statesmen had to take into account the changes of public opinion made it impossible to conclude treaties with England, he warmly agreed with me. The Emperor then spoke of Lobanow's idea of obtaining security for passage through the Suez Canal. On my mentioning that England had already given this security, the Emperor assented, and then let the matter drop. The Emperor declared his chief objects to be Russian policy in East Asia and the completion of the Siberian railway. Japan was busily arming. But the Japanese had no money, although for the present the Chinese war indemnity furnished them with resources. When these were exhausted he did not know how they were going to complete their armaments. Besides, it would take them years to do so, and in the meantime the Siberian railway would be ready, and then Russia would be in a position *de faire face à toute éventualité*. . . . Returning to English policy, the Emperor said he had been told that England had the design of bringing Africa from the Cape to Egypt under her sway. This, however, would be a long business. I replied that the English attached so much importance to their supremacy in South Africa because, in their fear of some day losing India, they looked for compensation in South Africa. To this the Emperor replied: "But who is going to take India from them? We are not so foolish as to pursue such a design." Russia had no interests in Africa. If, however, he could succeed in bringing about peace between Italy and Menelik, it would give him great satisfaction. Then followed some talk about the aimlessness of Italian ambitions in Erythræa. When the conversation turned upon his travelling plans, he said he had not spoken to our Emperor about Paris, and asked me whether I had any objection to his visit to Paris. He was pleased at my reply that the visit to Paris seemed to me "*inévitable*." He emphasised the fact that he had refused to stay at the Quai d'Orsay, or anywhere else in Paris. He would stay at the Embassy, like all his predecessors. That was his own property, just as in Berlin he would also have stayed at the Embassy. These are the principal points of our conversation, which lasted an hour, over cigarettes.

On leaving, the Emperor presented me with the Order of St. Andrew, for which I expressed my thanks, assuring him that I should contribute to the best of my power to the cultivation of good relations between Germany and Russia. "You will not find that difficult," said the Emperor, "for these relations will always remain good."

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, *October* 17, 1896.

. . . My relations with his Majesty are peculiar. I sometimes come, owing to his little acts of thoughtlessness and want of consideration, to the conclusion that he purposely avoids me, and "that it cannot go on." Then I see him again, and think I was mistaken. Yesterday I had occasion for a little talk, in which his Majesty opened his heart to me . . . and took occasion to ask my advice as a friend. So that my misgivings are at an end.

On February 16 the Prince and Princess celebrated their golden wedding. After the dinner the Prince said: "This celebration is one of thanksgiving. We have given thanks to God during Mass that He has spared us to look back to-day on fifty years of happy married life. And this evening I thank all our friends and relations, and all those who for either a long or short time have, with their love and friendship, travelled with us through the path of life, who have rejoiced with us in our happiness, and mourned with us in the troubles which come to every one in life. I thank you for your sympathy, and I also thank the attendants and servants for their loyal help in lightening the burden of life for us. As I look round me now and see the blessings of family life displayed before my eyes, I am constrained to ask myself whether I have been right in taking up a career which necessarily sacrificed a large part of the joy of family life, and whether I should not have done better to devote myself entirely to my home. And yet it seems to me that to be a member of our family is to be called to high honour and distinction — whether by chance or by one's own desert I will not dare to say. Moreover, if I had not engaged in this public life of activity, my dear wife would have lost opportunities of showing her own capacity. During these thirty years of my political and official life she has helped me through painful and anxious times with her courage and her counsel; and when our political struggles pursued us even in society, she returned the pinpricks which are practised there with blows of a moral bludgeon and smoothed a path by which I could reach my goal. When I passed my abiturient examination many years ago the subject for the German essay was "The meed of praise which is due to merit should be regarded as a debt of honour." I have observed this maxim all my life. To-day I hereby pay the debt of honour.

Journal.

Berlin, *April* 7, 1897.

Two questions in the immediate future may imperil my position. One is the regulations for court-martials, the second is the law regarding associations. I am personally involved in both.* Regarding the second question, I have specially promised the Diet to repeal the prohibition to form associated unions. The Minister of the Interior, who has elaborated a Bill by which, beyond the repeal of the prohibition, little important improvement is proposed in the rights of association, hopes to have the draft accepted by the Chamber of Deputies. Conferences with the party leaders justify this hope. I was told yesterday that the National Liberals had changed round, and will not accept the Bill as it is proposed. If this be the case, and should the National Liberals persist in their refusal, the question arises whether we shall bring forward the Bill,* at the risk of its being defeated, or shall content ourselves with bringing forward a Bill removing all prohibition without proposing anything further. In the latter case no one would be able to say that I have not kept my promise.

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* At the concluding debate on the Municipal Code on July 27, 1896, the Reichstag wished the repeal of this prohibition to be incorporated in the code. The Prince opposed this, and offered the explanation that questions concerning public rights could be settled by the laws of the land in conformity with the wishes of the Reichstag.

Journal.

HOMBURG, *September* 6, 1897.

I can only remain in office if I appear before the Diet with the court-martial regulations in the form which, in my opinion, is necessary, and bring forward the Bill relating to the abolition of the interdiction associations. Then we shall have a peaceful session. If not, I must blame myself, and arouse irritation both inside and outside the Diet, which would be fatal to the naval question and elections.

To BARON VÖLDERNDORFF.

BERLIN, *October* 31, 1897.

. . . His Majesty is convinced that a further postponement of the Bill would be extremely prejudicial for himself and for the Army. . . . In introducing the Bill further negotiations with Bavaria † will be stipulated for. As, however, at least a year must elapse before it becomes effective we have still time.

I am strongly in favour of the naval measure. I will treat it in the most prudent manner, but I am for a fleet of battleships. There really is no getting on without it.

To the same.

November 7, 1897.

As to the court-martial regulations, unless we succeed in setting aside paragraph 2 to section 270 we shall be exposed to fierce attacks. That I have kept my promise to introduce one of the modern legal points of view corresponding to a reform cannot be argued away, in spite of all attacks which may be made upon the Bill. As to the Navy,‡ very many men hold the opinion that the new Admirals' demands are not unattainable. What decides me to go in for it is the following: It is always said that the Navy is a whim of the Emperor. And yet it cannot be denied that it is the German people's fault — or, if you like, their merit — that we possess a Navy. In the days of the Germanic Confederation we led a harmless, peaceful existence. We had no political (foreign policy) cares, few taxes, and were spectators of how Austria and Prussia opposed each other in the Diet, in which the medium-sized States and the little States sided first with one, then with the other. This, however, did not satisfy the German people; they wished to form a united whole, and play a part in the world. Students' political associations, the National Assembly, &c., took care that these ideas should become universal. The movement of 1848 was the first result; then came fifty years of reaction without the German people abandoning their aspirations. Then came 1870. Unity was achieved with blood and iron, and the Empire came into being amid the acclamations of the German people. But it soon came to pass that there was no money to set up the State with. The tobacco monopoly was rejected, &c. To obtain money for the State Bismarck changed his policy of Customs duty and renounced moderate free trade. In this too the German people stood by him. We now obtained between three and four hundred millions of money, and the State could live. The policy of a protective tariff, however, produced a colossal development of industry. We ceased to be an agrarian State, and became a manufacturing one. Owing to this our policy had again to be altered, and our aim directed to secure exportation. Commerce developed so much that the Government was called upon to protect it. That could only be done by a fleet — not a coast-defence squadron, but such a one as can maintain our communications. We cannot compete with England in the size of our fleet. We must, however, have a fleet able to repulse a hostile squadron wishing to blockade our ports. If we cannot do this our commerce and our shipping trade will be annihilated. That would mean a loss of milliards as against which the five to six millions for the fleet cannot be taken into account. With regard to the Colonies, I believe that we must learn gradually. The military system has already been abandoned, and we are learning more and more to imitate the English and to direct our Colonists and turn them to profit as merchants. It is not to be denied that the Emperor disturbs things by his impulsive nature. It is to be wished that he were more phlegmatic. It is, however, unjust to reproach him with wishing to call a fleet into existence as a whim or for his pleasure. He is doing nothing but carring out what the German people has desired for a hundred and fifty years.

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* The Associations Bill was laid before the Chamber of Deputies on May 13. In the sitting of May 17 the Prince spoke in the first debate.

† Concerning the Superior Courts.

‡ Baron Völderndorff, in a letter dated November 2, had pronounced against the enlargement of the Navy and against colonies.

On December 21, 1897, Princess Hohenlohe died after a short illness.

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, *January* 5, 1898.

To-day the treaty with China was signed at Peking.* The Emperor sent me the enclosed telegram, which deeply moved me.

The Emperor's Telegram.

"Although I am aware that an outward joy cannot assuage a deep inward grief, yet I am filled with the most intense happiness that, by the grace of God, after the terrible blow which has fallen, such a splendid success has been granted you. It is a fine reward for incessant sagacious work and a proud compensation for anxieties endured. Pray kindly accept my Imperial gratitude and hearty congratulations! Have just emptied a glass of champagne in your honour. — W."

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, *November* 4, 1898.

. . . All Souls' Day was beautiful and like summer. . . . With regard to myself, I find that my sorrow increases. As time goes by one sees all the more clearly that everything comes to an end, that all memories of these fifty years are buried, that nothing returns. I find truly that there is no consolation for this but death.

I am reading with great interest the proceedings of the Cour de Cassation.† The General Staff were over-hasty. Then they perceived their mistake, but had not the courage to confess it openly. Then came low fellows, like Esterhazy and Henry, and offered their forgeries as a deliverance, and the stupid creatures fell into the trap.

Journal.

JAGDSHLOSZ SPRINGE, *December* 15, 1898.

The nearer the sad anniversary of December 21 approaches the more sorrowful I feel. What one did not understand in its full meaning at the first moment, the irreparable loss, the knowledge that this long united life is utterly at an end, that weighs upon me like a burden from which death alone can free me.

Yesterday, on the Royal invitation, I joined the shooting party at Springe. I was obliged to leave Berlin at seven o'clock in order to meet the Royal train. From the Springe railway station we drove straight to the tract of country where game is found. Only pigs were shot. Six fell to my gun. Then we drove back to the Castle, rested some hours, and then went to dinner. The

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* About the acquisition of Kiaou Chow.

† In the Dreyfus trial.

Emperor was in great good humour, and talked incessantly. An Uhlan band played, and there was the usual noisy conversation.

There was pig-shooting again to-day. I shot about ten before breakfast; after breakfast six pigs, amongst which were a few fine wild boars; so that in two days my bag amounted to twenty-two.

This evening again dinner and cards. When I am thus amongst Prussian Excellencies the contrast between North and South Germany becomes very perceptible to me. South German Liberalism is no match for the young aristocrats. They are too numerous, too powerful, and have the kingdom and the Army too much on their side. Moreover the Centre goes with them. Everything which I have seen these four years is made clear by this antithesis. The Germans are right in regarding my presence in Berlin as a guarantee of unity. As I laboured from 1866 to 1870 for the union of South and North, so I must strive now to keep Prussia attached to the Empire. For all these gentlemen don't care a fig for the Empire and would rather give it up to-day than to-morrow.

To BARON VÖLDERNDORFF.

BERLIN, *January* 4, 1899.

. . . Your advice that I should resign being President of the Ministry of State is not very practicable. Caprivi did so, and fell thereby. I shall remain provisionally until my eightieth birthday. Then I can go at any moment, without a conflict with his Majesty, and that means much to me. Properly speaking I have no need of rest. . . .

The Prince celebrated his eightieth birthday, on March 31, 1899, in Baden. As the day fell on Good Friday, the banquet only took place on Easter Sunday. Besides the family and a number of friends, the Bavarian Minister, Count von Lerchenfeld, the Secretary of State for Alsace-Lorraine, von Puttkamer, and the chief of the Imperial Chancellor's office, Wilmowski, were present at it. To the greetings of the representative family, of the Diet, and of the Government of the Empire the Prince replied:

"I confess that I was touched to sympathy when, at the beginning of the year, I observed by the calendar that this year my birthday fell on Good Friday. It seemed to me that, with the Good Friday frame of mind which enshrouds my life as with a veil, that day was the most suitable for my birthday. However justified this frame of mind may be, there would be small justification in obtruding it on others, especially on those relatives and friends who from afar have gladly hastened hither to testify their joy that I am still amongst the living. For this reason we have postponed the actual happy celebration, the festive dinner, to Easter Sunday, the day which the Church consecrates to rejoicing.

So to-day we will be happy, and I will thank God Who has granted me this long life. . . . Count Lerchenfeld has in the kindest terms expressed his regard for my political efficiency. If I compare his words with that picture of my energies which rises before my critical eye, I think that he said too much. A conscientious man is never satisfied with his own achievements. It is true that fifty years ago I was a zealous champion of German unity, and have faithfully co-operated to secure that object, though in a position perhaps somewhat subordinate. But I had no opportunity for the performance of great exploits. When I became first Minister in Germany all had been already accomplished, and my task was confined to the maintenance and consolidation of existing creations. This I have performed in conjunction with the honourable representatives of the Federal Governments, who have so kindly received me to-day; and for this kindness I express my hearty thanks.

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, *April* 13, 1899.

I arrived here yesterday, and his Majesty called on me to-day at nine o'clock. I took the opportunity to repeat what I had already written to him. He asked me to make a further trial, and told me to let others do my work.

To the same.

WILDBAD, *July* 15, 1899.

. . . Wildbad is a quiet, pleasant place. My popularity is, however, a somewhat inconvenient privilege, as every one salutes me on the promenade. During the serenade of the Kursaal orchestra some unknown person began to cheer, which was taken up with enthusiasm; hence I am convinced of the friendly feelings of these worthy Würtemberg citizens.

Address to the MAYOR OF WILDBAD *upon the occasion of the serenade.*

I thank you, Mr. Mayor, with all my heart for your kindly words of greeting, and beg you to convey my thanks to your fellow-citizens, the inhabitants of the classic soil of loyal fidelity, for the brilliant pageant with which they have honoured me to-day. I also thank the visitors to this watering-place who have taken part in the procession for the attention which they have thus shown to me. The honour conferred by this celebration is twofold: in the first place it is the warm welcome of my South German compatriots to their South German Chancellor, and it also betokens the acknowledgments of a wider body of people, gathered from the whole of Germany. Such testimony is

PRINCE HOHENLOHE

From a photograph taken towards the close of his life

especially valuable to an old politician, whose energies are nearly spent, because it shows him that he has not lived in vain.

You have referred, Mr. Mayor, to my affability, and I may therefore observe that it would be difficult for the sourest of old diplomatists not to be affable in a town where his every path is strewn with flowers from fair hands, and where he meets none but friendly faces on every side. Hence you may be assured that my stay here will always remain a pleasant memory.

To Prince Alexander.

Alt Aussee, *August* 1, 1899.

I arrived here yesterday evening. I shall have to overcome the impressions which came upon me after my arrival before I feel well. The memories of a whole lifetime rise so clearly before me as to make me quite ill. Human life is a strange thing. A man lives fifty-one years happily and contentedly, and then comes the wreck which destroys everything. And for this was man created; yet it were better for him never to have been born. Sophocles said this centuries ago, and every one knows it and forgets it every day, while life draws to its close, while man receives stars and distinctions, and is then forgotten. . . .

To the same.

Berlin, *August* 17, 1899.

The prospects of the canal proposal are not encouraging. To-day we have, indeed, contrived to reach the third reading, but this is no advantage, as it is fixed for Saturday. Nothing has come of the proposed compromise between the Centre and the National Liberals, by the terms of which the Centre was to vote for the canal on the third reading, after the passing of the communal elections law. The Emperor declines to dissolve, as he thinks the poisons law more important than the canal, and requires the Conservative help in the Reichstag to pass the prisons law. I should prefer a dissolution. But unless the Emperor forms a Liberal Ministry — and this he will not do — a dissolution would do us more harm than good.

To the same.

Berlin, *September* 24, 1899.

. . . I could not go back to Aussee. In the summer the sunshine and clear sky drive away gloomy thoughts. In the long autumn evenings I see Mamma writing at her table in the *salon* and reading the newspapers, and I think of all my past life. Then I grow despondent, and this I cannot bear. Here among all the intriguing figures with which I have to contend I forget all that oppresses me.

Journal.

BERLIN, *December* 4, 1899.

I went into the Reichstag to-day to speak to Bassermann, Lieber, and Rickert. I told Lieber and Rickert that I would support the proposal to remove the prohibition of associations (*Verbindungsverbot*), and that they could tell Bassermann not to attack me, as otherwise I could not give my support. They agreed, and advised me not to await a declaration from Bassermann, but as soon as the proposal came up to make my statement forthwith. The difficulty is that the plenipotentiaries to the Federal Council are instructed to vote for the settlement of the question by legislation in the several States, and that they, therefore, require new instructions. This does not matter, for I need only assert that Prussia will vote for the proposal in the Federal Council.

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, *December* 6, 1899.

After his Majesty had expressed his agreement with the removal of the prohibition of associations I was able to take the necessary steps in the Ministry and the Federal Council, and was in a position to announce to the Reichstag to-day that the allied Governments would agree to the removal of the prohibition if Bassermann's proposal was accepted. This was passed on the second reading by a large majority, and so this troublesome business is finally settled.

To the same.

BERLIN, *January* 7, 1900.

. . . There is no news here, except that the conviction is borne in upon me with increasing force that I must prepare for retirement. . . . I must, however, await the naval debate. I should not care to disturb and compromise the result by a crisis, for I am anxious to see the matter settled, if in any way possible. We must not expose ourselves to the danger of experiencing from England the fate of Spain at the hands of North America.

Journal.

BERLIN, *March* 7, 1900.

Yesterday evening I spoke to the agriculturists, and emphasised the danger involved in the introduction of a system of prohibition into our Customs legislation,* and in the consequent rise in the price of meat, which would give the Social Democrats a valuable weapon for use in the elections. W. then urged against me that the country population would be just as embittered if they were deprived of their power to raise the price of cattle as the Social Democrats would be if they could get no meat. In my opinion this is an erroneous view. The number of Social Democrats and other poor who would be injured by a rise in the price of meat is far greater than the number of the country population who would be irritated by the federation of the landlords. When his Majesty declined to dissolve the Landtag it was resolved to prohibit the participation of officials in the landlords' federation, or the support of the federation by the authorities. This has not been done. . . .

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* By the law for the inspection of meat.

Speech at the dinner in honour of the Prussian Academy of Sciences upon the occasion of its two-hundredth anniversary.

I am delighted to have an opportunity of publicly expressing my thanks to the Royal Academy of Sciences for the honourable distinction * conferred upon me upon the occasion of its two-hundredth anniversary.

It is obvious that I do not owe this honour to my scientific achievements, but to my general interest in science as a whole, and to the support which it was my duty to give to science in the different official posts which I have held.

This connection with science forms the best part of my official work. To it I owe the honour and the pleasure of gathering distinguished scientists around me to-day, and of greeting men who have travelled from far to join us at this festivity.

This distinguished assembly has a special meaning for myself. Gentlemen, I have grown old in a belief in the progress, the continued progress, of humanity.

I must now admit that this belief has been somewhat shaken in recent years. The struggle for existence imposed upon us by nature has of recent times assumed a character and a direction which reminds us of its conduct in the animal world, and gives ground to fear that progress may be rather retrogression. It is therefore encouraging to see so many distinguished representatives of science, so many heroes of the intellectual battlefield, here assembled, and thence to derive the consoling conviction that there yet remains a sufficiency of intellectual power to confine the threatening wave of material interests within due bounds. May you be as successful in the future as in the past in the solution of this problem! I drink to the health of science and its representatives.

Speech of the PRINCE *at the Sitting of the Reichstag of June* 12, 1900.

Gentlemen, The deputy Liebknecht has asserted that before the autumn of last year no enthusiasm for a fleet existed in the

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* The Prince had been appointed an Honorary Member of the Academy.

German nation. I cannot allow this assertion to pass unanswered. It has been repeated time and again by the Press, and is based upon an erroneous conception of historical development throughout the past century. I look back more than fifty years and recall the enthusiasm for a German fleet which then inspired the German nation; I remember the fact that, with the exception of Prussia, the Governments united in the German Federation adopted an attitude of refusal upon the question of a fleet, and I can therefore maintain that the desire for a German fleet is essentially of national origin. The history of the past century shows that the call for a fleet has invariably arisen whenever the desire for the unification of Germany became prominent, or the realisation of this desire seemed possible or probable.

There was, indeed, a time when the idea of a German fleet was very far removed. It was the period of the Diet. At that time we lived quietly and peacefully. Our economic condition was satisfactory, our debts were few, our taxes comparatively light, and we had no Agrarian party, though the territorial owners were reduced to extremities, especially between 1820 and 1830. We had no Social Democrats; and, above all, we were spared the anxieties of foreign policy — at any rate, in the States of the second and third order. These latter were content to keep a careful eye in the Federal Council upon the antagonism between Prussia and Austria, and to join one or other of these Great Powers as they were decided by the course of events and their own necessities. Upon the whole it was a period marked by the comfort and restrictions which characterise the policy of a little state.

This, however, was not enough for the German nation. Recollections of the old importance of the German Empire, and the misgiving aroused by the disruption and helplessness of Germany, steadily increased, and refused to leave us in undisturbed enjoyment of our material comfort. The idea of unification, at first chiefly supported by youthful students, found an increasing number of adherents, and produced the ferment of the revolutionary movements in the year 1848. We believed we had already attained our object when that movement was shattered by unfavourable circumstances. A powerful empire without a fleet is inconceivable, and when the idea of the Empire disappeared the wish for a fleet also died away. It was not until twenty years later that the Empire was founded by the victories of the united German armies amid the jubilation of the German people. Once again the demand for a German fleet reappeared, and all were agreed in their conviction of the necessity of that fleet which has steadily developed from that date. Since that time differences of opinion have been concerned only with the size of the fleet and of the amount to be expended upon it. The methods proposed whereby the means might be procured for supporting the army and the fleet ended in the reform of our Customs regulations, and this, again, produced an industrial and commercial revival which made the necessity of a fleet for the protection of our trade even more imperative. It is not merely a question of securing the power to protect individual ships or to press our demands upon other countries; the real point at issue is our very existence as one of the great commercial Powers in the world. The German Empire cannot be dependent upon the goodwill of other powerful nations; it must stand upon a basis of its own and be able to command respect. Hence the necessity for a strong fleet. The history of our own times has taught us the fate of the country possessing an inadequate fleet. In conclusion, I would again remind those who regard the sacrifices which must be made for the fleet as too heavy that it was the idea of unity, the ambition to become a world-wide Power, originating in the German nation itself, which directed us to that course where we now pursue our way, and from which we cannot turn back.

The result of the second reading of the proposed Bill shows that this view is also shared by the great majority of this honourable House, and I do not doubt that the Reichstag, with its usual patriotism, will pass all resolutions to promote the welfare of the Fatherland.*

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, *July* 13, 1900.

The delivery of the speech was a good idea. . . . His Majesty has telegraphed to me from Homburg:

"I return your congratulations with all my heart, for you also have good reason to be proud of the result. The Civil Code and two naval estimates — no Chancellor has ever been distinguished by the passing of two measures so important to the domestic and foreign development of our country.

"WILHELM I. R."

To PRINCE AMALIE.

WERKI, *August* 26, 1900.

. . . In a few days we shall be leaving Werki. It will be a final farewell, so far as I am concerned. My children will return at the end of the autumn to pack up the things which we are to take with us. If my life were not at its close, I should be very sorry to go. As things are, I can endure it, because it really marks only the conclusion of a happy past. I must be thankful that I can look back upon a happier life than is granted to the majority of mortals.

Journal.

HOMBURG, *October* 16, 1900.

I left Berlin yesterday afternoon at 1.40, and reached Homburg at 11.30 P.M., after an unpleasant journey in a vestibule car

* The Naval Bill was adopted at this sitting by 201 votes against 103.

which rocked like a yacht. Here I found a letter from Tschirsky informing me that his Majesty was expecting me to report the next day at noon.

I had intended to send in my resignation to-day through Lucanus, but it was returned with the information that Lucanus had gone to Berlin, and would not return before to-morrow. I therefore gave it to Tschirsky, who duly transmitted it to the Emperor. When I waited upon the Emperor at twelve o'clock he received me very kindly. We arranged for the convocation of the Reichstag, and his Majesty then said: "I have received a very disturbing letter." I then pleaded my health and my age as reasons for my retirement, and the Emperor expressed his agreement, and I saw that he had been expecting my resignation, so that it was high time for my resolve. . . . We then discussed my successor, and I was agreeably surprised when he immediately mentioned Bülow, who is certainly the best man at this moment. His Majesty then said that he would telegraph to Lucanus to bring Bülow with him, that we might discuss the details on the spot. I then lunched with their Majesties, and returned home with my mind relieved.

The Imperial rescript accepting the Prince's resignation, and the autograph letter conferring the order of the Black Eagle in brilliants, are dated October 17, 1900.

To PRINCESS ELISE.

BERLIN, *November* 3, 1900.

. . . I resolved to resign somewhat earlier than I had originally intended. During the final weeks various circumstances convinced me that a change in the Chancellorship would not be disagreeable to the Emperor. I am a constant sufferer from asthma and deafness, and so considered myself justified in taking the plunge and retiring from my life's work. The Emperor received my request with great kindness, and my resignation has been carried out in the most peaceful manner, and with no friction of any kind. I remained in Homburg the day after my resignation for the confirmation of Prince Adalbert, and their Majesties were highly pleased with this mark of respect.

I am always glad of these opportunities for convincing myself of the sincere Christianity of the Royal family. Amid the general infidelity of our age this family appears as an oasis in the desert. I then went to Baden for two days and then came here, where I am dividing my time between packing, paying and receiving calls. As soon as I have finished I am going to Schillingsfürst for a few days, and thence probably to Meran. Next week I shall say farewell to the Chancellor's palace. The recollection of Marie's death here makes the parting painful.

To the same.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, *December* 1, 1900.

I am very glad to have Luthardt's book,* and thank you heartily for sending it. Now that I have laid aside the burden of office, the other problems that trouble humanity press upon me, and I see, in turning over the leaves of the book, that I shall find much information upon them.

I have recently been overwhelmed by the conception of "eternity." There is something so appalling in it that escape from the idea is impossible. I mean that it is appalling by reason of its inconceivable nature. The eternity of time and space is not only inconceivable, but unthinkable. Here faith alone can help us.

To the same.

MERAN, *December* 14, 1900.

All that you say of the Resurrection in your letter is perfectly correct, but does not explain the inconceivable nature of the eternity of time and space. God and Christ, Who is God, are eternal. Their actions are performed in time and space; but this has nothing to do with the inconceivable nature of these conceptions (time and space). And there can be no doubt that time and space are eternal. This great, imposing, indeed awful truth is incompatible with atheism. . . .

To the same.

MERAN, *January* 23, 1901.

So our good Queen Victoria is now dead, too. I mourn her from my heart. She was always a gracious friend to me, and after she had lost all her old friends, as one must in old age, she remembered one of the few surviving friends of her youth, and sent me a message last year through our Emperor to come and see her. I could not manage it, and I hoped she would come to Nice, where I would have visited her. I daresay the South African war was a greater anxiety than the old lady could bear, and that her life was shortened by the barbarously selfish policy of the English statesmen to which she was forced to submit. I shall ever preserve her memory.

The Princess of Salm-Horstmar writes as follows regarding the last months of the Prince's life:

"In May 1901 I was able to spend a delightful time with my brother in Berlin. The Tiergarten in May was charming. We took walks almost every day and conversed upon serious topics. 'How little men think of death,' he once said, and recalled an inscription which he had found in 1848 upon one of the family tombstones in Hohenlohe: 'Learn to die!' On Sunday morning I woke early with the thought that every Sunday is a fulfilment of the text 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' When I related this to my brother at breakfast he replied: 'Yes, that is very true.' On May 17 I was obliged to go away. The day before was Ascension Day, and incomparably beautiful May weather. My brother said: 'We will go once more for a short walk in the Siegesallee.' He promised to come to Höxter, and kept his word. He reached us on Wednesday, June 19, in the afternoon and remained, alas! only till Friday. God gave us the most beautiful summer weather during those days, and we were surrounded by abundance of roses. We travelled to Corvey. There the daughter of an official received him with the offer of a bunch of roses and a poem. We walked about the rooms where our childhood had been spent together. My brother wrote the names upon some family portraits the identity of which had been doubtful. We then went into the vault which my mother had built for my father in 1841, and to which my mother's coffin was transferred in 1897. The chapel over the vault is part of the old monastery church. My brother had not previously seen the two coffins there together. From the castle a pleasant path leads through trees to the door of the vault, and thence can be seen the wooded hills of the Solling. It was so solemn when my brother slowly walked along this path and said: 'It is sixty years now since our father died.' In the vault he laid two wreaths of white carnations upon the coffins, and was glad when I quoted the text 'It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption.' I prayed for a blessed reunion with the dead. On the way back my brother was again greeted with roses. Roses were everywhere about him. The visit to the vault was on Thursday, June 20, at eleven o'clock in the morning. Exactly three weeks afterwards my brother was laid with his parents in Schillingsfürst."

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* *Die apologetischen Vorträge.*

Prince Hohenlohe was attacked in Paris by a malady which greatly impaired his strength. He went to Colmar while still suffering, and spent a few days in his son's house. Though he had not recovered his strength, he wished to continue his journey, as he hoped to be recruited by the stay in Ragaz which he had proposed. On July 3 he arrived at Ragaz, and died there on July 6, 1901.

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